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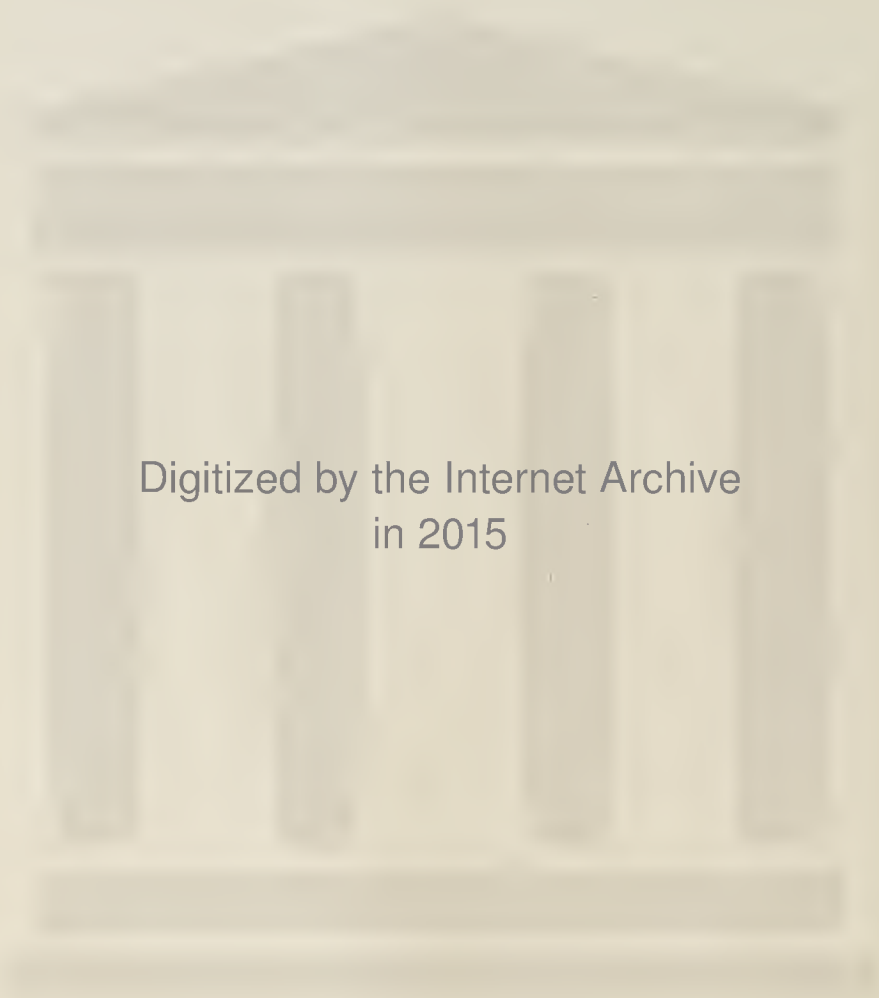

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PETER JAMES HUDSON

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XVII March, 1939 Number 1

PETER JAMES HUDSON
1861—1938

By R. L. Williams

Peter James Hudson[1] was born October 10, 1861, at the old Missionary School building built by Cyrus Byington[2] at or near Eagletown in the Choctaw Nation. He died at Indian Hospital at Talihina, October 21, 1938. His funeral was held on October 23, 1938, in the Choctaw Council House,[3] and he was buried at the Tuskahoma cemetery near Choctaw Council House on the same day. He was enrolled as a full-blood, his Choctaw Roll number being 5483, although in fact he was a three-quarter blood Indian of a non-English speaking Choctaw family, his grandfather being a white man whose antecedents and Christian name are not disclosed. He married[4] on August 16, 1891, Amanda J. Bohanon, the daughter of S. H. Bohanon, a Presbyterian minister, and his wife, Margaret. He was the son of James Hudson and his wife Ah-ho-bo-tema, who, in Mississippi, was a member of the Aphika clan.

In a letter as to his boyhood Peter Hudson states:

> ". . . my occupation was to work little on 48 acre farm, to kill birds with bow and arrow, hunt deer, turkey, coon, 'possum, skunk, beavers, fox with old muskets which we picked up after Confederate soldiers throw them away when Civil War was over; played regular Choctaw ball game; nature provided for our wants in hogs and cattle; ponies to ride; these stock took care of themselves in winter in

[1] *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* X (1932), p. 229 (note 37), 230 (note 39), 221 (note 6), 384 (note 5), 387 (note 20), 391 (note 37).

[2] His father, James Hudson, bought this building from Cyrus Byington when he in retirement left the Choctaw Nation in 1872 to take up his residence in Ohio.

[3] Oklahoma City *Times*, October 22, 1938.

[4] Their children were: Helen Hudson, now Mrs. H. H. Housier, Preston Hudson, Irene Hudson, now Mrs. D. K. Heard, Nathan Hale Hudson, Elna Hudson, now Mrs. Howard Todd, Edna Tuskahoma Hudson (Elna and Edna being twins), Peter Jay Hudson (deceased), Goldie Hudson, now Mrs. John Workman, and Berson Hudson.

cane-brakes in a river bottom; great forests produced acorns every year to which millions wild pigeons and wild ducks came to feed in the fall. When day is over we used to sleep, the sleep of the innocent. . . . The extent of my knowledge of English 'me talk no English.' . . . So great the contrast was what interested me—to go from Eagletown (one store and post office) . . ."

From 1870 to 1876, inclusive, Peter Hudson was a pupil at Spencer Academy, a tribal school. From 1879 to 1882, he attended the Academy of Drury College at Springfield, Missouri, and from 1882 to 1887 was a student at Drury College, being graduated on June 16, 1887, with an A. B. degree. From 1887 to 1889, inclusive, he attended and was graduated from Hartford Theological Seminary at Hartford, Connecticut.

On creation of Tuskahoma Female Institution, he was appointed superintendent on August 6, 1892,[5] continuing in such capacity until the supervision of the trial schools by the Choctaw Nation closed. He was auditor of the Choctaw Nation continuously from the time of his election on August 7, 1901, until the close of the tribal government. He was a member of several delegations to Washington, D. C., as representative of his tribe and was frequently called upon as an expert interpreter.

After the adoption of the Oklahoma Constitution he affiliated with the democratic party, stating as one of the reasons the incorporation of the provision in Section 11, of Article 23, which had the effect of classifying the Choctaws with the white race.

He further states:

"Since I visited Miss. (Mississippi) Choctaws in 1921 and saw the condition of things over there I feel kindly toward General Jackson for forcing our ancestors to emigrate West. I admire the spirit of our ancestors who suffered and made it possible for us to reach status of where we are today—on equal term with any race in the state of Okla."

He wrote:

"It is more difficult to try to get family tree of fullblood families for the reason that they had only one name, Indian name.

[5] *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV (1936), p. 432; IX (1931), pp. 39, 41 (as to the dedication of McKinley Mountain).

> Of late years I undertook to make family tree of my ancestors on my mother side. I found there were three sisters; oldest Shomota; next Mrs. Widow Hudson on 1831 Choctaw Roll made in Miss.; last Ishtemohoke. They were full blood. Mrs. Hudson was mother of George[6] Hudson, James Hudson, my father, etc. She died on a road to Indian Territory in 1831. The descendants of Shomota and Ishtemahoke adopted the name McCoy."

He later wrote:

> "I have no information at all on father side but I worked out that there were three sisters, namely Shaluma, Ishtimahoke and Mrs. Hudson. It is said white man was father named Hudson. Judge James Hudson was my father."

As to different spellings "Shomota" and "Shaluma," whether occasioned by further research is not known.

His grandfather on the Choctaw side was Captain Meshambe, who died May 24, 1857.[7] The widow Hudson, known as Mrs. Hudson, was probably the first wife of James Hudson, a sister of the mother of Peter J. Hudson, who was married to him after the first wife's death.

Peter James Hudson did research work as to tribal matters, rendering invaluable service.[8]

An Indian personality the like of which will not again be seen in this state has passed away. He bridged the past with the present. Humble, courageous, honest, sincere, possessing a keen sense of humor, he unselfishly devoted himself to the interests of his race and the preservation of their history and lore.

No living translator of the Chickasaw and Choctaw languages survives who can approximate him. He knew the history of the

[6] *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (1932), p. 222 (note 13); Cyrus Byington Letters (transcripts), II, 1104 (note 83), Library, Oklahoma Historical Society; 19457-a, Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI (1928), p. 83.

[7] Byington Letters, II, 1140 (note 756).

[8] "Trails, Roads, Locations, Settlements, Names, Mountains and Streams, Lead and Zinc Mining, and Happenings (Reminiscences by Peter J. Hudson)," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII (1934), p. 294; "Recollections of Peter J. Hudson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (1932), pp. 500-519; "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII (1930), p. 315; p. 315 (note); VII, pp. 388-418; p. 413.

Choctaws, their traditions, and lore. At the time of his death he was a member of the Choctaw Advisory Council, and had been elected as the first curator of the rehabilitated Choctaw Council House. His life had been dedicated to the service of his tribe, not for personal gain, but for service. With honor and credit, ever seeking to do good for his people, and not controlled by selfishness and greed, he efficiently filled every position that came to him. His death marks the passing of one of the outstanding members of the Choctaw tribe of Indians, the best informed of the surviving remnant of Choctaws on the details of Choctaw history, legislation, government, and Indian lore.

A STORY OF CHOCTAW CHIEFS[1]

By Peter James Hudson

From time immemorable when the Choctaw people were living in Mississippi, they were divided into three divisions, not geographical divisions, but by clans, namely: the Western Division, called by the Choctaws, "Okla-Falaya," the Middle Divsion, called by the Choctaws, "Haiyip Atukla," and the Southwestern Division, called by the Choctaws, "Okla-hvnnali" or "Six-Towns." Each of these divisions had a head chief and in governing they were independent of each other. They didn't have a national capital. The only occasions upon which they all met together were when they had dealings with the United States Government, when they designated a place convenient for all divisions to meet.

The Western Division's hereditary chief was Apvckshvnvbbee who served from 1802 to 1824.[2] He died on the way to Washington in November, 1824, and was succeeded by Robert Cole. I have been told by a Mississippi Choctaw that the body of Apvckshvnvbbee was brought back to Mississippi and buried at his home place. Robert Cole's appointment as successor to Apvkshvnvbbee may be found in the Treaty of 1825, with a salary of $150.00 per year for a lifetime. A new plan was adopted in 1826 and Greenwood Leflore succeeded Robert Cole when he had served only about a year and a half. It is said that Greenwood Leflore was a nephew of Robert Cole. Perhaps he was from the fact that Robert Cole made no objection to being succeeded by him.

The Middle Division's hereditary chief was Mosholetvbbi who served from 1809 to 1826. Miko Homastvbbi, the father of Mosholetvbbi, died in 1809, and was succeeded as hereditary chief by his son who served from 1809 to April, 1826. He was forced

[1] This article was written in April, 1934. See R. L. Williams, "Peter James Hudson, 1861-1938," in this issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

[2] According to Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Peter James Hudson stated that the Choctaws used the letter "v" instead of "u," as in Apvckshvnvbbe. They also indicated a nasal sound by placing a straight line under a vowel as in *Miko.*

to resign his office as District Chief and Colonel David Folsom succeeded him as chief by election.

Colonel David Folsom was District Chief of the Middle or Mosholetvbbi from April, 1826, to March, 1830. He emigrated to Indian Territory and located at Doaksville, in what is now Choctaw County, Oklahoma, and died and was buried there. He was born on January 25, 1791, in Mississippi, and died on September 27, 1847. He was a son of Nathaniel Folsom, a white man. His mother was a niece of Miko Puscus, a full blood Choctaw, and a hereditary chief of some Choctaw clan. Possibly he was a brother of Miko Homastvbbi, father of Mosholetvbbi, and if that be true, then Mosholetvbbi was correct when he called Peter P. Pitchlynn his nephew, John Pitchlynn, father of Peter P. Pitchlynn having married Col. David Folsom's sister, Rhoda. After the death of Col. David Folsom's mother, his father, Nathaniel Folsom, married her sister, and was the father of two large sets of children, twenty-four in all.

The southwestern division's hereditary chief was Pushmataha who served from 1803 to 1824, when he died in Washington, D. C. He was buried at Washington, D. C., with military honors. He had been known as General Pushmataha. There is a nice monument in Congressional Cemetery, Washington, marking his grave, bearing the following inscriptions:

On the south side: "A Choctaw chief lies here. This monument to his memory—erected by his brother chiefs who were associated with him in a delegation from their Nation in the year 1824 to the Government of the United States."

On the North side: "He died in Washington on the 24th day of December, 1824, of the croup in the 60th year of his age. Among his last words were the following 'when I am gone, let the big guns be fired over me.'"

On the East side: "Pushmataha was a warrior of great distinction. He was wise in council, eloquent in an extraordinary

degree, and on all occasions and under all circumstances, the white men's friend."

Pushmataha's nephew named Oklahoma succeeded him as hereditary chief but did not serve long because of his dissipation. This is the first time the name Oklahoma appears in history.

The United States government recognized General Humming Bird as his successor. He died on September 28, 1828, and is buried at Kusha Cemetery in Mississippi, where a sister of Pushmataha, Hotema, was buried. General Humming Bird with sixty Choctaw warriors joined General Anthony Wayne during the Indian War in Ohio.

According to Article XXI of the Treaty of 1830 there were at least twenty Choctaw warriors yet living who marched and fought with General Wayne, and it was provided that they should each receive $25. a year while they lived.

General Hummingbird was succeeded by Nitvkechi who was said to be a nephew of Pushmataha.

The record is lacking but during the year 1826, the Western Division followed the policy of the Middle Division and elected Greenwood Leflore as their chief for four years to succeed Robert Cole.

The Southwest Division in 1826 selected Sam Garland as their chief for a term of four years.

This marks the beginning of the Choctaw government. Both Nitvkechi and General Hummingbird, hereditary chiefs of the third or Southwest District, refused to recognize Sam Garland as chief.

In the spring of 1830 Greenwood Leflore called a Choctaw council to meet and proposed the Treaty of Removal. David Folsom and Sam Garland resigned their offices as District Chiefs on the ground that they were elected chiefs as against the Treaty of Removal. Chief Greenwood Leflore became the only chief who prepared the Treaty of Removal. David Folsom and Sam

Garland signed it as common warriors. The United States refused to adopt said Treaty. I have not yet found the record of the election but the government recognized Greenwood Leflore, Mosholetvbbe and Nitvkechi in making the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in September, 1830. It is said that George W. Harkins was elected in 1830 as the successor of Greenwood Leflore while he was in Indian Territory inspecting the country before the removal. George W. Harkins was a nephew of Greenwood Leflore.

There is a letter dated November, 1830, from John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, to the Choctaws, saying that he will not recognize Joel H. Nail as chief of the Middle District and as successor of Mosholetvbbi.

The Middle District met at Dancing Rabbit Creek on January 16, 1831, when Mosholetvbbi offered to resign in favor of Peter P. Pitchlynn, his nephew.

The United States government refused to recognize all this and in the meanwhile the migration proceeded during the years 1831, 1832, and 1833.

Nitvkechi, the chief of the Southwest Division, was the only chief recognized from 1830 to 1834.

Mosholetvbbi and Nitvkechi while they were still in Mississippi, before the removal, without consulting Greenwood Leflore who was a half-breed, agreed to designate or lay off the new Choctaw country West of the Mississippi River into three geographical divisions, namely Mosholetvbbi, First District, situated between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers on the north, by the Winding Stair Mountain on the south, and by the State of Arkansas on the east. The Second District, first known as Red River District, then Okla-Falaya, and later Apuckshunvbbi District, situated east of Kiamichi River, south of Winding Stair Mountain, north of Red River and west of the state of Arkansas. The Third District, known as Pushamtaha District, to be situated west of Kiamichi River, north of Red River, south of Canadian

River, with no western limit. The purpose of this was to transfer their people from Mississippi into this country just as they were at home. But on account of the method of removal the clans were all destroyed and the Choctaw people were all scattered. The leaders succeeded in reaching the districts to which they belonged but the Choctaws in general did not. However, since the country had been divided into three districts, they proceeded with the three chiefs as heretofore, namely: Mosholetvbbi, Nitvkechi, and Thomas Leflore, who had succeeded Greenwood Leflore.

During the year 1834 the four years having expired, Mosholetvbbi, Thomas Leflore, and Nitvkechi were reelected as District Chiefs of their respective districts.

In October, 1834, the chiefs of the three districts with their friends and leading men met at a location selected by them as being centrally located in the new Choctaw Nation, which place was a mile and a half west of what is now Tuskahoma, Oklahoma, as the first capital of the Choctaw Nation, as one nation, and was called Nanih Waya. This was done in accordance with Article XX, in the treaty of 1830, which provided for the erection of a council house for the nation at some convenient central point after their people shall be settled, and a house for each chief, also a church for each of the three districts, to be used also as schoolhouses until the nation may conclude to build others; for which purposes $10,000 was to be appropriated. They named the place Nanih Waya in honor of the Mound which they had just left in Mississippi, and which they had held sacred from time immemorial.

On August 24, 1835, eight Indian tribes made a treaty of peace at Fort Holmes among themselves and Mosholetvbbi signed said treaty as the chief of Mosholetvbbi District, and Nitvkechi signed it as the chief of Pushmataha District. This treaty was concluded May 19, 1836. That is the last record of Mosholetvbbi signing any paper as chief. It is said that he died in 1836. No one knows where he is buried.

Joseph Kincaid was selected to fill out the unexpired term of Mosholetvbbi. It is not known where Joseph Kincaid lived in Indian Territory after he migrated here, but he had a brother named Robert Kincaid who was a student at Choctaw Academy, Kentucky, who migrated to Indian Territory, and located about three miles west of what is now the town of Shady Point, Oklahoma. Last February, 1934, an old log house said to have been built by Robert Kincaid, which had been occupied by his relatives, was burned down. I passed by where it had stood just after it had burned. I assume then that Joseph Kincaid probably lived in that vicinity.

Thomas Leflore, son of Michael and cousin of Greenwood Leflore, was elected chief of Apuckshunubbi District in 1834 for a term of four years. Capt. Thomas Leflore was the son of Michael Leflore, a Frenchman, the brother of Louis Leflore. His father remained in Mississippi. He was first cousin of Greenwood Leflore and Brazil Leflore. Thomas Leflore lived near Wheelock, a short distance from what is now the town of Millerton. The house which the Government built under Treaty provision and which the chief occupied as long as he lived, still stands. Thomas Leflore died about 1850 and is buried about one-fourth mile from his house near Millerton. There is no mark to show which is his grave. No one cares for the old home place.

Nitvkechi was elected chief of the Third or Pushmataha District in 1834 for term of four years.

During the election in 1838, John McKinney was elected chief of Mosholatubbee or First District, for a term of four years. John McKinney was a lawyer and held many offices. He lived, died and is buried about one mile east of the town of Howe, Oklahoma, on the Ft. Smith-Ft. Towson Military Road.

James Fletcher was elected chief of the second district or Apuckshunubbee District in 1838 for a term of four years. He lived on Rock Creek, probably near Spencerville, Oklahoma. At one time he was not present and Capt. Okchiya acted for him as

Chief. Capt. Okshiya had an English name, William Winans. He was a Methodist preacher. He lived at a place known as Okchiya Station, six miles south of Standley, Okla., on the Military Road. On his return from attending a church meeting in Cherokee Nation he took sick and died in Fort Smith and was buried on the bank of the Arkansas River.

Pierre Juzan was elected chief of the Third or Pushmataha District in 1838 for a term of four years. He was a student of Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. His father was a Frenchman named Pierre Juzan who married a niece of Pushmataha, and a sister of Oklahoma. Pierre Juzan, Jr., student of Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, removed to the Choctaw Nation and located somewhere near Hugo, Oklahoma. He was related to Chief Nitvkechi. They lived on Red River, south of Bennington. He died in office and was buried in August, 1841.

Isaac Folsom filled out the unexpired term of Pierre Juzan, Chief of Third District, from 1841 to 1842 and was reelected in 1842 for four years. He lived on the west side of the Kiamichi River.

In 1842, Nathaniel Folsom, Jr., son of Nathaniel Folsom, a white man, who married an Indian woman, was elected chief of the First of Mosholatubbe District, Thomas Leflore was elected in 1842 to succeed James Fletcher as chief of the second or Apuckshunubbee District. Nitvkechi was elected chief of the third or Pushmataha District for four years, but he died in 1846 and was succeeded by Silas D. Fisher, who served the remainder of his term. It is said that Oklahoma, brother of Nitvkechi died in Mississippi in 1846 and that Nitvkechi went there to attend the funeral and died while there. There is another story that Nitvkechi was shot while visiting in Texas.

In 1846, Peter Folsom was elected chief of Mosholatubbee District for four years. He was a student of Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, son of Col. David Folsom. He was a member of Peter P. Pitchlynn's delegation appointed in 1853 to have a set-

tlement with the United States government of what became known as the Net Proceeds claim. I don't know where he lived, probably somewhere near Poteau. He was President of the Choctaw Senate in 1861, First District Trustee in 1863-4. He died in 1885. He was Council member in 1860.

Thomas Leflore succeeded himself as chief in 1846 to serve for four more years. Nitvkechi was elected chief of the Third or Pushmataha District in 1846 but died in 1846 and was succeeded by Silas D. Fisher.

Silas D. Fisher was the son of Joseph Fisher, a white man. Silas Fisher lived in Blue County, Choctaw Nation, now Bryan County, Oklahoma. I do not know where he was buried or when he died.

In 1850 the Choctaw government was reorganized and in October, 1850, the Choctaw capital was moved from Nanih Waya to Doaksville.

In 1850 Cornelius McCurtain was elected chief of the First or Mosholatvbbi District for term of four years. He was the father of Jackson, Edmond, and Green McCurtain, all of whom later served as Chief of the Choctaw Nation. Cornelius McCurtain was a member of the Council in 1844, 1846, and 1855, and a member of the School Board in 1849. He was a brother of John, Luke, Daniel, Allen, William, Thomas, Dave, and Camper McCurtain, all of whom were prominent Choctaws. Cornelius McCurtain's name, together with that of George W. Harkins and George Folsom, appears as having approved Act of November 6, 1852, which changed the Kusha Female Seminary into a high institution of learning under rules and regulations indicated therein.

In 1850 George W. Harkins was elected chief of the Second or Apuckshunubbee District for a term of four years. He was a nephew of Greenwood Leflore and in 1830 had been selected chief of Greenwood Leflore District in Mississippi but was not recognized. He was a student of Choctaw Academy in Ken-

tucky. In 1854 he was again elected chief of said district and served until January, 1857, when the Skullyville Constitution was adopted. George W. Harkins was a member of the Council in 1846. He lived at Doaksville and I presume he died there.

In 1850 George Folsom was elected chief of Pushmataha District and served until 1854. He attended a school in Georgia. He was son of Col. David Folsom and was sent to Georgia to school at the nation's expense. He was a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher and was one of the nine members of the Board of Trustees in 1849 to look after organizing what were known as neighborhood schools. He was a member of the Council.

According to Article XV of the Treaty of 1830 the government agreed to pay the salary of all Choctaw chiefs for twenty years. In 1850 that twenty year period had expired, then the Choctaw council deliberately took the capital from Nanih Waya to Doaksville where the majority of the people lived. In other words the Choctaw government was reorganized in 1850 and changed the seat of government to Doaksville which is in the south part of the Choctaw Nation. On account of the change of the seat of government to Doaksville, the chief and members of the council of Mosholatvbbi District, refused to take part in the 1851 Council, making it impossible to hold the Council. In 1851 the Council at Doaksville passed a law without changing the Constitution, and changed the seat of the capital to Nanih Waya for the Council to be held in 1852. It appears that no Council was held at either place. Laws and resolutions passed by the Council in 1852 and 1853 were pronounced illegal. The Skullyville Constitution made Boggy Depot the capital of the Choctaw Nation. In 1853 Commissioners were appointed for 1853 and 1854 in lieu of the Council meeting. However in 1854 in Council at Doaksville they repealed the law making Nanih Waya the capital in 1851 and made Fort Towson the Capital. Then in 1855 and 1856 Council was held at Fort Towson. In 1854 David McCoy succeeded Cornelius McCurtain as chief of the first or Mosholatvbbi District and served until 1857. At the same

time Nicholas Cochnauer, son of David Cochnauer, succeeded George Folsom as chief of the Third or Pushmataha District and served until 1857.

In January, 1857, what is known as the Skullyville Constitution was adopted, and provided for the abolition of district chiefs, created the office of Governor of the Choctaw Nation, and selected Boggy Depot as the capital of the nation.

In October, 1857, Alfred Wade, who had been elected Governor, was sworn in and George Harkins, David McCoy and Nicholas Cochnauer received their pay as District Chiefs up to that time.

(To be continued.)

CHIEF COLONEL JOHNSON HARRIS

CHIEF COLONEL JOHNSON HARRIS

By John Bartlett Meserve.[1]

The interesting Chief Joel Bryan Mayes of the Cherokees passed away at Tahlequah on December 14, 1891, having entered upon his second term but a few weeks previously. Henry Chambers, the Assistant Chief, had preceded him in death by four days and as a consequence a young man by the name of Thomas M. Buffington, being then president of the senate, automatically became chief and served as such until December 23, 1891, when Colonel Johnson Harris, the newly elected National Treasurer, was selected by the council to fill the vacancy.

Our curiosity lingers to know the new chief who was a son of William Harris, a white man of Scotch-Irish descent and Susan Collins, his wife. William Harris was born in Georgia in 1805 and died at his plantation home near Marietta, Georgia, in 1865. Susan Collins was a daughter of Parker Collins and Nannie Cordrey, a one-half blood Cherokee Indian woman, his wife and a granddaughter of Thomas Cordrey, a white man. She was born in Georgia on February 14, 1818, and died near Warner in what is today Muskogee County, Oklahoma, July 4, 1888.[2] Colonel Johnson Harris was born near Marietta, Cobb County, Georgia, on April 19, 1856, and came with his mother to the old Indian Territory in the early seventies of the last century and settled in the Canadian District. Other members of the family had come west during the preceding years. His earliest educational advantages were the public schools in Georgia and later he attended the Cherokee Male Academy at Tahlequah after which he taught school for several terms in the Cherokee tribal schools. He became a highly successful stockman and

[1] Judge John Bartlett Meserve is making a study of the Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes. He lives at Tulsa.

[2] Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921); Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938).

rancher in the Canadian District near Warner, where he married Nannie E. Fields, a daughter of Richard Fields and Rachel Elizabeth Goss, his wife, on April 12, 1877. She was born on October 7, 1849, and died on November 14, 1887. After her death he married Mamie Elizabeth Adair, a daughter of William Penn Adair and Sarah Ann Adair, his wife, on March 4, 1891. She was born on June 12, 1864, and died on November 11, 1902. He thereafter married Caroline Alice Collins, nee Hall, a widow.

Colonel Johnson Harris entered the political life of the Cherokee Nation in 1881 when he was elected senator from the Canadian District and served in that capacity until 1885, was president of the Cherokee senate from 1883 to 1885 and was dispatched as a delegate from the tribe to Washington in 1889 and 1895. He was elected National Treasurer of the Cherokee Nation on the Downing ticket on August 3, 1891, and on December 23, 1891, was selected by the council as chief to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Chief Joel B. Mayes whom he had served as secretary during his first term. The advancement of Colonel J. Harris to political preferment in the Cherokee Nation was quite rapid.

The tenure of Chief Harris was the years of the initial activities of the famous Dawes Commission. The Federal Government was awakening to a sober sense of its responsibility toward its Indian parishioners in the old Indian Territory, prompted by meager reports which drifted into Washington. More detailed reports made under authorization of Congress reflected alarming conditions. A special Senate Committee visited the Territory in April, 1894, to investigate conditions among the Five Tribes. In the report of the committee, the Indian governments were declared to be "non-American . . . radically wrong" and becoming worse. The Dawes Commission rendered its first report in November, 1894, and stated, "Corruption of the grossest kind openly and unblushingly practiced has found its way into every branch of the tribal governments." The Commission further stated that a few able and energetic Indians, nearly

all mixed bloods and adopted white citizens, were dominating the tribal governments and monopolizing the best land to the detriment of the full blood Indians. Obviously, the whites from the States had become the Nomads, rather than the Indians, during those early formative days.

Under authority of the Cherokee council, Chief Harris appointed a committee to confer with the Dawes Commission but who were instructed to insist upon the observance of all treaty obligations which guaranteed self-government for the Cherokees. The committee was expressly forbidden to enter into any negotiations for the allotment of the tribal domain. Chief Harris during his term continued to parry the efforts of the Commission to reach any definite conclusions with the Cherokee government. An intertribal conference was called by Chief Harris to meet at Checotah, Creek Nation, on February 19, 1894, to consider the demands of the Dawes Commission but nothing was accomplished. It was not until the regime of Chief Samuel H. Mayes who succeeded Chief Harris that the Commission was able to secure a favorable response from the Cherokee government. Chief Harris bitterly opposed the allotment policy of the Government.

Occasioned by some minor disagreement with the council, impeachment charges were lodged against Chief Harris by the lower house on December 14, 1893, but were repudiated by the senate after a trial, on December 28, 1893.[3]

The engaging effort of his administration was the collection and *per capita* disbursement of the monies derived fom the Government from the sale of the celebrated Cherokee strip. The matter was deferred and some dissension provoked because of claims made by the Delawares, Shawnees, and freedmen in whose interests suits had been filed in the Court of Claims at Washington. The chief summoned the council in extra session in April, 1894, to consider the situation and after an exhaustive delineation of conditions concluded his message,

[3] *Muskogee Phoenix*, December 28, 1893.

> "If our internal dissensions are not allayed, but fostered by legislation tending to array one class of our citizens against another, our fight against the advocates of those seeking a change in our present form of government, will be much more difficult. Many of us may differ as to what rights the various classes of our people have, yet it must be conceded that, if we would resist allotment of our lands and consequent disruption of our political autonomy, we should legislate to cement our whole people into one loyal citizenship, with common interests and a common destiny. . . . The interest of our people demand your early and earnest consideration of all necessary action in arranging for an immediate distribution of the money now in readiness and subject to the order of the Cherokee Nation."[4]

The disbursement of this fund amounting to $6,640,000 was made in the summer of 1894 by *per capita* payments in the sum of $265.71. Much disorder was occasioned at the various places where the payments were made and this in spite of the proclamation of Chief Harris warning his people against crooks and sharpers and urging temperance and good order and exhorting them not to gamble or waste their money but save it and improve their farms.[5]

The chief was not a candidate to succeed himself in the fall of 1895 but passed on the robes of office to Chief Samuel H. Mayes as his successor. Chief Harris established his residence at Tahlequah in 1887 where he continued to reside until his death on September 25, 1921. He rests in the old Tahlequah cemetery where his grave is covered by a solid concrete casement with rounded top but which bears no inscription, not even his name.

Chief Harris was a member of the Methodist Church, South and of the Masonic and Odd Fellows societies. He was a large man standing six feet and weighing over 200 pounds. He was very erect in carriage and had dark hair and grey eyes.[6]

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[4] *Indian Chieftain*, April 28, 1894.

[5] S. W. Harman, *Hell on the Border* (Ft. Smith, 1898), pp. 702-6; T. H. Ballenger, *Around Tahlequah Council Fires*, pp. 83 et seq.; Charles F. Meserve, *The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 15 et seq.

[6] The writer acknowledges indebtedness to Hon. C. J. Harris, a son of Chief Harris, who resides at Pryor, Oklahoma, for much valuable information. Mr. Harris is now (1939) and has been for several years the County Clerk of Mayes County.

The chief was a clean, high class gentleman but rather modest and retiring. He manifestly was unwilling to compose himself to the potential changes in the communal land ownership of the Cherokees which was being demanded by the Government though the Dawes Commission. Although himself possessing but a minor fraction of Indian blood, his vision upon the all engrossing questions was more in accord with the full blood members of the tribe. He felt that allotment of the tribal domain was being prematurely undertaken. The chief understood and spoke very little of the Cherokee tongue and addressed the more primitive members of his tribe in English through an interpreter. His name appears upon the approved rolls of the Cherokee tribe opposite roll number 14110 as shown by census card number 5895 and to him was allotted his distributive share of the tribal domain. The years of his tenure as chief of the Cherokees were highly important years in the affairs of that tribe.

THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA FROM THE EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW

Translated and edited by H. C. Peterson[1]

The following accounts from European newspapers give an idea of what the Europeans read about the opening of Oklahoma. It is interesting to note that very few articles appeared in the weeks before the opening or in the weeks immediately afterwards. From the twenty-first of April to the 25th attention was directed towards Oklahoma.

The Times of London, April 22, 1889

"The caravans of settlers, having crossed the Cherokee Strip to the northern boundary of Oklahoma, are spreading for miles along the boundary line where they will camp till noon tomorrow. Thousands last night paraded along the edge, singing, firing their arms, and making a deafening din to mark their arrival. The troops guard the entire stretch of boundary for miles in order to prevent any premature crossing. All wagons are permitted to be hauled to the line, ready for instant entrance when the starting signal is given, and they fringe the boundary for a hundred miles.

"The selling of liquor within Oklahoma is forbidden. More caravans toil along the muddy trails today towards the boundary. The Atchison railway runs southwards through the center of Oklahoma and the officials are massing trains filled with goods and settlers ready to enter tomorrow, when their means of transportation will be tested to the utmost extent. The enhanced travel to Oklahoma strengthened the Atchison Company's shares last week. The Boomers do not like this state of things. Soldiers guard the railway bridges to prevent any accident. Thousands from various parts of Texas today fill Purcell on the southern boundary, where wild revelry goes on.

"Noon tomorrow will witness a mad rush from all sides on fleet ponies to take the choicest lands, as the first comers will secure the first right to the homesteads."

Le Figaro Paris, France, Monday, 22 April 1889

"Today, Monday, at exactly mid-day there will take place in the United States an event which could not possibly

[1] Dr. H. C. Peterson is a member of the faculty of the History Department at the University of Oklahoma, Norman.

be imitated in old Europe in spite of her desire to imitate America: it is at that hour that President Harrison has set for the opening of the reservation of Oklahoma.

"Reservation? Oklahoma? Exactly, and here is what this reservation is. The Indians, driven continually towards the west by the insatiable American settlers, were located in immense territories to which were given the name of reservations. Little by little they were driven even from these reservations and it is the Reservation of Oklahoma which is being opened tomorrow to civilization, that is to say, to a species of civilization, to homeless people who desire to take possession of these rich and fertile lands.

"For some years white people have attempted to seize Oklahoma and for weeks bands of armed adventurers, foreseeing the intention of the American Government and being aware of the strength of claims of first occupants, have tried to enter the territory of Oklahoma, a territory which extends over 1,800,00 acres. It was scarcely a month ago, on the eighteenth of March, that the governor of Kansas was obliged to send cavalry to burn the camps of squatters who were taking possesion of the biggest part of the reservation without any attention to legal processes.[2] And in the presence of these facts the President on the twenty-seventh of March, fixed the twenty-second of April as the beginning of the run for land. In order to prevent any abuses, insofar as it was possible, he has stated that all individuals found in the territory of Oklahoma before the twenty-second of April, at midday, will lose the right of acquiring land.

"The settlers, therefore, are anxious to be there on time and to get as close to the boundary line as possible. Dispatches from Philadelphia are filled with details: all the country which borders on the reservation is flooded with caravans and processions of all kinds. More than twenty thousand people have come from the South, more than fifty thousand from the East, and all this crowd is armed to the teeth; a general fight is inevitable. Too, the Government intends later to open another reservation of some six million acres. Perhaps there will be room there for everyone.

"In all the picturesque things which have come out of America nothing is more striking than the statement that 'there will be fights especially in those localities which appear suitable for the location of towns.' Here we seem to

[2] Only the national government could have taken such a step as this in Oklahoma before the opening.

have returned to the heroic age! There is also 'A convoy of a hundred wagons filled with wooden coffins of various kinds'—a real American touch. Financiers are also not lacking. Two companies have been formed in New York City for the purpose of building the capital city of the new state: the one wished this to be Oklahoma City, the other 'Reno City.' There are railroad companies also which have their workers ready, pickaxe in hand, to enter the territory to commence work. But what appears to me most American is that in each group of immigrants one will find at least two lawyers who are entrusted with the task of defending all claims to land regardless of the means by which the land was obtained. One reads their advertisements in all the newspapers of Arkansas.

"One must not think that these farmers making the run intend to take up a permanent residence; they are not thinking of it. They want to take possession of a country where possession gives title and the right to sell to those who follow. When this run is finished there will still be more land to the west, there are still 23,000,000 acres to clear and resell. There is still enough left to keep busy for a long time these 'pioneers of civilization' who, in the opinions of Americans themselves, are an outrageous bad lot, capable of anything and afraid of nothing. There are some among them who at least have the merit of orginality. These are those who want to cross the frontier in a balloon letting it fall at the location which seems to them to be the most desirable. These aeronauts are originally from Indiana. Correspondents have not thought it worth while to give their names, which is to be regretted. They really should be known.

"In any case that which comes after the great 'battle' of tomorrow will be singular indeed. Oklahoma will be able to develop very rapidly; it is already completely surrounded by civilized states. Railroad lines are established before farmers have put a plow in the fertile soil. We shall tomorrow witness the sudden appearance of a civilization. In one rapid move modern culture will be brought to this wilderness. It is impossible to foresee who will be killed, robbed, plundered, or murdered. And what imprecations will arise to the heavens from the 'Leather-Stockings' against these people who have chased them from their lands! That would be a fine subject for thought for a philosopher. But I strongly fear that among the 70,000 farmers tomorrow there will be no philosopher. If there is one—everything being possible—he will strike with only slightly less force than the others, for he will have read Darwin and will know the value of

the fight for life. Like Daudet he will find this a very interesting 'struggle for existence' to talk about."

Le Temps, Paris France, April 22, 1889

"Oklahoma will be opened tomorrow to that immense crowd which presses against its borders. Payne, the ex-doorkeeper of the House of Representatives in Washington, who has led so many expeditions into this promised land and who has always been ejected by federal troops, finally will be repaid for his efforts.[3] The railroad company, which has received from Congress title to some hundreds of thousands of acres of land on both sides of its line in this fertile territory—a concession which would only have value with the opening of the territory to farmers from the East and North —is now going to reign where formerly there wandered the poor tribes of Apaches, Comanches, Seminoles, Creeks and other noble savages whose names awaken a familiar echo in all our imaginations.

"It is a novel exodus which has entrained in Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. All these sturdy adventurers with their brawny arms, rude and simple manners, after a century or more, by a sort of providential irony, are still wherever they go, the pioneers of that complicated and penny-pinching civilization and legality which they are attempting to escape by constantly moving farther and farther away."

[3] Payne was already dead.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EARLY HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG THE BAPTISTS OF OKLAHOMA

By Fred G. Watts[1]

A young New Yorker, Almon C. Bacone, came to Tahlequah in 1878 to work with the Cherokee Male Seminary. After two years he decided that a Baptist school should be established. He resigned his position and obtained permission to start a school in the Baptist Mission House at Tahlequah. The new school opened on February 9, 1880, with three students. In 1881 he petitioned the Creek Council at Okmulgee to give a grant of land on which to erect a school. At first his request was denied but later the request was granted through the insistence of William McCombs and a grant of one hundred and sixty acres was made. A committee, consisting of J. S. Murrow, Daniel Rogers, and A. C. Bacone, was appointed by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society to select a site. The school was opened near Muskogee in the spring of 1883. Several years after the death of Bacone the name was changed from Indian University to Bacone College.[2] On June 5, 1885, A. C. Bacone, from the committee on Education, submitted the following resolution to the Baptist Convention:

> "Resolved, that the officers and executive committee of this Convention be appointed a committee to seek out from our churches, Christian young men and women to encourage their education and so far as possible, secure necessary aid for them, that we may be able to raise up trained workers for this territory."[3]

The committee appointed was composed of A. C. Bacone, Samuel Rice, and B. F. Alley. At this same Convention a

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[1] Professor Fred G. Watts is a member of the faculty of Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee.

[2] J. W. Jent, Oklahoma Baptist University Silver Anniversary *Bulletin*, February 22. 1937; E. C. Routh, *The Story of Oklahoma Baptists* (Oklahoma City, 1932), pp. 45, 56-57; *Seventeenth Annual Catalogue* . . . of Indian University . . . Bacone . . 1896-1897, p 9.

[3] *Proceedings of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, June 5, 1885,* held in the Creek Nation, Hillibee Baptist Church, Indian Territory.

resolution was passed commending the work of Indian University, now Bacone College, located at Muskogee, Indian Territory. It was then, and still is, under the supervision of the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York.

Succeeding conventions reported progress and continued to formulate plans for wider service as evidenced by the report at the meeting of September 13 and 14, 1889, which was held with the Atoka Baptist church, which report recommended "the mission schools of Muskogee, Tahlequah, Sasakwa, Atoka, Levering Mission, Kulli-Iuli, and Anadarko." At the same time "Brother ReQuah spoke of the desire of Lone Wolf, Chief of the Kiowas, to have a school among his people."[4]

Among the names frequently mentioned in the early period were those of W. P. Blake, D. N. Crane, A. J. Holt, and C. Stubblefield, who became active in forming policies for the white Baptist schools also.

The convention of 1889 deplored the death of A. C. Bacone and also passed a resolution which recognized the need for Baptist schools for white children in the Territory.[5] At the next meeting held with the South McAlester, Indian Territory, First Baptist church, a resolution was adopted which invited white students to attend Baptist schools of the territories and asked that five members of the Board of Trustees of Indian University be nominated by the Territorial Convention.[6]

The minutes show that the name of the assembly was changed to "The Baptist Convention of Oklahoma and Indian Territories" at Duncan, Indian Territory, June 15-18, 1898. At the first meeting of the Oklahoma Baptist Convention, succeeding the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian and

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[4] *Proceeding of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Indian Territory, September 13-14, 1889.*

[5] *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Oklahoma and Indian Territories,* held with the First Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, June 25, 27, 1889.

[6] *Idem ante* (Note 4) one year later.

Oklahoma Territories, a resolution was passed recommending a committee to "Thoroughly investigate the need of the field, the methods of organization of institutions of higher learning and present a plan for the organization of a Baptist College."[7] They also resolved to ask aid and advice from the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the American Baptist Educational Society. The Committee appointed was composed of Judge W. H. Anderson, Chairman, Enid, L. H. Buxton, Oklahoma City, C. W. Brewer, Norman, Rev. Job Ingram, Kingfisher, and R. W. Ramsey, Guthrie.

A second period begins with the Oklahoma Baptist College, which was finally located at Blackwell, Oklahoma, after bids had been received from several other cities. This town was chosen because its progressive citizens recognized the value of such an institution to such extent as to back up their belief with a substantial bonus and because it was a "beautiful little city of 4,500 population, with water works, electricity, sewers, and natural gas. All the leading denominations of Christians are represented and have good houses of worship. It is in the center of one of the richest agricultural regions in the world, and is reached by rail from six directions."[8]

The first board of trustees consisted of W. A. Rowe, Chandler, Oklahoma Territory; J. M. Via, Braman, Oklahoma Territory, W. N. Sandusky, Shoner, Oklahoma Territory, A. B. Kirk, Kremlin, Oklahoma Territory, T. E. Donaldson, N. J. Davis, R. J. Nesbitt, Walter Pruett, J. M. Sester, J. C. Day, George T. Jones, and A. Catlett.

On December 4, 1899, the Board chose W. N. Sandusky, J. M. Via, A. B. Kirk, W. A. Rowe, and R. J. Nesbitt as a building committee "to adopt plans and specifications and erect a building."[9] After many meetings and much planning, the corner stone for the new building was laid October 13, 1900.

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[7] *Minutes of the Oklahoma Baptist Convention,* which met at the First Baptist Church, Enid, Oklahoma Territory, in June, 1889.

[8] *Catalogue, Oklahoma State Baptist College, 1908-1909.*

[9] *Minutes, Board of Trustees,* December 4, 1889.

Professor James A. Beauchamp was elected President, February 21, 1901, and on September 4 of that same year the college was opened for work. The State Convention met in October, 1902, at Enid, and during the convention, on October 13, went en masse to Blackwell and formally dedicated the building.

With high hopes the program was launched, but President Beauchamp resigned in 1903. M. P. Hurst acted as chairman of the faculty until August 2, 1904, when A. P. Stone was elected president and occupied the position until September, 1908, when Dr. J. R. Jester was elected "at a salary of $2,000 the year." Dr. Jester served only one year, and Dr. J. H. Moore was elected to succeed him.

The election of Dr. Moore marks the beginning of the end for Oklahoma Baptist College. He made a splendid effort to unify the forces in Oklahoma, but gave up in despair in 1910. He resigned to lead some of his faculty and students to a new venture at Oklahoma City. The new school was called Carey College and lasted some four weeks. This was a year of such severe drought and business depressions that, with the closing of this young school, Dr. Moore left the state. However, the library of Carey College finally found its way to Oklahoma Baptist University and is there at present.

Doctor Anderson E. Bateman officiated until the close of the Blackwell school, which marks the end of another chapter in the struggle of Oklahoma Baptists for religious education.

Of those who fought so heroically for Christian education in those pioneer days, only a few can be mentioned. Some have passed on, others are still helping to carry on; A. G. West, Dr. W. A. Wood, Dr. J. T. Lee, father of Senator Josh Lee (a former student at Oklahoma Baptist College), Dr. J. A. Sutton, Dr. W. D. Moorer, Rev. John F. Elder, Rev. J. W. Solomon, father of Dean L. E. Solomon of Oklahoma Baptist University, O. M. Swain, C. M. and D. N. Curb, and many others.

The tragic end may be described in the words of the last

report given to the Board of Trustees of Oklahoma Baptist College. It said in part:

> "The sad history of Baptist Educational affairs in this state should not cause our people to relax their interest in Baptist schools. We should rally our forces and double our energies and build up a strong school system in this good Commonwealth.
>
> "It is true the college which we have had the honor to serve as trustees is lost; it is true our hearts have for long seasons carried awful burdens because of conditions that threaten the very life of the beloved institution; it is true many hours of day and night have been spent in prayer to God for deliverance; it is true the signal of distress and calls of help have gone out time and again to the denomination at large; it is true our souls have drunk the very drugs of disappointment, akin to despair; yet, we, the members of your Board of Trustees, have come through it all without bitterness of feeling, and with a spirit of repining. God reigns, we are his people. We believe in him. Let us take courage and join hands and hearts in some constructive, fraternal and co-operative movement to build up in our beloved state a system of educational work that shall secure the confidence of our entire brotherhood and the blessings of Jehovah God."[10]

And so ends the second period of our story.

The third phase begins with the birth of Oklahoma Baptist University. The Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory Conventions were consolidated at Shawnee, Oklahoma, in 1906, and at that meeting an Educational Commission was appointed to "study carefully and impartially existing educational conditions as they affect our denominational interest." The Commission made a report one year later, 1907, at Ardmore as follows:

> "We find that our present school equipment is wholly insufficient to meet the demands of the denomination, for the reason that upon investigation we find that there are more than 700 Baptist young men and women (upon a conservative estimate) who are receiving their higher education in our state schools other than denominational schools . . . . Your commission in view of these facts, took into consideration the question of the advisability of the establishment of a new institution of higher learning, and passed the following

[10] *Report* of the Board of Trustees of Oklahoma State Baptist College, given at Chickasha, Oklahoma, 1913.

> resolution by unanimous vote: 'That it be the sense of this Commission that as soon as practicable a new Baptist University be established.' "[11]

A board of trustees was approved November 11, 1908, consisting of the following members:[12] W. P. Blake, Okmulgee, George E. McKinnis, Shawnee, J. L. H. Hawkins, Mangum, W. W. Chancellor, McAlester, W. S. Wiley, Muskogee, William Crawford, Cherokee, C. W. Brewer, Okemah, R. E. Hamilton, Kingfisher, E. A. Wesson, Hobart, E. D. Cameron, Guthrie, Dr. H. C. Todd, Oklahoma City, J. W. Jennings, Altus, A. G. Washburn, McAlester, J. A. Scott, Oklahoma City, and J. B. Garrison, Oklahoma City.

Several towns, among them Lawton, El Reno, Shawnee, Chickasha, Blackwell, and Hobart, submitted offers which were considered, and later Sulphur, Guthrie, and Oklahoma City. Finally, in 1910, the school was located at Shawnee, a city which "occupies a unique place in the history of our state. It is neither in the old Indian Territory nor the Oklahoma Territory; it was located in the Pottawatomie Nation . . . . Therefore it is not only centrally located, but is a place where all forces can easily unite."[13] In that year the board of trustees were as follows: Sherman Moore, Frederick, W. S. Wiley, Muskogee, F. M. Masters, Ardmore, W. A. Moffitt, Erick, D. Noble Crane, Pawhuska, L. C. Wolfe, Shawnee, A. G. Washburn, McAlester, P. J. Conkwright, Sapulpa, Forrest Maddox, El Reno, R. E. Cornelius, Hugo, George W. Sherman, Chickasha, E. A. Wesson, Hobart, Walter Taylor, Shawnee, A. M. Croxton, Ada, J. H. Scott, Alva, J. W. Jennings, Altus, F. M. Overlees, Bartlesville, George L. Hale, Oklahoma City, W. P. Blake, Shawnee (Chairman), George E. McKinnis (Secretary), Robert Hamilton, Watonga, C. W. Brewer, Okemah, D. N. Curb, Mangum, and William Crawford, Weatherford.[14]

It was further reported that the City of Shawnee had providad a bonus of sixty acres of ground "worth one thousand dollars per

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[11] *Report, Commission on Education to State Baptist Convention, Ardmore, 1907.*
[12] *Minutes, Baptist General Convention, 1908-1909.*
[13] *Report, Baptist General Convention, Muskogee, 1910.*
[14] *Proceedings of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, 1910.*

acre, and a cash bonus of one hundred thousand dollars." The contract has been faithfully carried out and the city continues heartily to support the school with both influence and money.

The Charter also provided for absolute control of the school by the Convention. On February 10, 1910, the Board elected W. P. Blake, W. S. Wiley, E. A. Wasson, J. A. Scott, and George E. McKinnis, with instructions to "adopt plans, employ an architect and let the contract for the erection of an Administration building." Charles Sudhoelter and Company, Muskogee, were employed as architects, and, one June 3, 1910, a contract was entered into which included C. R. Higgins and C. R. Furnas, contractors and builders of Shawnee, for the erection of the Administration building to cost $94,660, exclusive of architects' fees, lighting, heating, and furnishings. W. P. Blake was appointed to have supervision over the building.

The corner stone was not laid until February 22, 1911. The inscription on the corner stone reads: "The Baptist University of Okla[homa], founded 1910, A.D., Board of Trusttees: W. P. Blake, Chairman, W. S. Wiley, F. M. Masters, W. A. Moffitt, D. Noble Crane, L. C. Wolfe, A. C. Washburn, P. J. Conkwright, G. E. McKinnis, Secretary, G. Maddox, R. E. Cornelius, G. W. Sherman, E. A. Wesson, S. Moore, D. N. Curb, William Crawford, E. D. Cameron, W. Taylor, A. M. Croxton, J. H. Jennings, F. M. Overlees, George L. Hale, Robert Hamilton, Corner stone laid Feb. 22, 1911, A.D." At this time William Crawford was the principal speaker. Addresses were also made by Rev. George L. Hale, Rev. A. M. Hall, Rev. M. Hall Snodgrass, Dr. A. J. Holt, of the *Baptist Oklahoman,* Rev. W. L. Marks, of the *Word and Way,* Dr. Bruce Kinney, of the Home Mission Society, and Dr. J. F. Love of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Concention.[15]

Although the building was not completed that year, the Board felt that the University should open in September and arranged to begin the session with temporary quarters in the First Baptist Church, Convention Hall, and Shawnee High School. Dr. J. M.

[15] *Minutes, Baptist General Convention, 1910.*

Carroll of Waco, Texas, was chosen president, who in turn chose a splendid faculty. Because of lukewarm attitudes, drought, and general depressed business conditions, the school suspended operations at the end of the first school year, leaving the Baptists without an institution of higher learning.

Here may be mentioned two other attempts at establishing schools. The story of the first one began as follows:

> "The Southwestern Association of Congregational Churches founded at Hastings, Oklahoma, 1903, a preparatory school, was sold by order of court to satisfy claims of the creditors. The Baptist people of Hastings, assisted by the citizens, purchased the property and tendered it to Comanche and Mullens County Associations at their respective sessions of 1907, on condition that these associations finish the building and maintain a school . . . .
>
> The name 'Hastings Baptist College' was chosen for this institution. School opened October 28, 1907, under the auspices of the Hastings Baptist Church, with Rev. C. R. Hairfield, the pastor, president. The enrollment of the first day was 29, but before the close of the session more than one hundred had matriculated. At the close of the session Rev. C. R. Hairfield resigned the presidency and Rev. R. A. Rushing was elected to this position and served one year. When the Board of Trustees came to Charter the school it was agreed that a name more suited to the location and environment should be given it, and it was Chartered as the Southwest Baptist College."[16]

In 1910 it was decided to move the school to Mangum, Oklahoma, since the school was in debt and the First Baptist Church at Mangum had a building sufficiently large in which to begin a college. Reverend J. L. H. Hawkins was pastor and president, and the school succeeded in running until 1913, when it, too, closed its doors forever. In this venture some six hundred students received instruction and approximately one hundred thousand dollars was expended.

In 1913 J. W. Harreld reported the status of the educational program to the state Baptist Convention as follows:

> "Your Educational Commission begs leave to report that we have been unable to make much progress since the last meeting of this Convention, though we have had several meetings and have tried our best to carry out the instructions given us

[16] *Catalogue, Southwest Baptist College, 1909-1910.*

> at the last Convention, and to make effective the policy adopted by you at that time. In spite of our efforts Oklahoma Baptist College at Blackwell has been compelled to suspend (sic) because of financial difficulties, and is no more, The Southwestern College at Mangum has also suspended and at this time we have no school system which we adopted several years ago, except the college at Shawnee, which is suffering from a case of suspended animation, but which we believe is now in position to grow into the great college we have so long hoped for.'"[17]

Oklahoma Baptist University opened its doors once more in the autumn of 1915 at Shawnee. It occupied the new administration building which had just been completed.[18] According to the report made to the Convention that year "the results of the session were very gratifying."[19]

A new president, Dr. F. M. Masters. was elected in that year. Associated with him were the following faculty members: Dr. F. Erdman Smith, dean, Dr. W. D. Moorer, J. N. Owens, Dr. J. W. Jent, and W. T. Short. Lack of space prevents giving details of the administrations of Presidents J. A. Tolman, J. B. Lawrence, W. W. Phelan, W. C. Boone, Hale V. Davis, and John W. Raley, each of whom has contributed his share to the progress of the institution.

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[17] *Minutes, Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, 1913.*

[18] Routh, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[19] "Report of the Oklahoma Baptist University to the Baptist General Convention," *Proceedings of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, 1916.*

GOVERNOR A. J. SEAY

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GOVERNOR A. J. SEAY

Edited by Dan W. Peery[1]

In volumes seven and eight of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,*[2] a series of articles was published under the caption, "The First Two Years." In these continued articles the writer attempted to give in a chronological order the more important events which had taken place in the Territory of Oklahoma from the date of the original opening until the close of George W. Steele's administration as governor. The author recited the story of the great race for homes and gave at length many of the important events which occurred during the first year of Oklahoma Territorial history while Oklahoma had no legal local government. These articles also told of the passage of the Act of Congress May 2, 1890, known as the Organic Act which provided for territorial government.

This story of the first two years tells of the appointment, by the President, of George W. Steele, of Indiana, as governor and also of the election of the first territorial legislature. It gives the history of the one hundred and twenty turbulent days' session of the first lawmaking body which located the Normal School at Edmond, the University at Norman and the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater and voted to locate the capital at Oklahoma City. The story included an account of the opening of the Sac and Fox and of the Pottawatomie reservations and concluded with the resignation of Governor Steele, which became effective on October 18, 1892.

In a later number of *The Chronicles,*[3] there is published a biographical sketch of the life of Governor George W. Steele, devoted more especially to his service as governor of Oklahoma

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[2] VII (1929), 280-322, 419-457; VIII (1930), 94-128.

[3] XII (1934), 383-392.

from the day of his arrival in Guthrie, May 22, 1890, until he resigned and returned to his former home at Marion, Indiana.[4]

The resignation of Governor Steele was a great surprise to the people of the new territory and caused a great flurry among the Republican leaders. The naming of a governor to succeed Steele was again the function of President Benjamin Harrison. Almost everyone in the Territory, regardless of party, wanted a resident of Oklahoma appointed, and the Republicans especially urged the President to remember the "Home Rule" plank in the platform and appoint an Oklahoma man as governor. The President had ignored that plank when he appointed the first governor.

At the time President Harrison named Steele to the office of Governor, he appointed three United States Judges who were all at that time spoken of as "carpet baggers." The fact that these judges had resided in the Territory for about eighteen months, even if they held commissions by appointment, seems to have mitigated this mild impeachment against any one of them seeking the office of governor. A number of prominent citizens who had not come to the Territory with commissions in their pockets were recommended to the President for the appointment. Among those who were often spoken of for governor in the papers and whose names had been presented to the President was that of a young lawyer, orator, and scholar, A. C. Scott. He had come down into the territory the day of the opening, and, although he had no official commission, he took an active part in the provisional town governmental organization and in the preparations for the territorial government. He impressed everyone by his absolute fairness and honesty of purpose and had the respect and confidence of the people. There were many here who knew Scott in Kansas when he had been called "the boy orator." It seemed at one time that his prospects were favorable, but the fact that he was a young man and, of course, had not been a soldier in the Civil War, almost precluded him from

[4] See Dora Ann Stewart, *Growth and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City, 1933), pp. 59 ff.

receiving consideration at the hands of an administration dominated by ex-Union soldiers.

Governor Steele's resignation was sent to the President October 18, 1892, but no successor was named for several weeks.

Judge A. J. Seay resigned his place on the bench and was sworn in to the office of Governor of Oklahoma Territory February 1, 1893. It was no great surprise that Seay was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison. Seay had served in the Union Army for nearly four years and had been prominent in all party affairs after the close of the Civil War. Another reason was that he had been a long time personal and political friend of John W. Noble, of St. Louis, Missouri, the Secretary of the Interior under the Harrison Administration.

In the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society is an autobiographical sketch of Governor Seay, "written by himself and told at the request of the Oklahoma Courts." In order that it may be preserved for future historians we shall publish it, as follows:

> I was born in Amherst county, Virginia, November 28th, 1832, and brought up in Osage county, Missouri, where my parents moved when I was three years of age. I helped my father hew a little farm out of the woods from which to get a living for a large family, of whom I was the oldest boy. We had a three months school about every other winter, taught by a man who boarded around among the scholars, and who could teach spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic to the 'rule of three,' and 'hickory' the big boys when necessary.
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> When I was twenty-one years of age I left home and went to work for myself on the Missouri Pacific railroad, then building, with pick and shovel—my first 'job.'
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> At this period in Missouri's history there were no railroads or telegraph lines. The wagon roads were makeshifts out through the forests, and most of the travel was done on horseback and by boat. The pioneers relied principally for their bread on corn, for their meat on wild game and hogs, and for their dessert on maple sirup from the sugar trees and on honey from wild bees; for their clothing on wool and flax (of their own raising) and their spinning wheels and looms.

Lumber and logs were rafted down the streams and livestock driven overland to market. Practically no grain could be marketed except that grown near navigable streams.

A cow and calf could be bought for five dollars, and a gallon of whiskey for seventeen cents—or a 'picayune' a quart. Everything was cheap but money.

Having learned all that was taught in the public schools I became a teacher and saved a little money. In 1885 I went to the Academy of Steelville, Missouri, but before the end of the term my father died, and I left school to take charge of the family and administer upon the little estate. This brought me into court and business relations with a lawyer, a friend of the family, who advised me to study law. This flattered me. I had a long talk with him in which he told me that Chitty's Blackstone was the first book to read; that there were four volumes in two books, and that they cost twelve dollars! I made up my mind to purchase these books as soon as I could save that much money from the pressing demands upon me. I kept busy, looked after the family and taught school. A country lawyer died, leaving a law library consisting of an old, musty, smoked copy of Chitty and the Missouri Statutes, which were kept on the mantel. I was employed as clerk at the administrator's sale and bought that library for one dollar (the only bid), and was ridiculed by the crowd for paying too much for it. I put in all my spare time reading Chitty, and in 1860 entered the law office of Pomeroy & Seay as janitor and student.

In April, 1861, the week before Fort Sumpter surrendered, I was admitted to practice 'in all the courts of the state of Missouri!' by Judge McBride, who was then the presiding judge. He was a typical, high-toned, slave-holding southern gentleman, popular as a judge, and had a strong political following. While the court was in session the news of Major Anderson's surrender reached us. To say there was great excitement and many hot intemperate speeches by bench and bar, in the courthouse, hotels and on the streets, with the judge and court officers leading in denunciation of Lincoln and the Republican party, is putting it mildly. Judge McBride espoused the cause of the South and inveighed against the 'black abolitionists' with all the fervor of his eloquence. I was with the minority who took their stand under the Stars and Stripes. Bloodshed was imminent, and was averted only by the conservatism of a group of the older and most influential people of the town. Soon thereafter Judge McBride entered "Pap" Price's army, and was made a brigadier-general, some of the lawyers being appointed on his staff. This ended his judicial career.

Led by Capt. W. F. Geiger, I went into the federal army as a private, joining Col. J. S. Phelps' regiment. I served four years, being promoted to colonel of my regiment. I was a member of a field court martial which held occasional sessions during the last two years of the war.

Upon my return home in August, 1865, I was appointed county attorney of Crawford county and entered upon the duties of the office at once. Later I was appointed circuit attorney and held that office until Gratz Brown was elected governor in 1870, when I resigned and engaged in the general practice.

Missouri's judiciary at that time was composed of justice courts, county courts (having probate jurisdiction), circuit courts (having general and appellate jurisdiction), and a supreme court of three judges. The duty of the circuit attorney was to attend the grand jury, draw indictments and prosecute criminals in all the counties presided over by the judge of his circuit.

It was a hard school, my teachers cross and unsympathetic, but as I studied hard to win my cases and was fairly treated by the judge, though some criminals escaped, I secured many convictions. I made a record in that office of which I have never been ashamed.

In 1870 there were a large number of former Republicans, led by Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, calling themselves 'Liberal Republicans,' who characterized the regulars as 'Hateites.' When the convention met in August to nominate a state ticket, the regulars organized and nominated McClurg, and the "Liberals" bolted the convention, and nominated Gratz Brown for governor. I was a member of that convention, and made the speech of my life against the bolt, predicting that if two tickets were placed in the field the Democrats would make no nominations, support the "Liberals," capture the state next election, and that the party would not recover from the blow 'for a quarter of a century.' This prediction was more than verified.

The Liberals, assisted by the Democrats, were triumphant, and the party suffered a crushing defeat. In 1872 the assistants took charge of the field, relegated the liberals to the rear as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and buried the Republican party in Missouri. Roosevelt resurrected it in 1904, and Major William Warner, the 'Mysterious Stranger,' was sent to the senate.

In 1872 R. P. Bland (one of my law associates) was nominated for congress in the 5th congressional district, comprising sixteen counties in the Ozark Hills bordering on Arkansas. In 1874 we again opposed each other. He had spent four years of his young manhood among the silver mines in the Rocky and Sierra mountains and was imbued with the spirit of the pioneers and miners of the west, ready to combat anything that seemed to favor the north and east. Born in Kentucky, brought up in Missouri, located in Nevada, his environment did not attract him to the Union army, though it biased him along sectional lines and gave him a tender sympathy for the poor, which found heroic and fearless expression in his after political life. I had but one faint hope of carrying the district in 1872, and none whatever in 1874, but having consented to make the race at the solicitation of admiring friends, who had more hope of the situation than I had, I unhesitatingly accepted his challenge to meet him in joint debate. I believed that I could hold my own with him, and that it would aid me to climb in my profession.

We had forty joint discussions. He found nothing to commend in the conduct of the war or subsequent legislation by congress. He denounced the north and east as 'Skylocks' and oppressors, and held up the south and west as the 'oppressed.' He favored the unlimited issue of greenbacks and the repudiation of the contract to pay the bonds of the government in gold, demanding that they be paid in greenbacks, and declaring that 'if greenbacks were good enough for the plowholder they were good enough for the bond-holder.' Our district was agricultural and this climax filled the air with——— of approval. His Phillipic against the 'money power' included the national banks.

Those arguments were hard to answer in a farming district that had been devastated by marauders from both sides during the war, and whose people had not recovered from their losses. I approved the act of Congress in issuing gold bearing bonds and asserted that at the time they were issued the nation was in the throes of a mighty rebellion which threatened the destruction of the Union and the bankruptcy of all; that the treasury was depleted and the enemy aggressive, winning battles and threatening the capital, while the soldiers of the Union, fighting for their country, were unpaid and but half clad and half fed; that in this dire extremity the government asked the people to loan it money to feed, clothe, pay and equip the army so that the war might be successfully prosecuted, and offered the gold bonds bearing six per cent interest; but the leaders having faith that Uncle Sam would

keep his promise, came forward with the money; and that this made it possible for us to prosecute the war to a successful close, and without this aid we would certainly have failed.

I declared that to pay these loans in greenbacks, or in any money inferior in value to gold, was repudiation which would destroy the credit of the government at home and abroad, put us on the road to anarchy, and finally engulf us all in monarchy; that people were misled to believe that the unlimited issue of greenbacks and the free and unlimited coinage of silver was greatly needed and a lawful "expansion of the currency," whereas it was a declaration by the government that its contracts would not be sacredly kept; that when sick and in need of a doctor it promised too much for his medicine, but not, having recovered, it would settle the bill at fifty cents on the dollar, if at all.

Saying nothing of our personal popularity, Mr. Bland's stand against the 'money power,' the 'crime of '73,' the civil rights bill, amendment to the constitution and the 'negro menace,' made him invincible with the people of Missouri. I could not break his ranks, so I lost.

I believed in '74 that Bland was a demagogue, asking the votes of a prejudiced and not a well informed constituency for his own political advancement, but am glad to say that I had misjudged and wronged him. He was a plain, blunt, strong man, frank and honest, battling for the right as he saw it. He was absolutely incorruptible, and his political creed, for the most, has become the battle cry of the Democratic party. He soon became a leader in the house. His denunciation of the 'salary grab' and the 'robber tariff,' his advocacy of the unlimited issue of greenbacks and his never-ending fight for 'free silver' endeared him to the yeomanry of the country.

During the extra session called by President Cleveland in August, 1893, to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, Mr. Blaine introduced a bill providing for the restoration of the coinage system prevailing before 1873, re-establishing free coinage, while Mr. Wilson introduced the administration bill. It was during the renowned debate on the Wilson bill (William L. Wilson) that Mr. Bland speaking for the Mississippi valley and the west, said it would 'crush the people to satisfy Wall street.' Then he said in thundering tones, 'It cannot be, it shall not be done. We have come to the parting of the ways.' Mr. Bland was better entitled to the presidential nomination in 1896 than any other man in his party, but was cheated out of it by the 'cross of gold and crown of thorns' speech of Mr. Bryan. He and his brother, Hon. C. C.

Bland, ex-judge of the St. Louis court of appeals, were always my warm personal friends.

In 1875 I was elected circuit judge for the ninth judicial district of Missouri for the term of six years, and at the expiration of the term was re-elected. I then declined a third term and resumed the practice. There was nothing out of the ordinary business of a country court in my circuit worthy of statewide public interest during my twelve years as a judge, except the great Southwestern railroad strike by the 'Knights of Labor' in the early spring of 1895. They organized by thousands in St. Louis and sent out detachments to nearby towns. A force of several hundred men was sent to Pacific, Mo., in Franklin, one of the counties of my circuit, at the junction of the Frisco and Missouri Pacific railway. The terror stricken city was soon in the control of a lawless mob which was stopping trains, 'killing' engines and destroying property. Hearing of the lawless and criminal acts of the mob, and that the lives of helpless citizens were endangered, I immediately left my home at Union, Mo., and went to the scene of the rioting. I ordered the sheriff by messenger (the telegraph wires had been cut) to summon 100 deputies, which he did. Soon the sheriff and State Adjutant General J. C. Jamison, arrived with an armed force and began to serve the warrants which I had issued for the arrest of the leaders. I also issued injunctions against the destruction of property. Within twenty-four hours the mob was dispersed, many of the rioters having taken to their heels. But the leaders who were arrested were taken to jail and afterward tried before me, and some of them convicted and sent to the penitentiary.

So far as I know I was the first judge in the United States to issue injunctions in such cases. The St. Louis courts followed the course I had taken and soon order was restored and the railroads resumed traffic without further interference. General Jamison made a flattering report of my action to Governor Marmaduke, saying that I voluntarily rendered the state most important and effective service in a judicial capacity, 'which so effectively contributed to the ending of the strike.' He also said to me in a letter, 'I know you were the first judicial officer in the whole state with backbone enough to come right into the midst of the striking and law-defying rioters, and issue processes for their arrest and stay with them till they were compelled to respect the law.'

Some of our people were Knights of Labor, and the majority of the voters of Franklin county were in sympathy with the strikers and did not endorse my course; so when I became

a candidate for the legislature in 1886 the Knights knifed me at the polls, electing a Democrat from a Republican county.

The act organizing Oklahoma Territory was passed by Congress in May 1890. It provided for three judges, and 'that the judicial power shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, county courts, and justices of the peace.' President Harrison appointed E. B. Green of Illinois chief justice, and John G. Clark of Wisconsin and myself associate justices. We met in Guthrie about the 23rd of May, 1890, took the oath of office, appointed clerks, and divided the territory into three districts, as follows:

First district, Logan and Payne counties, assigned to Green.

Second district, Oklahoma and Cleveland counties, assigned to Clark.

Third district, Kingfisher, Canadian and Beaver counties, assigned to Seay.

The third district was known as the 'short-grass district,' and embraced all the unorganized territory west of the 98th meridian to the east border of the Panhandle of Texas, on the 100th meridian, was bounded by Kansas on the north and Greer county, Texas on the south. All this, except the Cherokee Outlet, was known as the Cheyenne and Arapaho country, and was occupied by the Indians of those tribes, some government troops, U. S. Indian agencies, cattlemen, and a few 'bad men of the border,' which latter gave the court some work, but it gave the officers a merry chase to capture them.

Beaver, one of the counties assigned to me, designated in the organic act as the public land strip, was known among the old-timers as 'No Man's Land,' and probably took that name from the interesting historical fact in which the institution of slavery played its part. It will be remembered that when Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave state there was an agreement between the North and the South that thereafter none of the territory of the United States north of 30 degrees, 30 minutes, the parallel of latitude called Mason and Dixon's line, should ever be admitted into the Union as slave territory. This was the Missouri Compromise. In December, 1845, the Republic of Texas knocked for admission into the Union as a slave territory. It was discovered that Texas' northern boundary extended to about 37 degrees. The North objected that it violated the Missouri compromise, whereupon Texas ceded the strip north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes to the United States and was admitted under its slave constitu-

tion, leaving 'No Man's Land' without any political existence or organized government, abandoned to the coyote, the antelope, the buffalo, and red man and the 'wild and woolly westerner.'

In order to hold court at Beaver, I had to go by rail via Wichita to Englewood, Kansas, and take stage from there 50 miles, making a trip of 300 miles; or else, go overland up the North Canadian river to Camp Supply, thence up Beaver creek to Beaver city, a distance of 200 miles from Kingfisher. There were but few people, no courthouse, and but very little business. The people were poor, except a few cow men, but fairly intelligent and law-abiding. They greeted the court warmly and were evidently pleased to know that organized government had come to stay.

The territory, comprising the seven counties, was opened to settlement April 22, 1889, but the organic act was not passed until May 2, 1890. Thousands of homeseekers from all parts of the country staked their claims and established a provisional government which was obeyed by the orderly, well-disposed people, but could be enforced, if at all, only by overwhelming public sentiment or by the cool prowess of the man behind the gun. Peace and order prevailed among the homesteaders except an occasional shooting affray between rival claimants for the same quarter section.

But in the towns it was different. There was a rough, disorderly, gambling, drinking, bawdyhouse element which was aggressive and to some extent overawed the better element, who, though in the majority, were 'negatively good' and had no taste for the 'firing line.' Gambling houses and unlicensed saloons were running wide open day and night.

Their keepers denied the existence of any law requiring a license or regulating their business in any way. I had this element to contend with. They would get some of their friends on the grand jury and prevent indictments, or, failing in this, would bring improper influences to bear on the trial jury. It was hard to prevent this, for they knew their friends better than did the court and the officers. In this way they sometimes got a 'hung jury' or an acquittal. On more than one occasion during the first year of my services, I removed jurymen whose conduct showed crookedness. In one case a man was put on trial charged with keeping a gambling and bawdy house. Twelve men were selected from the regular panel to try the case. The evidence showed his guilt 'beyond a reasonable doubt,' but the jury reported they could not agree and asked for further instructions. The only question

was whether the defendant kept the house as charged. I withdrew the instructions and gave one covering that point. After three hours more they wanted supper.

The sheriff was directed to inform them that supper would be ready as soon as they found a verdict. On my return from supper I found them ready to report a verdict of guilty. Upon asking what had detained them so long in such a plain case, a red-nosed man of some prominence in the town was pointed out as the man who had 'hung' the jury for seven hours because the court's instructions were not the law. I told him I declared the law; that the jury found the facts; that if he knew the law better than the court he should serve his friend as a lawyer and not as a juror. He was discharged and the sheriff was instructed never to bring him into court again as a juror.

After three hours' deliberation I wanted to sound the jury, so I drew instructions covering every conceivable point. That night indignation meetings were held in the gambling houses and saloons, in which the discharged juror took a prominent part, denouncing the court and the judge, but that incident ended the jury trials of that character for that term of court. All of the other defendants charged with similar offenses pleaded guilty, and submitted such mitigating circumstances as they had 'to the mercy of the court.'

Our courts had plenty of work, and were not well paid, housed or fed. We were pioneers. We had to blaze the road and build the bridges. While our work was not perfect, it gave confidence, encouragement and support to the law-abiding people of the territory. Mine was known as a 'shotgun court' on account of my bluntness in rulings and decisions, and I would not resent the charge that it was 'double-barreled and breech-loading.' Having to shoot off-hand in the dark a shotgun was more likely to do execution, and less likely than a Winchester to do irreparable injury. I got small game, to be sure, but a good deal of it, though I did not always hit the mark.

In the beginning we were short on libraries and long on jurisdiction. An examination of the 9th and 11th sections of the organic act will show that as district judges we had original and appellate jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases arising under the laws of the United States. We also had original and appellate jurisdiction specially conferred in Indian cases, and in the 'Cherokee Strip.'

My work was made lighter by the able and efficient services of the Hon. Horace Speed, U. S. Attorney for Oklahoma

Territory. A fine lawyer, an indefatigable worker and an honest man, he was a terror to evil-doers.

I was appointed governor of the territory by President Harrison to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Gov. George W. Steele, our first executive. I left the supreme bench and took the oath of office as governor on the first day of February, 1892, and at once entered upon my new duties. With the assistance of Secretary Martin, who had been acting governor for several months, and who was quite familiar with the clerical details of the office, and whom I found honest, earnest and trustworthy in every way, I soon became familiar with the business of the office.

On the 16th day of April, 1902, the Cheyenne and Arapaho country was opened and settled practically at once. Mr. E. F. Weigel was sent by the secretary of the interior, Hon. John W. Noble, to select and locate county seats, and it became my duty to appoint ten county officers in each of the six counties. I had taken no active part in politics during my services as a judge and did not know who among the politicians could be trusted to name the best men to fill these places.

I had no acquaintance with the applicants, and but slight acquaintance with the men who endorsed them. I appointed some good men, who have since been endorsed and promoted by their constituents; some were fairly good, and a few were not satisfactory. Upon them I exercised the power of 'recall.' They resigned.

The political parties were Republicans, Democrats and Populists. In August, 1892, Congress authorized the taking of a census, and got at it in this way: Three persons, one from each party, named by Congress, should go over the territory in a government mule ambulance with a driver and cook. Leslie Ross, Democrat; Samuel Crocker, Populist, and A. J. Seay, Republican, constituted the commission entrusted with the duty of estimating the population and re-districting the territory for representative purposes. We took the oath of office, laid in a commissary of rations and plenty of blankets for bedding, and the driver did the rest. After several weeks of 'field service,' we returned to Guthrie to make our report. I learned then, for the first time that our mission was a political one. The Democrat and Populist had 'fused!' The districts were gerrymandered in favor of their party friends. Two to one wins. I was whipped to a 'frazzle.'

In 1893 I went with my 'staff' to help Mr. Cleveland 'open' the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. We were well

dressed. I wore a two-story silk hat the same as the president. General Wade of the U. S. Army, with his troopers from Reno, went along in full dress uniform as an escort. The vast sea of humanity, packed like sardines, wildly cheered us along the line of march. Oklahoma was never better advertised—not even at the Denver convention. We helped Mr. Cleveland open the show, lunched with him and had a heart to heart talk with his secretary of the interior, Hoke Smith, which resulted in my removal a few days afterward. I met my successor, Hon. William C. Renfrow, at the depot in Guthrie, and took him in a carriage drawn by white horses to the governor's 'Mansion,' formally turned it over to him in the presence of his attorney and a few other admiring friends, and then, by invitation, they accompanied me to the 'government acre,' where the federal building now stands, and where I died politically, after having delivered by own funeral oration.

I never cared much for the office and was relieved from the cares without regret. I will always enjoy the memory of the abrupt ending of this my last office, with its ludicrous surroundings.

I take pride and pleasure, however, in the fact that I was officially connected with Oklahoma from its birth 'till it had grown to be a bright, strong boy; and have ever since observed with interest its development into stalwart manhood. The political weather has been rough and stormy. Dark clouds still hover over our state, but the glorious sunshine of public virtue and intelligence will drive them away.

Governor Seay died at Longbeach, California, December 22, 1915. He had been living in California for more than a year before his death but always claimed Oklahoma as his home. His body was brought back and laid to rest in the city cemetery at Kingfisher.

EARLY CREEK MISSIONS

By
Roland Hinds

Early Christian mission work among the Creeks in their original homes in Georgia and the territory which later became the State of Alabama was very difficult for a number of reasons. The second war between the United States and Great Britain had only recently terminated in a treaty which left the Creeks, who had been friendly to Great Britain, under the authority of the unfriendly Government of the United States. That Government had forced large land cessions upon the Creeks and was urging the whole people to remove beyond the Mississippi River. The fact that warriors then living in the Creek country had lost relatives in the recent war was of added bitterness because the conflict had assumed the character of a civil war. Furthermore, the probable indignation among the Indians over the growing encroachments of white hunters was instrumental in causing a considerable exodus of Creek hunters to the land beyond the Mississippi River during the period 1815-1830.[1] That the Creeks had had bitter experience with the encroachments of white men upon their territory even before 1825 is evidenced by Article Eight of the treaty under which the Lower Creeks traded their lands for lands in the West.[2] There was, therefore, little to encourage the various interested religious groups who surveyed the frontier for situations where fruitful work might be done.

Only a few years after the war, however, Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and Reverend Cyrus Byington made an offer to the Creek chiefs to establish sschools and to preach to the people.[3]

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[1] Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 33, 123, 133.

[2] Charles J. Kappler, Compiler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), II, 215.

[3] Robert M. Loughridge, History of Mission Work among the Creek Indians from 1832 to 1888, Under the Direction of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Typescript in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society), 1.

Their offer was, after consideration, rejected.[4] On December 17, 1819, the Mission Board of the Georgia Baptist Association resolved to attempt to establish a mission in the Creek country.[5] Evidence points to the fact that the Creek country had already been visited by Baptist missionaries, who had made a few converts, but it was not until 1822 that Reverend Lee Compere, of South Carolina, came among the Creeks.[6] Reverend Lee Compere entered into the work at a place called Withington, which was on the Chattahoochee River.

In 1827 a Government appropriation of one thousand dollars was secured by Colonel M'Kinney, United States Indian Agent, for the education of the Creeks.[7] This money was given to the mission schools, as there were no purely Governmental schools.[8] The missions, however, did not prosper among the Creeks because of the troubled condition of the country. Some of the Creeks' negro slaves were severely beaten for attending the services at the missions, and in 1828 or 1829 the station under Compere was abandoned.[9] The Asbury mission of the South Carolina Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, was begun in 1822 under supervision of Reverend William Capers and abandoned in 1830.[10] The Methodist mission had won seventy-one persons by 1829.[11] Yet, briefly as these missions existed, they seem to have sowed the seeds of Christianity among the Creeks, and later at Tuckabatchee, twelve miles above the North Fork in the Creek Nation, Reverend Sidney Dyer found a group of worshipping Christians who claimed their beginning from the

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[4] Solomon Peck, "History of the Missions of the Baptist Convention," *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester, 1840), 394-5.

[5] Walter W. Wyeth, *Poor Lo! Early Indian Missions, a Memorial* (Philadelphia, 1896), 64.

[6] *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, March, 1836 (*XVI*), 51.

[7] Loughridge, *op. cit.*, 1. Peck, *op. cit.*, 394-5.

[8] Peck, *op. cit.*, 394-5.

[9] William Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions* (Boston, 1849), 328. Peck, *op. cit.*, 394-5.

[10] Enoch Mudge, "History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church," *History of American Missions io the Heathen*, 537; See S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1935), 1, 12-13.

[11] Mudge, *op. cit.*, 537.

period of Creek residence in the South.[12] John Davis and his wife who served as assistants at Ebenezer, a school which was transferred from Georgia to a point near Fort Gibson in 1830,[13] were Creeks who had been converted during the troubled times in the South. They kept the school functioning for two years before a white missionary arrived to take charge.[14]

Ebenezer was first put under the charge of Reverend David Lewis, in 1832.[15] In the same year Isaac McCoy arrived to take up his labors at the mission, and he was present at the formation of the first church, in 1832.[16] This church was known as the Muscogee Baptist Church.[17] A daughter of McIntosh was baptized in 1832.[18] In 1833 a meeting house was built fifteen miles west of Cantonment Gibson and three miles north of the Arkansas River.[19] Lewis gave up his work in 1834,[20] and when Reverend David Rollin arrived, with two lady assistants, they found the church disorganized.[21] The membership was composed then of six white persons, twenty-two Indians, and fifty-four negroes.[22] Nine persons were excluded from the church in 1835.[23]

Soon after the Creeks arrived in the West, two Presbyterian preachers, William Vail and William Montgomery, came over from Union Mission and organized a church.[24] Reverend John Flemming and his wife were sent to the Creeks by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Dr. R. L. Dodge relieved Doctor Weed in 1835.[25]

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12 This church was said to have been constituted east of the Mississippi River by Reverend Thomas Mercer in 1817.

13 Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 70.

14 Gammell, *op. cit.*, 328-9.

15 Gammell, *op. cit.*, 328-9.

16 Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 66-67.

17 Peck, *op. cit.*, 548; Gammell, *op. cit.*, 328.

18 Peck, *op. cit.*, 547.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*, EDR.

20 *Ibid.*, 548.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

24 Union Mission was in the Osage country.

25 Loughridge, *op. cit.*, I.

In 1835 there were three Christian denominations working among the Creek—Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians.[26] In September, 1935, the charges of misconduct brought against the missionaries by Roley McIntosh and other chiefs caused the Creek Agent to order all of them out of the nation.[27] It was alleged that the missionaries preached against slavery,[28] and it was a fact that they received negroes into the churches, some of whom became leaders in the local groups.[29] There is some evidence that white men resident in the Creek Nation influenced the chiefs to make the request for removal of the missionaries.[30] McCoy goes so far as to say that these instigators were two traders and a white man married to a Creek woman.[31] The Creek chiefs, meeting about the last of September at Ebenezer, exonerated Rollin from all the charges brought against him.[32] The opposition which the Creek chiefs generally showed has been attributed to the fear that their authority over the people would be lessened and their ancient customs destroyed by Christianity.[33]. Dodge attributed the troubles of the missionaries to the dissensions within the Creek Nation, the unpleasant nature of their relations to the United States, the influence of white men residing near them, and the fact that missionaries of three denominations were laboring in close proximity to each other.[34]

Whatever the motives behind the actions of the Creek chiefs may have been, it is probable that the United States officials felt that there was considerable peril to the missionaries in the arrival of the lately hostile Creeks in 1836. These people had resisted the Georgia militia with force and were removed in chains by the United States Army.[35] In May, 1837, the Commis-

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[26] Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (New York, 1840), 507-12.

[27] *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1836), 25-6.

[28] McCoy, *op. cit.*, 507-12.

[29] Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 69.

[30] *Report Am. Board*, 1837, 109-10; Peck, *op. cit.*, 549.

[31] McCoy, *op. cit.*, 507-512.

[32] Peck, *op. cit.*, 549; McCoy, *op. cit.*, 507-512.

[33] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845*, pp. 601-602, (subsequently cited as *R.C.I.A.*).

[34] *Report Am. Board, 1837*, pp. 109-10.

[35] *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, XVII (1837), 23.

sioner of Indian Affairs, C. A. Harris, wrote to the acting superintendent approving his action in expelling the missionaries, but saying that he saw no reason for keeping them out, as they were authorized to be in the Indian country.[36] Evidently proceeding upon the assumption that the expulsion was only temporary, the Baptist General Convention appointed Reverend Charles P. Kellam in 1836, but he was prevented by the disorders in the Creek Nation from assuming his duties and was thus forced to remain at a Choctaw mission.[37] Rollin, although he had been exonerated by the Creek Chiefs, upon attempting to return to the nation, was refused admittance by the council.[38] The Creeks, or at least a portion of the Creeks,[39] passed a law forbidding preaching.[40] This law was not a legal restriction upon white men as Creek laws were not binding upon citizens of the United States, but the violation of it could be made the basis for a request by the Creeks to the United States officials for the removal of a troublesome missionary.

In 1837 Kellam was admitted to the Creek Nation as a Government teacher.[41] Settling at Ebenezer, he established meetings, and, in 1838, Reverend James Mason was invited to come to the nation to teach. After his arrival, he was summoned before the national council and with difficulty induced them to allow him to remain. In 1838 Kellam was deprived of his position as a Government teacher.[42] In 1840 an Indian fired at Mason and another Indian pursued him with a knife.[43] Shortly thereafter, feeling that he and his family were unsafe in the Creek

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[36] McCoy, *op. cit.*, 507-512.

[37] *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, June 1837 (XVII), 127-8.

[38] Peck, *op. cit.*, 549.

[39] The Creeks were practically divided into two nations until 1867 because of their earlier separation into a party favoring removal and a party opposed to removal. The Lower Creeks under General McIntosh removed under a treaty signed in 1826, while it was not until 1832 that the Upper Creeks gave up the struggle to keep their lands and signed a removal treaty. Several years separated their removals and in the meantime their interests became more distinct.

[40] Peck, *op. cit.*, 522.

[41] *Ibid.*, 550-1.

[42] Peck, *op. cit.*, 552.

[43] *Ibid.* Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 68.

Nation, Mason left.[44] Missionaries from the Cherokee Nation visited the Creek Christians from time to time,[45] and eventually the latter began going to the adjacent nations for worship.[46] Reverend Eber Tucker, whose station was in the Cherokee Nation, helped organize the Canadian River Baptist Church with two hundred twenty members.[47] The Seminoles refused to accept the Creek law against preaching, and it was possible to conduct meetings in their part of the Creek Nation.[48] By 1842 there were a number of prominent men among the Creeks who favored missions, and some of them went so far as to offer to construct mission houses in the Cherokee Nation if missionaries should be appointed.[49]

In 1841 Reverend R. M. Loughridge came to the Creek council and proposed that he be allowed to establish a school and preach in the Creek Nation. The chiefs told him they would take the matter into consideration in about three weeks. When the council considered his proposition, they wanted Loughridge to teach but not to preach. He reported that an old chief said, "We want a school, but we don't want any preaching; for we find that preaching breaks up all our old customs . . . our feasts, ball plays, and dances . . . which we want to keep up."[50] Loughridge told them he was a preacher and would not come to their nation unless they would let him preach. The council compromised with him, allowing him to preach at his school house. He was a little doubtful about accepting this until Ben Marshall urged upon him the consideration that he might acquire more liberty when the Indians became better acquainted with him. However, it was not until 1843 that Loughridge, with M'Kinney, who soon left, located twenty-six miles from Fort

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44 *Ibid.*, 68.
45 T. B. Ruble, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *R.C.I.A.*, 1848, pp. 526-7.
46 Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1916), I, 200.
47 Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 70-1.
48 *Ibid.*, 70.
49 *Ibid.*, 70-1.
50 Loughridge, *op. cit.*, 2-3.

Gibson, at Coweta. He found that the church organized by Vail and Montgomery had dissolved.[51]

The Creek Agent, J. L. Dawson, reported in 1842 that Roley McIntosh and Ben Marshall requested that a preacher of some denomination be sent among them.[52] Dawson recommended that if the Creeks enlarged their school fund sufficiently, a manual labor school should be established with a preacher as head teacher. He said that it was represented to the chiefs that it was not fitting that an important subject such as religion was should be left wholly in the hands of uneducated negroes.[53] Dawson said he thought that the moral condition of the Creeks was injured by their lack of religion, and that such preaching as was carried on by negroes was measurably effective in checking the general licentiousness.[54]

In 1842, largely through the efforts of Isaac McCoy,[55] the American Indian Mission Association was organized with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky. The first appointment under the new association was Reverend Johnston Lykins, son-in-law of Isaac McCoy. The second appointment was Reverend Sidney Dyer who stayed only a few months because of ill health.[56] It seems that Dyer's work was successful, however, in spite of its short duration, because his preaching led to the conversion of Joseph Islands,[57] who proved to be very influential among the Creek people.

In 1844 Agent Logan reported that Loughridge was winning the confidence of the people.[58] In that year John Limber arrived to assist Loughridge.[59] It was in 1844 that the council's

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51 *Ibid.*, 4.
52 *RCIA, 1842*, p. 511.
53 *Ibid.*, 423-4.
54 *RCIA., 1843*, pp. 423-4.
55 Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 72-3.
56 *Ibid.*, 74. Malaria was very prevalent in the Indian Territory until it was well settled.
57 *Ibid.*, 76.
58 *RCIA, 1844*, p. 472.
59 Loughridge, *op. cit.*, 4.

law against preaching and praying in public was suspended.[60] Religious societies extended their activities.[61] W. D. Collins, Methodist, reported the appointment of three local preachers, Pete Harrison, Cornelius Perryman, and Samuel Checote.[62] Persecution had not altogether died out,[63] however, and in 1845 two persons were given fifty lashes for preaching, and Peter Harrison was threatened.[64]

The elevation of Ben Marshall to be second chief of the lower towns in 1846 promised to be a beneficial event from the point of view of the missionaries, as Marshall was friendly toward missions. In October, 1846, Loughridge notified the council that inasmuch as other preachers of other denominations were being permitted to speak freely throughout the nation, he felt there should be no objection to his doing the same, and that he would proceed on the assumption that his restriction to preaching only at the mission had been removed unless they should forbid it. The council made no objections, and Loughridge from that time on preached wherever he could.[65] On February 17, 1846 John Lilley and his family arrived at Kowetah (Coweta), and Reverend John Limber left for Texas.[66]

In 1847, Reverend H. F. Buckner came to the Creek Nation to preach. The council did not consent to his presence, although he was allowed to remain.[67] A letter from Buckner (December 17, 1848) records the founding of the Big Spring Baptist Church,[68] with James Perryman, a Creek, as its first pastor. The Little

[60] Alice Hurley Mackey, "Father Murrow; Civil War Period," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), XII (1934), 55-65. William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863), 138.

[61] *RCIA, 1845,* p. 519.

[62] *RCIA, 1845,* p. 601-2.

[63] There may have been an act passed by the Creek council in 1824 or 1843 which forbade preaching. See Thoburn, *op. cit.*, I, 200. William H. Goode (*op. cit.*, 141) says, in a letter dated 1844, "Marshall disclaims wholly the oppressive act of the last Council, says it was the act of a minority and never was a law, and that the way is now open for the preaching of the Gospel among them." Agent Logan reported in 1845 that there was a standing law against preaching, *RCIA, 1845,* p. 515.

[64] Goode, *op. cit.*, 164.

[65] Loughridge, *op. cit.*, 5.

[66] Loughridge, *op. cit.*, 4.

[67] Thoburn, *op. cit.*, I, 202.

[68] *The Indian Advocate,* IV, Jan., 1850, p. 2.

River Mission to the Seminoles, under Reverend James Essex, Methodist, established in the Creek country, reported considerable opposition in 1848.[69] They had a school of fifteen children, a Sunday School of twenty, and one society with sixteen Indian and four colored members.

For some time preceding December, 1847, the Baptists had had no white missionaries among the Creeks. Preaching was carried on by Indians who proved remarkably successful. By 1848 several of the chiefs had become Christians.[70] By 1848, the Methodists, whose work had been carried on largely by visitors from the surrounding nations, had divided the Creek Nation into three districts and had appointed missionaries in charge of each district.[71] T. B. Ruble headed the Muskogee District, W. D. Collins and Daniel Asbury headed the North Fork and Little River District, and W. A. Cobb was in charge of the Creek Agency Mission. Mr. Ruble reported little opposition to religion.[72] The good standing of religion may be judged by the fact that Roley McIntosh attended a meeting held by H. F. Buckner, in 1849.[73] Buckner mentions the licensing of D. N. McIntosh, Creek, in 1850.[74]

The United States entered into contracts with the Methodist and Presbyterian Boards for the establishment of two manual labor schools at different and convenient points in the Creek Nation in 1847.[75] According to the report of Thomas B. Ruble, Superintendent of the Asbury Manual Labor School,[76] the manual labor schools were constructed jointly by Creek Nation funds which were administered by the United States and the denomination's board. In the case of the Asbury School, the Govern-

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[69] *Second Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1847*, p. 38-43.
[70] *RCIA, 1848*, p. 527-8.
[71] *RCIA, 1848*, p. 525-7.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] Letter, H. F. Buckner, Creek Agency, Sept. 25, 1849, *The Indian Advocate*, IV, Nov., 1849, p. 2.
[74] Letter, H. F. Buckner, Creek Agency, Mar. 16, 1850, *The Indian Advocate*, IV, Apr., 1850, p. 3.
[75] *RCIA, 1847*, p. 750.
[76] *Ibid., 1849*, p. 1124.

ment spent five thousand dollars to the Methodist Church, South's, four thousand dollars. Ruble mentions the difficulty of transportation which was experienced in the construction of this school. There were few roads and no railways in the Creek Nation then.

For several years after 1849, a controversy raged as to the comparative value of the manual labor schools and of the neighborhood schools in educating the Indian youth properly. Both types of schools were in charge of missionary teachers. The manual labor schools probably kept the Indian children under the influence of the missionaries longer, and thus gave the children more opportunity to forget Indian mores and superstitions. Another point raised against the system as a whole was that too little attention was paid to the mechanical arts.[77] This was a point which touched the missionaries in a vital spot. They were primarily interested in teaching the Indians religion, and they reasoned that a liberal type of education was more likely to result in the absorption of Bible knowledge than mechanical training was. Then, too, most of the missionaries were not capable of giving the students mechanical training.

It is difficult to estimate the importance of these schools to the Creeks. The teachers were quite commonly preachers who went out into the rural communities and preached, not only bringing the Christian message, but also causing social gatherings where singing was done from the Creek hymnals which they had translated into the various Creek languages.[78] Sometimes the people moved their places of residence in order that they might be near a school.[79] Evidently they had grown to appreciate the advantages of education and religion. As the Creeks became better educated, many of them became school teachers, as well as preachers. These avenues of advancement doubtless influenced the quality of scholarship and the esteem with which education

[77] David W. Eakins, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1849*, p. 1118.
[78] *RCIA, 1851*, p. 393.
[79] *RCIA, 1851*, p, 393.

and good character were regarded. At the same time, the growth of economic opportunity in the teaching profession, and the lessening of the pioneering hardships, may have produced a lower average of character and religious enthusiasm among the teachers.[80] Apparently teachers whose religious affiliations differed from those of their patrons were sometimes appointed as the number of schools and churches multiplied.[81]

In 1849, the Baptists had in the Creek Nation six preachers, Reverend H. F. Buckner, at the Creek Agency, Reverend Americus L. Hay, at North Fork, Reverend James Perryman, at Big Spring, Reverend Chilly McIntosh, at North Fork, Reverend William McIntosh, at North Fork, Reverend Yar-too-chee, at Broken Arrow, and Reverend Andrew Frazier, at Elk Creek.[82]

The efforts of the missionaries may safely be credited, according to the evidence, with no small portion of the responsibility for a considerable growth of sobriety and morality among the Creeks. Until 1847, most of the witnesses who have left their observations on record speak of the moral condition of the Creek people as being very low, except where Christianity was being taught. In 1847, James Logan, Creek Agent, said that the liquor laws were being violated almost exclusively by Indians.[83] Logan said that he worked hard to get the Creeks to suppress the traffic, and that they finally passed a law drastic enough to suppress the trade, if it had been honestly enforced. However, the high prices resulting from the efforts to enforce this law excited the cupidity of the chiefs themselves, with the result that they entered into the trade and for a time maintained a monopoly, until it became known to those who had formerly made their living by the sale of spiritous liquor. Duvall, the Seminole sub-agent, said that it was impossible to keep whiskey out as long as the Indians wished to bring it in.[84] In 1849, Phillip

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[80] E. B. Duncan, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1853*, p. 393.

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] Reverend Americus L. Hay, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1849*, p. 1122.

[83] *RCIA, 1847*, p. 818.

[84] *RCIA, 1847* p. 889.

H. Raiford reported that the Creeks were as sober and industrious as any other people.[85] He attributed this to the restrictions of the chiefs who had caught the spirit of reform.[86] In his report for 1853, Loughridge said that at the last annual meeting of the National Temperance Society, the chief took a decided stand in behalf of temperance, signing the pledge to abstain from strong drink as an example to the people.[87] Ben Marshall's efforts in behalf of temperance involved him in dissensions at that time, as the people were greatly aroused by the fact that law violators were being punished twice for the same offense, once by the Creek authorities and once by the United States.[88] Marshall took no slight risk by insisting upon the enforcement of the Creek law.

The cause of temperance continued to advance through more efficient enforcement of the laws and through the influence of temperance societies.[89] In 1858, the matter of enforcement of liquor laws was practically up to the Creeks, who, through their police, called light-horse, were confiscating and spilling liquor and bringing offenders before their courts to be fined four dollars a gallon for all the liquor found in their possession.[90] This vigorous effort to enforce their laws doubtless emanated from chiefs who were moral Christians, and from an enlightened public opinion which gave the chiefs moral support. The United States had abandoned Fort Gibson, and the Creeks were unassisted by the military forces. The Creek chiefs wanted a post established on the Arkansas to assist them in suppression of the liquor traffic.[91]

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[85] *RCIA, 1849*, p. 1118.

[86] Ben Marshall became second chief of the Lower Towns in 1846.

[87] R. M. Loughridge, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1853*, p. 396.

[88] W. H. Garrett, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1853*, p. 371.

[89] R. M. Loughridge, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1858*, p. 151.

[90] W. H. Garrett, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1858*, p. 146.

[91] *Ibid., 1859*, p. 179.

The schools continued to grow during the period 1850-1860. This growth is illustrated by that of the Presbyterian Manual Labor School at Kowetah, under the superintendency of R. M. Loughridge. In 1853, this school employed, besides the superintendent, six other full time workers. Their qualifications were probably better, on the average, than their predecessors had been. The members of the faculty were: W. S. Robertson, A. M., principal; Mrs. A. E. Robertson, Miss C. W. Eddy, Miss N. Thompson, Mrs. E. Reid. The sixth employee was Alexander McCune, steward and farmer. The school enrolled eighty pupils and taught the same subjects that were in the curriculum in the States.[92]

Probably the missionaries would have been as successful in the Creek Nation as any other preachers elsewhere had it not been for the growing bitterness engendered by the slavery issue which was sweeping the whole United States. A year or two before the Civil War the missionaries from the North began to find their positions precarious. They began to abandon the country. It is probable that Elias Rector, Southern Superintendent, and the pro-slavery United States officials would have liked nothing better than to remove the anti-slavery missionaries on the ground that they were interfering with the domestic institutions of the tribes.[93]

Unfortunately the Creeks were unfavorably situated for the development of Christian fellowship with the white Christians in the East. Lingering prejudices and social conflicts placed the Creeks in almost as unfavorable a position in the West. To these difficulties should be added those of isolation and an unhealthy climate which terminated the work of many missionaries before they were well oriented in the field. Yet one must acknowledge that the missionaries, beset with difficulties as they were, achieved works worthy of their cause. Since spiritual contributions are

[92] R. M. Loughridge, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *RCIA, 1853*, p. 396.

[93] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915), 47.

impossible to evaluate, their works can be judged only by their material contributions. Much of the education of the Creek people proceeded through missionary channels. Much of the temperance work done among the Creeks was carried on by missionaries and their Creek and negro proselytes,[94] and intemperance was certainly a great evil among these people.[95] Government efforts to stop the liquor traffic were unsuccessful until the Creeks themselves became convinced that drinking was an evil. It was observed that, even in the discouraging days of active persecution, many of the Christians observed a strict temperance.[96] The temperance societies were credited by Loughridge with the aroused public opinion which led to more strenuous efforts on the part of the Creeks to enforce their laws against introducing liquor.[97] Furthermore, several of the greatest leaders of the Creeks were schooled for that leadership in the Christian ministry. Three of the sons of General McIntosh became Baptist preachers,[98] and to these should be added the names of these illustrious in the annals of the Methodist Church, Peter Harrison, Cornelius Perryman, and Samuel Checote.[99]

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[94] *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, June, 1836 (XVI), 130.

[95] In 1838, A. J. Raines, a discharged employee of the subsistence contractors, Harrison and Glasgow, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, C. A. Harris, that money which the contractors had paid to the Creeks in lieu of rations had been spent for whiskey. He made the astounding statement that he had seen two thousand Indians drunk at North Fork in one day. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 161.

[96] Peck, *op. cit.*, 550.

[97] *RCIA, 1858*, p. 151.

[98] Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 68.

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THE CHEROKEE COMMISSION AT KICKAPOO VILLAGE

Edited by

Berlin B. Chapman[1]

The record of the Kickapoos is one of stubborn resistance in the disposition of surplus lands of their reservation, and in the selection of allotments. Congress on March 1, 1889, ratified an agreement by which the Creek Nation absolutely ceded and granted to the United States, without reservation or condition, full and complete title to lands lying west of the division line surveyed and established under the Creek treaty of 1866. By this cession the lands in the Kickapoo reservation became a part of the public domain, and were held by the United States in fee simple, subject only to the location of the Kickapoos upon the reservation by the executive order of 1883.[2]

The Cherokee Commission, organized on June 29, 1889, consisted of General Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin, chairman, General John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania, and Alfred M. Wilson of Arkansas. The Commission by its instructions[3] approved by John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, was authorized to negotiate for whatever right the Kickapoos might have in the reservation under the executive order, and the General Allotment Act. In the autumn the Commission, represented by Fairchild and Wilson, visited the Kickapoo reservation,[4] told the Kickapoos of the wishes of the government, and advised them to consider the matter of taking allotments and selling the surplus lands. The Commission was optimistic enough to hope that their visit

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[2] United States v. Choctaw, O. & G. R. Company, 41 Pacific 574 (1895). The executive order of August 15, 1883, is in Kappler i, 844.

[3] In regard to the organization of the Cherokeen Commission and the document including their secret instructions, see B. B. Chapman, "The Fairchild Failure," *Chron. of Okla.*, xv (1937), p. 291 et. seq.

[4] Cherokee Commission to Noble, Oct. 25, 1889, O I A, 6674 Ind Div. 1889.

had favorably impressed the Kickapoos "so that they can be arranged with when we next see them."

The Cherokee Commission in 1889 concluded no agreement with Indians for the dissolution of a reservation in Indian Territory. Hartranft died on October 17, and Fairchild resigned from the Commission on January 1, 1890. When the Commission met at Guthrie on May 12 to resume its labors, David Howell Jerome, formerly governor of Michigan, had succeeded to the chairmanship. The other members of the Commission were Wilson, and Warren G. Sayre of Indiana.

Acting Commissioner Belt considered that the "title" of the Kickapoos was simply that of occupancy.[5] On June 11, 1890, Noble advised the Commission that no attention need be given to any portion of the tribe not upon the reservation.[6] The Kickapoos upon the reservation numbered about 300 persons, about 55 of whom were adult males. They were of nearly pure Indian stock, some had intermarried with the Pottawatomies, and a very few were said to have a tinge of Mexican blood. They were poor, ignorant, and superstitious in the eyes of the Commission.

The Commission concluded agreements with the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, Pottawatomies, and Absentee Shawnees for the dissolution of reservations occupied by these Indians. On June 27 the Commission arrived at Kickapoo Village. Concerning the events of their visit and the response of the Kickapoos to a proposed contract which the Commission submitted to them on July 1, one should read the letter[7] the Commission sent to President Harrison. The letter was typewritten, and is as follows:

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[5] Belt to Sec. Interior, June 7, 1890, IOA, *L. Letter Book* 200, pp. 40-41.

[6] Noble to Jerome, June 11, 1890, OIA, *Record of Letters Sent*, No. 65, p. 333.

[7] The letter is in OIA, 4809 Ind. Div. 1890. The proposed contract is filed with the letter.

Camp of Cherokee Commission,
Kickapoo Village, Ind. Ter.,
July 1st, 1890.

Sir:—

We have the honor to report to you that on Friday morning June 27th, ult, we left Shawnee Town, and at three o'clock P. M. arrived at the Kickapoo Village. During the afternoon and evening, occasionally an Indian would come into camp, but not one could be induced to talk or say a word. Saturday morning the Commission called upon the Chief. He is nearly blind and speaks English to a limited extent. He assured us that he would have three men, head men of the Tribe, talk with us that day. He lives in squalor and dirt, but, in that regard he is not unlike all, or nearly all, of what is known as the blanket Indians. At different times during the day, we observed one, two or three Indians, at a time, come to his house, remain a little while and dissapear, but saw no signs of a council being held among themselves, and no promising prospect of a conference with the Commission.

The Kickapoos are altogether the most ignorant and degraded Indians that we have met, but are possessed of an animal cunning, and obstinacy in a rare degree. We were prepared, by what we had heard before our coming for an exhibition of these qualities.

During the afternoon of Saturday, June 28th, Major Patrick, Indian Agent, at the Sac and Fox Agency, and having the Kickapoos in charge, came to our camp. Upon being informed by us of the apparent determination on the part of the Kickapoos not to meet us, he, in company with Lieutenant Crawford of the 16th Inft. U. S. A. who has charge of our Military escort, went to the Indians homes, for a distance of eight miles and back, and told them that they must meet the Commission, and have a talk with them. So matters went on until Monday afternoon June 30th, when a Kickapoo came to our camp, representing the Chief, and informed us that they would meet and talk with us Tuesday Morning July 1st.

That time arriving, the Chief, accompanied by what was represented to us as a large majority of the adult males of his tribe, came to our camp. The Commission, each member in turn, made speeches to them, explained our business with them, told them of the impending changes in their mode of living, earning a living &c, and submitted to them a proposition in writing, which is hereto attached and made a part hereof, and placed a copy of it in the hands of the Chief, and asked them to go with their Interpreter and consider it. The aim of the Commission was to place the Kickapoo and Iowa Indians substantially, on a par, as will be seen by the proposition made to the former, and the contract with the latter.

The two tribes hold their reservations by Executive Orders only. They were issued on the same day and under similar circumstances.

When the paper, containing the proposition, was placed in the hands of the Chief, the Kickapoos seemed to become somewhat uneasy—a little Indian jargon was exchanged—when he, the Chief, handed back the paper and refused to keep it. They then took their leave, and promised to return in the afternoon. At the time appointed they came back, and promptly told us, that they would not make any contract, because it would offend the Great Spirit.

The Commission endeavored to have further talk with them, but the Chief, when asked if they would hear more, or if they fully understood the proposition, or if they had any other proposition to make, or whether they thought our proposition was fair or not, said, they would hear no more, and would talk no more. Whereupon he and all his people unceremoniously left, and scattered to their various homes.

A number of white men are in and about the reservation, but whether they, or any of them, advised the Indians we do not know, but persons attending the Commission in various capacities, reported to the Commission that they would frequently hear some white man say, that, if he was a Kickapoo he would not contract with the Government.

Mr. George Chase, an attorney from Washington, told us at Shawnee Town, about two weeks ago, that a Kickapoo Indian had come to him there, and asked him to write a letter to Chief Mayes of the Cherokee Nation, for advice as to what course to pursue with the Commission, which request he complied with. Whether any answer to the letter was received or not we do not know. In their talk with us the Kickapoos told us, that they had been informed that we did not represent the Government, but were only speculators trying to cheat them out of their homes. We feel sure that these notions are not original with the Kickapoos.

For the present, at least, the negotiations with this Tribe are ended. Better counsel may yet prevail, and a result reached. Something must be done to remove from their minds the idea, that they can, by being stubborn, continue in possession of their reservation, to the exclusion of the white settler. They now affect to believe, that no change can come in their affairs or conditions, without their consent, and that consent they will withhold.

Under the circumstances, and because of the ill advice we have reason to fear is being given them and other tribes in similar conditions, together with their defiant attitude, we are satisfied that some new condition must be imposed.

If it could be fairly stated to the Kickapoos that the General Allotment Act could be used to compel them to take their land in severalty—and probably would be—if they refused the overtures of the Government made through this Commission, it is very desirable that that law should be made to be immediately effectual. Without an amendment it is not so, and the only sure solution of the difficulty, in the Judgment of this Commission, is to secure an amendment to the General Allotment Act of 1887, commonly called the Dawes Bill.

That law provides that the President may order allotments of land in severalty to Indians under the conditions named therein, but provides that after such an order shall be made, the Indian shall have four years in which to make his or her selection of land. Four years to an Indian is almost equivalent to eternity. And when it is suggested to them that under the law allotments can be ordered, that holding lands in severalty by the Indian and educating his children is the policy of the Government; that "putting the adult Indian upon a farm and the Indian child in school" is the advice of the Great Father, the suggestion is met with the declaration that that can not be done for four years and they may all be dead before that time elapses.

If that law can be amended so as to provide that when the President orders allotments of land under the law, he may in the same order fix the time, suited to each case, in which allotments can be taken, it would then become a present thing to the Indian and he would be entirely willing to make arrangements by which such an order could be rendered unnecessary.

In the presence of an order or power in the President to make such an order negotiations with such tribes as the Kickapoos would speedily result in success. The allotment of land to the Indian having become the policy of the Government, the details must be modified to meet the conditions we find.

Having fixed the time at four years in which the Indian shall act, it would seem that leaving the time to be fixed in each case by the President, in the exercise of a wise discretion, would readily be accepted by the law-making power.

We have the honor to be very respectfully
your obedient servants,

David H. Jerome
A. M. Wilson
Warren G. Sayre
Commissioners

TO,
The President,
Washington, D. C.

It should be remembered that the proposed contract submitted to the Kickapoos on July 1, 1890, contained the essentials of the Kickapoo agreement printed in the *Statutes at Large* three years later. On their second visit to the Kickapoos, the Commission found that the Indians refused to sell the lands, "a little squabble" resulted, and according to the Commission the Indians would not stay to listen to all they had to say but "jumped up and ran away."

After the Cherokee Commission left the Kickapoo reservation they received indirectly from the Kickapoos, reports which were somewhat encouraging. Horace Speed, who never seemed to despair of success in any negotiations of the Commission, gave Noble reason to believe that if the Commission visited the Kickapoos again, they would have an easy task in coming to an agreement with them. Noble wrote to Jerome: "He says he has been told by someone, in whom he has confidence. that they have thought and talked better of your offer since your departure, and if you will allow them the same terms you did the Iowas, they will accept."[8] Dr. Fasslinger, physician to the Kickapoos, advised the Secretary of the Interior that the Kickapoos were ready and desired to treat with the Commission as early as convenient.[9]

According to Agent Samuel L. Patrick the prospect of recent negotiations of the Commission with various tribes being approved by Congress had had the effect of changing the minds of the Kickapoos.[10] He said that many of them had expressed a desire to negotiate with the government, and have their future

[8] Noble to Jerome, Aug. 4, 1890, OIA, *Record of Letters Sent*, No. 63, p. 283.
[9] Tel. from Acting Sec. Chandler to Jerome, Oct. 11, 1890, *ibid.*, No. 67, p. 284.
[10] Patrick to Com. Ind. Aff., Feb. 2, 1891, OIA, 1354 Ind. Div. 1891. See however, same to same, July 1, 1891, *Ind. Aff., 1891*, p. 364.

settled. According to Governor George W. Steele,[11] a Kickapoo who represented himself as Chief Chee-whan-cago had expressed a desire to have the Commission come to their village at as early a date as was practicable, saying that his people were then ready to treat. "He was away in Kansas when the Commission were there last summer," said Steele, "but says he has had the head men together since his return and that they have agreed to dispose of their lands. His anxiety to have the Commission come soon is because the Tribe is now together and it will be easier for them to act while this is so." Steele wanted to have "this little body of land" taken in at the same time the rest of the land east of Indian Territory was settled.

"We go from here immediately to the Kickapoo country," wrote Jerome on June 5, 1891 in transmitting the report of the Cherokee Commission concerning negotiations with the Wichitas. The Commission arrived at Wellston June 13. This was their third and final visit to the Kickapoo reservation. There was some difficulty in securing the attendance of the Kickapoos in council, but on June 16 Chief Wape-mee-shay-waw[12] and his four counselors came prepared to hear what the Commission had to say.

During the first three days councils were held, not more than fifteen Indians to be present. Wape-mee-shay-waw received the Commission courteously but his sentiments ran counter to their desires. The chief speakers for the Kickapoos were Ock-qua-noc-a-sey and Pah-the.[13] On the first morning the Commission explained the purpose of their mission and said that the policy of dissolving Indian reservations in Oklahoma Territory was one phase of a general trend toward the dissolution of such

[11] Steele to Noble, March 31, 1891, OIA, 2736 Ind. Div. 1891. From Wellston, S. E. Dewees on May 1, 1891 gave in frontier English an account of the attitude of the Kickapoos relative to the disposition of their reservation.—Letter to Com. Morgan, OIA, 3870 Ind. Div. 1891.

[12] "We-be-may-shay," he was called in the proceedings of the councils. These proceedings which the Cherokee Commission held with the Kickapoos in 1891 contain 57 pages and are in the Indian Office, I. S. P., Drawer 8. Councils were held June 16, 17, 18 and 20.

[13] "Par-thee," in the council proceedings.

reservations in the United States. In the afternoon attention was called to the power of the President to order the assignment of allotments, to the power of the government to regulate the sale and leasing of lands, and it was intimated that the Kickapoo might have to sell the surplus lands whether they wanted to or not. The Commission presented and explained a proposed contract bearing the essentials, if not the details, of that later ratified by Congress. In the evening the Indians took the proposed contract apart to themselves for consideration.

If the Commission had doubts as to the nature of the report, they had assurance that it would be made promptly. They knew that Ock-qua-noc-a-sey, who had brought only meagre provisions with him, wished to close up the matter the next day and that in his view the reservation belonged to the Great Spirit. After a few introductory remarks the next morning in council the Indians said that in consultation they had concluded "to all agree to one point, not to dispose of the land." They said in "just the plain words: we will not accept the proposition." The Commission were shrewd traders. They succeeded in continuing councils throughout the day and the following day during which time they made an effort to pry into the closed question. Ock-qua-noc-a-sey was the Bryan of a religious cause. He made a visible effort to retain the good feelings of the Commission and at the same time to justify the Kickapoos who throughout the councils scarcely budged from the position announced on the morning of June 17. Ock-qua-noc-a-sey believed in a higher law than any made at Philadelphia or Washington. He regarded the General Allotment Act as the handiwork of "some one under the earth." He explained at length that in the first instance the lands belonged to God or the Great Spirit, that when He had "kind of divided up the thing." He put the Indians "in this part of the world as Indians" and intended that they should live "out of doors in the grass." He explained further that "the Great Spirit put the land here for us" and that the Indians loved it and wished to occupy it. He pointed out that Chief Wape-mee-shay-waw firmly opposed the disposition of the lands,

that he knew "a good deal" and looked up to the Great Spirit. He said repeatedly and with emphasis that the Kickapoos feared that that heavenly power would come down and destroy the earth if they disposed of their lands and thus angered Him. Hence it was considered better to let the white crowds overrun the reservation than to sell it. "Whenever the white people take all the land from the Indians," said Ock-qua-noc-a-sey, "we believe the land will be destroyed." Like Rousseau, he valued the virtues of a primitive state, and moreover he was content with the inequality of man. He explained that the Kickapoos were satisfied with their present condition and did not care for money or fine clothes. "We have a small reservation here," he said, "and you have the biggest part of the United States; and you should be satisfied and we are doing well."

The Kickapoos were warned by their neighbors from the north and from the south. While conferences were being held some half dozen Iowas who had persistently refused to accept, voluntarily, the conditions of the Iowa agreement visited the Kickapoos. A band or faction of Absentee Shawnees under the leadership of Big Jim, yet hostile to the agreement made with their tribe, came up from the south. The visitors had had their allotments made and knew that the opening of their reservations to white settlement was not far off. But between them and the Kickapoos there was no great gulf fixed. They came to testify concerning the new order of things and to advise the Kickapoos not "to touch the pen" or to make any agreement with the Commission.[14] In vain did the Commission urge that such advice be not heard. The Kickapoos inquired diligently of the visitors who had a familiar spirit and spoke in accordance with their own expressed determination.

[14] Report of the Commission sent to Secretary Noble, June 22, 1891, 4805 Ind. Div. 1891. In forwarding the report Jerome said that it gave an account of "our second failure to conclude a contract, as we hoped to do."

The question of God's interest in a land sale and His reaction, if any, was for the Commission an undesirable one.[15] To no avail they pointed out that no power had swooped down from heaven in a fiendish way to destroy other reservations under the supervision of the Sac and Fox agency where lands had been sold and allotments made. They said that in their opinion the Kickapoos had heard the Great Spirit "from some Indians and some bad white men." They explained that probably the present visit would be their last, that the great father was "going to do something with these Indians," that white settlement of the surplus lands was inevitable and that times were going to change just as sure as the sun goes down. In the afternoon of June 18 the Kickapoos said that they would talk no more and would make no agreement on any terms. A suggestion for further consideration met the reply: "We will shake hands and go in peace." And the Indians departed for their homes.

After these members of the tribe went away, four others came to the camp of the Commission, signed the agreement and represented that they believed a majority of the tribe would sign if away from the influence of the Chief and his council. The Commission sent its messenger, and those who had signed, out to bring in all the adult male members of the tribe. On June 20 all adult males, except three, were present at a new council. Jerome said it had been brought to his attention that men called head men and chiefs had threatened the Indians if they signed the paper; he assured them that if any Indian present, after he understood the contents of the agreement desired to sign it, he would be protected thereafter just as fully as though he were in the captain's tent. Sayre said that so far as the government was concerned there was no head man or chief but every man was just as good as any other man and could do just as he pleased and sign the contract without interference from any man. After

[15] The Commission reported that the Kickapoos pretended to be guided "in all their affairs, directly by the Great Spirit. They have a convenient way, too, in proving their dependence upon Him. For instance, none of them pretended that the Great Spirit had told them not to make an agreement with the Government, but they would not do so because He had said nothing to them upon that subject." *Ibid.*

the Commission at great length explained all the conditions of the proposed agreement, Jerome said a few had signed it and that he would be glad to have them stand up and say why they had signed. Just then Chief Wape-mee-shay-wah and Pah-the arrived, and Jerome immediately adjourned the meeting saying that those who desired to sign might do so. According to the Commission "one of the chief's council asked all, who were opposed to the agreement, to step over to his side [i. e. behind the Chief], when somewhat to the surprise of the Commission, and to its present[16] discomfiture, every Indian present, save the four who had signed, stepped over to the chief's side." The vote of confidence showed that Wape-mee-shay-waw was Caesar of the camp; the appeal from him to his people was an ill wind that blew him good. According to the council proceedings he merely said: "Well Commissioner we will have to shake hands again. Now we are about done ain't we; you see how it turns out. Good Bye."

One of the darkest chapters in the history of the Cherokee Commission deals with the procedure by which it secured the so-called "agreement made and entered into on the Kickapoo Reservation" on June 21, 1891, and completed at Washington on September 9 following. "As a result of their own councils," the Commission said of the Kickapoos, "they did, on the 21st day of August, 1891, request us to meet with their head men and interpreter at Oklahoma City . . . . With the least possible delay we arrived at Oklahoma City, and at once proceeded with the task of making an agreement with them in the premises."[17] On the surface it appears that the matter was engineered by John T. Hill, who was probably no more of a Kickapoo than was David H. Jerome. At any rate seven Kickapoos were at Oklahoma City, and with the consent of Secretary Noble, the Commission took Ock-qua-noc-a-sey and Kish-o-com-me to Washington City. There these two Kickapoos and Hill, on behalf of

[16] Report of June 22, 1891, *ibid.*

[17] Commissioners to the President, Oct. 19, 1891, *H. Ex. Docs.*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., xxxxiii (2953), no. 72, p. 5.

the tribe, completed the agreement with the Commission, and by a questionable power of attorney signed thereto the names of fifty-one Indians, the approximate number of male adults among the Kickapoos. A challenging topic in the study of historical evidence is the determination to what degree Ock-qua-noc-a-sey and Kish-o-com-me understood the agreement and consented to it.

The Kickapoos on the reservation were in the main as hostile as ever to the agreement. Congress accepted, ratified and confirmed the agreement by an act of March 3, 1893.[18] Governor William C. Renfrow, for the sake of society and the Democratic party, urged that the surplus lands of the Kickapoo reservation be opened at the same time the Cherokee Outlet was opened.[19] The Kickapoos opposed bitterly the taking of allotments, and it was not until September 12, 1894, that the schedules of allotments were approved by the Department of the Interior. The surplus lands of the reservation were opened on May 23, 1895. The opposition of the Kickapoos to the agreement was soothed by a Congressional act of April 30, 1908, appropriating $215,000 as compensation for all differences arising out of all treaties and agreements made between the Mexican Kickapoos and the United States.[20]

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[18] 27 *Statutes,* 557. The agreement is incorporated in the act of Congress.

[19] The original letter, on official stationery, and addressed to Secretary Hoke Smith on July 15, 1893, is in OIA, 5455 Ind. Div. 1893. The body of the letter is as follows:

"Your attention is respectfully called to an Act of Congress entitled 'An Act to Ratify and Confirm an Agreement with the Kickapoo Indians in Oklahoma Territory, etc.', approved March 3, 1893, and more particularly to the third article of said act, limiting the time within which allotments may be taken under the same.

[20] 35 *Statutes,* 89; *Ind. Aff., 1908,* p. 88. There is considerable material, printed and unprinted, concerning the Kickapoo agreement of 1891. The merits of that agreement was only one of several perplexing questions concerning the Kickapoos. In 1907 a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs made an inquiry into "affairs of the Mexican Kickapoo Indians," and the hearings were published in three volumes.—*S. Documents,* 60 Cong. 1 sess., xiv-xvi (5247-5249), no. 215.

"You are further reminded that the Kickapoo reservation is but a small tract of land, containing all told only 270 square miles and is entirely surrounded by thickly settled country; that there are something over 200 Indians that are entitled to allotments in the same; after deducting these allotments and school sections from said reservation there will remain about 900 quarter sections to be thrown open to settlement. This land is rich and very desirable and will be greatly sought after

In conclusion we may note that the close of the Territorial period marked the close of the question of the dissolution of the Kickapoo reservation. The government had opened the reservation to white settlement and the Kickapoos were at least temporarily satisfied. The Commission faced the difficult task of dealing with illiterate Kickapoos who did not believe that capitalism with its private property was the true way leading to a perfect human society. There is no doubt that the Kickapoos as a tribe were extremely adverse to any disposition of their reservation. The reasons for changing so strong an attitude in the summer of 1891 are not entirely clear, in spite of the claim of the Cherokee Commission that there was such a change. If the end attained brought the greatest good to the greatest number, and if Secretary Noble and the Commission accomplished a thing much to be desired, we should not criticize too severely the paths by which they traveled. After the Cherokee Commission on the Kickapoo reservation had seen two demonstrations of popular hostility to the agreement which they wanted the Kickapoos to sign, it should not be surprising if they connived to get the Kickapoo signatures they wanted—not at Kickapoo Village—but at Oklahoma City and Washington City.

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whenever it is opened to settlement. It is certainly advisable and of the utmost importance that it should be opened at the same time as the Cherokee Outlet.

"If this tract should be opened to settlement at a time separate and distinct from the opening of any other lands, owing to its richness and fertility there would be an indiscriminate rush and scramble that would result in numerous harassing contests in the courts before the department, if not in actual bloodshed.

"There is still another strong reason why this tract should be opened at the same time as the Cherokee Strip, to-wit: it [if] opened at that time, owing to its location in the southern part of the territory, it will most readily fill up with our political friends and become a strong hold upon which we may rely in a day of need.

"I understand there is nothing further to do in order to prepare this tract for opening than to appoint the alloting agent and direct the allotments to the Indians to be made.

"Your early consideration of this matter is most earnestly solicited."

EARLY HISTORY OF NOBLE COUNTY

By
Allen D. Fitchett[1]

Noble County, Oklahoma is located in the north central part of the State of Oklahoma, in the second tier of counties south of the State of Kansas. It is bounded on the north by Kay and Osage Counties, on the east by Osage and Pawnee Counties, on the south by Payne and Logan Counties, and on the west by Garfield County.

It has an area of 734 square miles, an altitude of 1,001 feet, and an average annual rainfall of approximately thirty inches. In 1900 the population was 14,015; in 1907, 14,198; in 1910, 14,945; in 1920, 13,560; and in 1930, 15,139. In 1933 the total valuation was $11,759,372.00.

In 1682 when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi River to its mouth and proclaimed all the land drained by it, for France, what is now Noble County became nominally the property of a foreign power by right of that claim. In 1763 at the close of the French and Indian War, this vast area was ceded to Spain; but in 1800, by a secret treaty, this same territory with a somewhat indefinite boundary on the west was receded to France by Spain.

In 1803, the same territory, with the same indefinite western boundary, was purchased from France by the United States for $15,000,000, being a trifle less than two and one-half cents an acre. The territory was known as Louisiana and has since been historically referred to as the Louisiana purchase.

Probably the first white man to touch what is now Noble County, was James Wilkinson, who with a small party descended

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the Arkansas River in small canoes in 1806 and thus passed along the northeastern boundary of the present county.

In 1812 the State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union, and the remaining part of the Old Louisiana Country was designated as the Territory of Missouri. What is now the entire state of Oklahoma with the exception of the three counties of the panhandle, was claimed by two tribes of Indians, the Osages and the Quapaws, with the South Canadian River as their dividing line to its junction with the Arkansas River. From that point east to the present western line of Arkansas, the Arkansas River was the dividing line. The Osages relinquished their title to the land north of the South Canadian to the United States in 1825. In 1833 a portion of this land was ceded by the United States to the Cherokee Tribe of Indians. This strip of land was fifty-eight miles wide and was given to the Cherokees as an outlet over which to travel to the Rocky Mountains to hunt. They never used it and later other tribes of Indians were assigned reservations in the area.

In 1834 Congress passed an act creating Indian Territory. Fifty-nine years later by the provisions of the Organic Act, the entire Cherokee Strip or Outlet was added to Oklahoma Territory by presidential proclamation.

The first land survey in Oklahoma was that of the southern boundary of the Cherokee Strip. The contract for the survey of the boundaries of the Strip was undertaken by the Reverend Isaac McCoy, the noted Baptist missionary, who devoted a large part of his active life to labor among the Indian Tribes. The work of surveying the boundaries of the Cherokee Strip was performed by his son John C. McCoy, in 1837.[2]

The land comprising Noble County together with all the Cherokee Outlet, was surveyed by the United States in 1866.

The north and south meridian from which the survey of the lands of the Cherokee Strip was made is known as the Indian

[2] *Senate Document*, No. 120 Cong., 2 Sess., 950-982.

Meridian and passes through the "Strip" a short distance east of the towns of Perry and Blackwell.[3]

In the Indian appropriation bill of August 15, 1876, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to remove the Ponca Indians to the Indian Territory and provide a home therein. They first located near the Quapaw agency, where the land was worth several dollars per acre; but they complained of it because it was poor soil, badly watered, and they were sickly. In the Indian appropriation bill of May 27, 1878, a provision was made to move them to the Cherokee land west of the Kaws. These were among the best lands of the six million and a half acres; but by executive order, another and still more valuable tract was picked by inspector General McNeill and two Ponca Chiefs. They selected a tract on the west bank of the Arkansas River, which covers both banks of the Salt Fork at its junction with the Arkansas. The land was admirable in quality, well wooded and watered. It was not taken under the sixteenth article of the treaty of 1866. The Cherokees were neither informed nor consulted. The law authorizing their location was violated. The separate tract was never appraised; and no title was passed, nor was there authority for passing it on to the Poncas.[4]

The Ponca Tribe is of the Dhegiha group of Siouan stock, closely related to the Osages, Kaw, Quapaw, and Omaha Tribes. They originally came from Nebraska before permanently settling in what is now Kay and Noble Counties.

White Eagle was chief when the Poncas were moved from Nebraska to northeastern Oklahoma and then to their present reservation. He served as chief for approximately fifty years, and, just prior to his death, resigned in favor of Horse Chief Eagle, his son. During the lifetime of White Eagle, he led the Poncas in their last war with the Sioux and was the last war chieftain of the Ponca Tribe.[5] He died February 1, 1914, at the age of ninety-

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[3] George Rainey, *The Cherokee Strip, Its History* (Guthrie: Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1933), p. 16.

[4] *The Cherokee Advocate,* July 28, 1882.

[5] Elsworth Collings and Alma Miller England, *The 101 Ranch* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), pp. 129-140.

seven years. A few hundred yards east of the highway, at the northern edge of Marland, stands a statue in his memory.[6]

The Poncas are a thriving tribe and many of their number have become wealthy by the handling of cattle and horses. The Ponca Indian schools have done much toward bringing this tribe to the front in the ranks of civilization. At present there are business men of all kinds among them and, as a whole, they are a prosperous people along all lines.[7]

The Secretary of the Interior in June, 1881, placed the Otoe and Missouri Indians in a fine valley and timbered tract of the Cherokee land by an executive order. This land was also not taken under the provisions of the sixteenth article of the treaty of 1866, nor was it ever appraised as a separate tract. They occupied and used the land, cut timber, and made homes. All these tracts taken were near the eastern end of the "Strip." They were not taken in compact form but were in straggling, picked tracts.[8]

The Otoe and Missouri Indians were two small confederated tribes of the Chiwere branch of Siouan stock, closely related also to the Iowas. The meaning of the name Otoe is unknown. The word Missouri is from an Algonquian term signifying "great muddy." The Otoe and Missouri Indians originally lived side by side, north of the Missouri River in the state of Missouri. They first came to the notice of the white men in Marquette's time. The French began trading with these tribes soon after the first explorations of the Mississippi Valley. The two tribes suffered greatly from smallpox epidemics. In 1789, during a war with the Sac and Fox, they were driven westward across the Missouri River, after which they continued to live in northeastern Kansas and southeastern Nebraska. In 1823 the Otoe and Missouri Indians were united as one tribe. Both tribes spoke the same language. They were among the least progressive Indians in Oklahoma, making practically no effort at self-support, but depending en-

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[6] Magnolia Petroleum Company, *Lure of the Southwest*, p. 16.
[7] Alexander Cantonwine, *Star Forty-Six, Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1911), p. 39.
[8] *The Cherokee Advocate*, July 28, 1882.

tirely upon annuities and money received from the rental of lands.[9]

The Ponca Tribe originally occupied three townships in Noble County: Buffalo, East Bressie, and West Bressie. The Otoe and Missouri Indians were located in Santa Fe, Missouri, Carson, and Otoe Townships.

In 1879 there were 530 full blood Poncas. In 1907 there were 578 Poncas and 390 Otoe and Missouri Indians. At the present time agency figures show 161 Poncas and 286 of the Otoe and Missouri Tribe in Noble County. This of course dose not include the many people with a large percentage of Indian blood. An Indian as defined by the Indian Service, includes any person of Indian blood who through wardships, treaty, or inheritance has acquired certain rights.

There was once an Indian trail which led up the north side of Red Rock Creek. This creek was called "Pawnee No-Washie-Cow-haw Shing-gah," which, in English, would mean Poor Pawnee Creek. The Osages once found a lost Pawnee on this creek who was almost starved to death when they found him. They killed and scalped him.[10]

The dance was the dominant feature of the Ponca's life. He was born, baptized, married and died amid the jumble of shuffling feet, gyrating bodies, and the beating of tom-toms. The dance expressed joy, and it was the symbol of grief and bereavement. It was the expression of momentous exploits, and the concomitant of routine duties.[11]

The peculiar custom know as the Sun Dance was perhaps one of the most popular ceremonies practiced among the Indians. The Poncas as well as many other tribes practiced this until stopped by the government.

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[9] J. B. Thoburn and I. M. Holcomb, *History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub and Company, 1908), p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, 256.

[11] Collings and Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

When a young Indian became old enough to become a warrior, he was put through the cermonies of the Sun Dance to test his mettle. These dances were held during the hottest part of the summer. A tall pole or post was set in the ground, out on the hot prairie, away from any timber, and to this post long arms or cross pieces were fastened. When everything was ready, the Indian who was to be the dancer was prepared for the ordeal by making two small incisions in his shoulder or the upper part of his back, each about an inch long and about an inch apart. Then a stout thong, or cord was passed from one incision to the other, underneath the skin, and securely tied. The other end of the cord was then tied to one of the cross pieces above. The sun dancer would then look at the sun continually and dance and tug at the cord until the skin in the loop or the cord gave way. Sometimes it would require hours of effort before the skin would break or wear out. Sometimes the dancer would faint from gazing at the sun so long, but, after a while, would get up and go on with the dance. Those who fainted but finally broke loose were considered good warriors; however, those who broke loose without fainting were considered better.[12]

After the passing of most of the wild game and the establishment of the agencies, every Saturday was called "issue day," at the agency and, on this day the Poncas were issued twelve beeves along with their other rations. During the first two or three years, they killed these cattle as they used to kill the buffalo. The cattle were turned loose on the prairie, and there were several Indians with guns, mounted on their best horses, ready to kill the cattle. Nearly every one at the agency would turn out to see the fun, as it was exciting sport. As soon as the cattle were turned loose, the Indians would begin to shoot, and, as the animals were wild range stock, they were easily scared and away they would go with the Indians after them, every one yelling and cheering them on. Some of the cattle would be killed close by but others would run a mile or more, with three or four Indians after each animal. For the time that it lasted, the killing of the cattle was more exciting

[12] Henderson, *op., cit.*, pp. 275-276.

than the Sun Dance. At last, however, the government sent orders to stop the killing of cattle in that way as it was thought to be barbarous. A large corral had been built just south of the agency and the cattle were driven into this corral and shot only in the head.[13]

In 1866 about 600,000 cattle were driven across the Cherokee Strip. A branch of the old Hunnewell Trail crossed what is now Noble County. During the seventies the Cherokee Strip, once the home of the buffalo and the wild mustang, became a favored grazing ground for the many cattlemen in this new country.

As grazing in the lands of the "Outlet" or "Strip" increased, the authorities of the Cherokee Nation at last determined that it should be made to yield some revenue. In 1879 the Cherokees sent out one of their citizens to collect a grazing tax from all men pasturing herds there. The amount collected the first year was small but the following year Major E. W. Lipe, treasurer of the Cherokee Nation came out and collected nearly eight thousand dollars. The rate was forty cents a head for grown cattle and twenty-five cents a head for all those under two years old. A receipt was given in the form of a grazier's license which stated the owner was permitted to pasture a certain number of head for a specified time. In spite of the fact that the Cherokee treasurer opened an office at Caldwell and used his best efforts in collecting this tax, he was never able to secure full payment for all of the cattle that grazed on the "Outlet" lands. Men who were ranching in southern Kansas sometimes drove their herds into the Cherokee Outlet to avoid payment of property taxes on them in Kansas and then drove them back home to avoid paying the grazing tax to the Cherokees. In 1881 the Cherokees collected $21,555.64 in grazing fees and in 1882, $41,233.81.[14]

The cattlemen in the "Strip" next conceived the idea of enclosing their land permits within fences, in order to keep their

[13] *Ibid.*, 276-277.

[14] Edward Everett Dale, "The Cherokee Strip Livestock Association," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, V (1927), 62-64.

cattle from mingling with those of their neighbors, and with the "drift" cattle from Kansas, and the "pilgrim" cattle from Texas. Of this the Cherokees heartily approved, believing they could collect with less difficulty. These fences were constructed under the names of individual Cherokees, who, it is said, received large sums of money for the use of their names.[15]

When the first wire fence was built in the "Strip," in 1880, to enclose an extensive pasturage, it was Colonel George Miller, father of the Miller Brothers of "101 Ranch" fame, who built it.[17] father of the Miller Brothers of "101 Ranch" fame, who built it.[16]

The fact that some of the ranchmen failed to pay the Indians for pasturing caused some of the cattle "barons" to fear that the Indians might cancel the right entirely for grazing in the "Strip."

A plan was suggested that the cattlemen lease the land from the Indians for a period of five years and a meeting was called at Caldwell, Kansas, in 1883 to discuss the proposition. At this meeting an association was formed, called the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association. On May 19, 1883, the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association was granted, by the Cherokee Council in session, a lease of the entire "Outlet" for a period of five years, for the sum of $100,000 per year, payable semi-annually in advance. Members of the association agreed that they would erect no permanent buildings in the "Outlet" and that all temporary improvements should go to the Cherokees upon the expiration of the lease. They would cut no timber except for fencing and temporary structures. No person not a member of the association should be permitted to graze stock upon the "Outlet." Failure to make payment promptly to the Cherokee Nation constituted a forfeiture of the lease. According to Major Gordon W. Lillie (Pawnee Bill), large sums of money were used to bribe members of the Cherokee Council into passing this act, although a senate committee failed to produce sufficient evidence that money had been used, except

[15] Joe B. Milam, "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (1932), 270.

[16] Charles L. Callen, "Story of the Great 101 Ranch," *American Magazine*, July 1928.

in legitimate expenses. The Indians wanted their first payment in silver and Mr. Bennett, the treasurer of the association took $50,000 in silver from Caldwell, Kansas to Tahlequah, Indian Territory.[17]

The Cherokee Strip Livestock Association was one of the greatest organizations ever in existence engaged in the livestock industry, and its influence upon the history of Oklahoma was very great. It showed the ability of the American pioneer to organize a huge concern in a region without courts, to function well, and to afford adequate protection to extensive economic interests.[18]

The first cattlemen to establish a ranch in what is now Noble County, were the Estiss Brothers in 1875 through an arrangement with the government. The next big ranch was started by Frank Weatherspoon who came from Texas in the early eighties. He leased all of the Otoe and Ponca reservation country and handled as many as 60,000 head of cattle at a time. The 101 Ranch came next. It took over practically all of the Weatherspoon layout.[19]

According to a survey of the ranges in 1883, the following cattle companies grazed their cattle on parts of the land which now constitutes Noble County; McClellan Cattle Company, Wyeth Cattle Company, Wiley and Dean, D. A. Constable, George Miller, Cobb and Hutton, T. J. Sullivan, and the Dean and Broderick Pasture Company.[20]

About 1889 Colonel Zack Mulhall had a ranch where the City of Perry now stands. It extended north to Black Bear Creek, east to the Pawnee County line, west to the Garfield line, and south to the Logan County line.[21]

It made no difference in what part of the Cherokee Strip you happened to be at night, the yip-yip-yi-wah-who-ees of the coyotes and the long howl of the big gray wolves could be heard.

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17 Milam, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
18 *Ibid.*
19 Personal Interview with Barney Woolverton, September 6, 1936.
20 Milam, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
21 Personal interview with Barney Woolverton, September 8, 1936.

The Cherokee Strip Livestock Association paid out several thousand dollars for wolf pelts, but they saved much more in livestock by paying the bounty.[22]

Wild horses were common in the Strip but they were wilder than the antelope. They had two ranges, one on the Cimarron River and the other on Black Bear Creek. Different outfits of cowboys had tried to catch these wild horses in 1880 and 1881, but failed. There was a bay stallion with them. After the men had run them for an hour or two, this stallion would always get in behind the wild horses and run them so fast that the men could not keep in sight of them. At one time, a party of Pawnees tried to catch these wild horses. They ran them nearly all day and, late in the evening, one Pawnee who was mounted on a fresh horse, took a near cut and rode right among the wild horses. He threw his rope and caught one and held it for a while but, when the other Pawnees came up, the wild horse got so badly scared that he jerked his captor's horse down and in the mix-up, the Pawnee's neck was broken.[23]

During the period when the Strip was the grazing area of the cattle barons, it was also the hideout of the outlaw, the rustler, and the common thief. Owners of ranches could not refuse to take them in as they could do much damage to grass by setting fires.

The last few months of the Cherokee Strip lease, many things disappeared. Miles of fencing were removed during the night and later were used to enclose some claim. Wire was one thing that could not be identified.[24]

The lease to the Strip expired October 1, 1888 and the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association wanted to renew it. There were other offers. Major Gordon W. Lillie (Pawnee Bill) and P. B. Scott were sent by a syndicate from Wichita and Arkansas City

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22 Evan G. Barnard, "A Rider of the Cherokee Strip," The *Daily Oklahoman*, January 5, 1937. See Evan G. Barnard (E. E. Dale, editor), *A Rider of the Cherokee Strip* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1936).

23 Henderson, "Reminiscences of a Range Rider," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, III, (1925), 284.

24 Barnard, "A Rider of the Cherokee Strip," The *Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 1937.

with an offer of a million and a half for the title to the outfit. This was the first attempt to buy the land outright. They did not expect to get it but to see if the Cherokees could sell the Outlet. Another syndicate offered $18,000,000 but congress refused approval.[25]

Congress on March 2, 1889, provided a commission authorized to offer one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre to the Cherokees for the Strip lands. Late in the fall of 1886, a syndicate of cattlemen had offered to buy the Strip lands from the Cherokees at three dollars an acre more than that proposed by Congress, which amounted in the aggregate to a difference of more than $10,000,000. Under these conditions it was impossible for the commission to make any headway in the negotiations. Moreover the Indians were now receiving a handsome sum annually for their grass and were just entering upon a new five-year period at a price double that obtained under the first lease.[26]

The Government's effort to buy the Cherokee lands was declined upon the ground that the Cherokee Constitution forbade its consideration. The principal obstructing cause in preventing the success of negotiations between the Cherokee Commission and the Indians was stated by President Harrison in his message in December 1889.[27]

The Attorney General rendered a decision denying the right of the Indian tribes to lease their lands without permission of the government. President Benjamin Harrison, by his proclamation of February 17, 1890, ordered all cattlemen to vacate the "Strip," and thus summarily cut off the income of the Cherokees, amounting, it is said, to several thousand dollars a year. The measure, together with the urgent demands made by the would-be settlers then encamped in the borders of the "Strip," forced the Cherokees to terms and a second proposition for the cession of the "Strip" was finally accepted by the national council on January 4, 1892. The consideration was nearly $8,300,000 or about $1.25 an acre.[28]

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[25] Milam, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
[26] Rainey, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.
[27] Milam, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
[28] Luther B. Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1908), I, 79.

In the treaty of March 3, 1893, the Cherokees had ceded all rights in that portion of land known as the Cherokee Strip, to the United States. Agitation of the public mind had forced the matter this far, and now it grew intense. The new domain had to be opened at once.[29]

[29] Milam, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by James W. Moffitt

On July 28, 1938, Judge R. L. Williams, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, presented to the Confederate Room photographs of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, a group picture of the following members of the Confederate Cabinet: Robert Toombs, R. M. T. Hunter, C. C. Memminger, George A. Trenholm, Leroy Pope Walker, John C. Breckenridge, James A. Seddon, G. W. Randolph, Judah P. Benjamin, Thomas H. Watts, Stephen R. Mallory, J. H. Reagan, and J. A. Campbell, and also large photographs of Robert Toombs, Thomas H. Watts, Judah P. Benjamin, and other members of this Cabinet; Rear Admiral Raphael Semmes, L. Q. C. Lamar, J. A. Campbell, James M. Mason, Howell Cobb, and William L. Yancey.

James H. Gardner presented to the Society a large sectional map of the Chisholm Trail, on January 26, 1939. Dr. Grant Foreman gave a plat of Fort Davis, a Confederate garrison in 1862, showing the location of buildings, of a well, and of a prehistoric Indian mound which was used for a lookout and flagstaff. On behalf of the late J. H. Randell, Judge R. L. Williams presented the family Bible of Col. Robert M. Jones, and a collection of his letters and manuscripts. The President read a letter from J. M. Owen, President of the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association, presenting to the Society a diorama depicting Oklahoma City when it was only a few weeks old. A picture of Reverend Joseph Samuel Murrow, Baptist missionary to the Indians, 1857-1929, was added to the collections of the Society through the generosity of his eight living grandchildren: Murrow McBride, Clara Butler, Ralph McBride, Elliott McBride, John McBride, Hiram McBride, Mrs. Victor Cline, and Mrs. Joy

Morris. Mrs. Jessie R. Moore introduced Mrs. A. E. Perry who presented the portrait of Mrs. Czarina Colbert Conlan, painted by the Polish artist, Remski, the gift of friends.

On January 30, 1939, W. E. Salter presented a Richards gun to the Oklahoma Historical Society on behalf of Mrs. H. A. Deaver, of El Reno. This historic gun was taken from Captain David L. Payne at a spring north of Ponca City by Captain Kendall F. Smith of Fort Reno. Captain Kendall was Mrs. Deaver's father.

Others who have enriched our collections are John P. Hinkel, Edwin Starkey, Ann Mae Sullivan, H. C. Schilling, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Mrs. Colin Valentine, C. H. Cory, Jr., C. B. Rhodes, W. C. Kates, Ralph Hudson, Lena Rabitaille, Charles J. Brill, Allen D. Fitchett, W. L. Axton, C. E. Chouteau, Earnest McCombs, Mrs. Virgil Browne, Sam L. Riddle, B. H. Colbert, Mrs. W. M. Bottoms, Mrs. C. Guy Cutlip, James Culberson, William G. Stigler, Martin McKee, Justine Dukes Calloway, Mrs. Ruth Lackey, Tams Bixby, Jr., A. E. Pearson, Dr. Anna Lewis, Ernest Noffinger, Mrs. M. L. Butler, Mrs. J. L. Mitchell, Mrs. M. A. Tate, W. T. McAtee, Jack Brown, Mrs. George Mesta, W. E. L. Durant, J. G. Durant, Mrs. Marie Bailey, Mrs. Althie Sale Davis, and William Noble.

On January 21, 1939, the Oklahoma State Archaeological Society met at Tulsa with James H. Gardner, President, presiding. Alfred Reed told of archaeological work being done in the Grand River Dam basin and showed illustrative picttures. Remarks were made by David Barries, H. R. Antle, Clark Field, H. Grady Snuggs, James H. Gardner, and R. S. Ellison. The President read a paper on "The Possibilities of Research on the History of Early Man in Oklahoma."

Reports were given by the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Editor. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Clark Field; Vice-Presidents, A. Berne Briggs, Dr. H.

D. Murdock, William Dulaney, H. R. Antle, and Alfred Reed, Jr.; Treasurer, J. Brent Wrigley; Secretary, Hazel Fleming; Board of Trustees, A. Berne Briggs, Lloyd C. Coulter, T. J. Derby, William Dulaney, R. S. Ellison, Clark Field, Charles W. Grimes, Dr. H. D. Murdock, and Alfred Reed, Jr. After the annual dinner in the evening, Dr. S. C. Dellinger of the University of Arkansas gave an address on "The Songs and Ceremonies of the American Indians" using phonograph recordings to illustrate them. He has made a collection of some of the disappearing Indian music.

The Association of Oklahoma Artists has completed hanging a new exhibit in the art gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. There are a number of paintings depicting historical subjects and several which deal with the "Run of Eighty-Nine."

Among the artists exhibiting pictures from Oklahoma City are Edna B. Stevenson, Patty Patterson, Anita Howard, Grace Chadwick, Lottie Conlan, Emma L. Clause, Mrs. Charles McCafferty, Pearl R. Nelson, Mrs. R. M. Vliet, Mabel Remmers, Dorothea Stevenson, Ann Ebel, Faith Tritch, Mary Gentry, Fern Fezler, Laura Wilkinson, Genoa Morris, Mayme Sellers, Melcene Sampson, and Ottelia Quindt. Other members whose works are on exhibition are Louise McNeel, Pawnee; C. O. Williams, Clinton; Edith Coleman and Anita Moore, Chickasha; Mary Shecut Sease and Lora Patterson, Tulsa; Sarah Jane Richter, Okmulgee; Altha Shelby De Weese, Hugo; Irene Parsons, Concho; Elmer Capshaw, Edith Mahier, Eula Grimes, Harriett W. Kritser and Alice Fleming, Norman; Delia Franklin Caston, Ponca City; E. R. Abbott, Delaware; Robert Evans, Weatherford; Jo Lee Rodkey, Shawnee; Myrtle Kelly, Weatherford; Eugene McFarland, Enid; and Virginia McCauley, Nashville, Michigan.

The Honorable John B. Doolin of Alva was elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, July 28, 1938. The following were re-elected members of the Board of Directors on January 26, 1939, for the ensuing five year

term: Judge R. L. Williams, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, and Dr. Grant Foreman.

The following have been elected to membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society during the past quarter: Mrs. Marie Rodke Bailey, Shawnee; John Albert Brown, Oklahoma City (Life); Capt. William Bleakley, Oklahoma City; Mrs. W. E. Broach, Tulsa; A. B. Butler, Jr., Tulsa; W. E. Carey, Oklahoma City; Emmett D. Chisum, Spiro; Haskell Clark, Durant; F. P. Cowan, Mangum; Carney O. Dean, Chandler; Phyllis Hancock, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Beulah Harmon, Alex; Vernon E. Hill, Tulsa; Frances Jean Kawick, Chickasha; George A. Kelly, Oklahoma City; Mrs. C. R. Key, Wewoka; Phillip Charles Lauinger, Tulsa; Mrs. A. Martinez, Anadarko; L. T. McAtee, Lawton; Mrs. Viola Pelter McGreevy, Carmen; Perry J. Morris, Shattuck; Jonathan R. Osborne, Sr., Maysville; Dan W. Peery, Carnegie (Life); Earl Pruet, Oklahoma City; Mrs. B. P. Smith, Chickasha; Prof. M. J. Smith, Bacone; Charles E. Sparks, Tulsa; Goldie E. Spencer, Chickasha; Dean T. U. Taylor, Austin, Texas; Mrs. Emmett Thompson, Ponca City.

The Secretary represented the Society at the American Historical Association at Chicago, December 28-30. He also attended the conference of state and local historical societies.

Last September the Lincoln County Historical Society was organized with the following officers: President, the Reverend E. G. Chancellor, Chandler; First Vice-President, Mrs. Aletha Caldwell Conner, Fallis; Secretary, Miss Carrie S. Thomson, Meeker. Among those who have shown interest in this organization are H. C. Brunt, Chandler, Chairman of the Committee on the Old Settlers Celebration, Mrs. Grace Courtney, County Librarian, and Carney O. Dean, Chandler.

The Pioneer Club of Broken Arrow elected the following officers on October 15, 1938, for the ensuing year: President, Mrs.

Ode Goodson, First Vice-President, A. G. McGechie, Second Vice-President, Mrs. D. B. Childers, Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. W. N. Williams, First and Second Assistants, Mrs. Ruth Hollingsworth and Mrs. George Brown. This organization is composed of persons who lived in Broken Arrow before statehood. Their major activity is the arrangement of plans for the annual Cotton Jubilee and Pioneer Day.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Oklahoma, under the leadership of their Regent, Mrs. Jesse William Kayser, are carrying on a program of marking historic sites in the state.

The Will Rogers Memorial Museum, Claremore, Oklahoma, was dedicated November 4, 1938. The site is a twenty acre tract on a hill overlooking the town, originally purchased by Will Rogers as a homesite and given to the State of Oklahoma by Mrs. Rogers. The design is by John Duncan Forsyth and is suggestive of western ranch house architecture.[1]

The committee appointed to represent the Oklahoma Historical Society at the dedication included Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson, and Mrs. Blanche Lucas.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Oklahoma planted a redbud tree at the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore and dedicated it on November 4. It was brought from the ranch home and birthplace of Rogers.

The Chamber of Commerce of Oklahoma City, on November 11, 1938, honored members of Oklahoma's Constitutional Convention at its weekly forum luncheon. An address was given by Judge R. L. Williams. Other signers of the Constitution present were: Samuel W. Hayes who presided, C. W. Board, Henry L. Cloud, C. C. Fisher, N. B. Gardner, J. A. Harris, W. F. Hendricks, Cham Jones, Henry S. Johnston, J. J. Quarles, F. C.

[1] *The Museum News*, November 15, 1938.

Tracy, George W. Wood, George A. Henshaw, and W. D. Jenkins. W. A. Durant, sergeant-at-arms, and Charles F. Barrett, a clerk, in that memorable body, also attended.

The national convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was held in Tulsa, November 15-19. Mrs. Lutie Walcott of Oklahoma City was elected Recording Secretary General.

On November 16, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Oklahoma made a historical tour of Fort Gibson, Park Hill, and Tahlequah.

Statehood Day was observed by the Oklahoma Memorial Association, November 16.

The Association of the Old Timers of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Country meets every five years on April 19. The next meeting is planned for 1942. The present officers of the Association are: John C. Casady, Cheyenne, President; Mrs. Della I. Young, Cheyenne, Secretary.

The Oklahoma State Society, Daughters of 1812, on December 13, 1938, with appropriate exercises, commemorated the memory of John Golden Ross, a soldier of the War of 1812, by erecting a bronze memorial at his grave in the old Ross Cemetery at Park Hill. The memorial services were conducted by Mrs. Omer K. Benedict, State President, and Mrs. John B. Meserve, Chairman of the Memorial Committee of the State Society.

John Golden Ross who was of no blood relation to Chief John Ross of the Cherokees was born in Scotland on December 23, 1787 and as a child embarked with his parents for America. The parents both died en route and the young child was reared by a kindhearted citizen of Baltimore. As a young man, he gravitated down into the Cherokee country in Tennessee and served as a rifleman in Gen. Jackson's Tennessee Militia in the Creek War of 1813-14 and fought with "Old Hickory" at the

Battle of New Orleans in January, 1815. He married Eliza, a sister of Chief John Ross, in 1819 and in January, 1839, removed to the old Indian Territory and settled at Park Hill, where he passed away on June 2, 1858, and lies buried. He was the father of Chief William Potter Ross of the Cherokees.

This recognition of the services of John Golden Ross, by this patriotic society, is highly commendable and merits the appreciation of the Historical Society.

Mr. and Mrs. Waite Phillips have presented their twenty-three acre estate to the city of Tulsa as a botanical garden and an Indian culture and art museum.

On January 22, 1938, the state tree of Oklahoma, the redbud, was planted on the Capitol grounds by the Narcissus Unit of the Oklahoma Garden Flower Club. It was accompanied by a marker with an appropriate inscription. Mrs. Ward Witten presented it to the state and it was accepted by Mrs. E. W. Marland.

An article entitled "From the Warpath to the White Man's Road" appeared in the Geary *Times-Journal,* January 26, 1939. The author is Stacy Riggs, a Cheyenne living at Clinton, Oklahoma. In previous years he has contributed similar articles to the Colony *Courier,* the Geary *Booster,* and the Geary *Times-Journal* since the present editor, N. H. Seger, has published these papers.

In the near future a marker will be placed at Arcadia by the Oklahoma City chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in cooperation with the Farm Women's Club and the Arcadia Public Schools to mark the place where Washington Irving and a troop of United States Rangers camped in 1832. A roadside park is being established there through the assistance of the state highway department according to Mrs. S. I. Flournoy.

Others who have worked with her have been Mesdames F. M. Crabb, Mrs. Arthur Dana, and Miss Mary Hammett.

There are now statewide museum units in the following Oklahoma towns and cities: Anadarko, Antlers, Atoka, Broken Bow, Carnegie, Collinsville, Edmond, Elk City, El Reno, Enid, Grove, Kenton, Lawton, Madill, Muskogee, Newalla, Norman, Oklahoma City, Sand Springs, Sayre, Tonkawa, Tupelo, and Watonga.[2]

Guthrie is making plans for the celebration of the "Run of Eighty-Nine," on April 22, 1939, according to Raymond Fields, Chairman of the distinguished guests committee. Among those on the program that morning will be Governor Leon C. Phillips.

Oklahoma City is observing the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of "Old Oklahoma" through the cooperation of churches, newspapers, the chamber of commerce, and the schools.

President Frank Buttram, of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, has appointed the following as members of the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration Committee: J. Wilson Swan, Chairman; J. M. Owen, Vice-Chairman; A. H. Parmalee, Vice-Chairman; R. W. Arnold, Lyall Barnhart, R. J. Benzel, Robert L. Billington, M. H. Bonebrake, E. L. Bozarth, Herman L. Broach, L. F. Broderson, J. Cecil Brown, L. J. Bullis, Fred Coombs, George Ade Davis, Jean P. Day, A. M. DeBolt, Jr., H. L. Douglass, Will H. Ford, Ed B. Galloway, Jack Garrison, Gayle Grubb, J. F. Harbour, Dr. I. M. Hargett, Ralph T. Hempill, Lee Hills, Mrs. Mabel Holtzschue, Herbert K. Hyde, Mrs. Mattie L. Jarrott, Miss Edith C. Johnson, Clyde N. Kemery, Robert S. Kerr, Andrew Kingkade, L. E. (Charlie) Knight, W. H. Larson, Joseph Lee, L. A. Macklanburg, James W. Moffitt, Byron F. Moore, Ralph R. Moser, Dr. G. A. Nichols, Charles L. Nicholson, M.

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[2] This list was furnished by L. K. Dortch of the Statewide Museum Service. For additional information address inquiries to Miss Eula E. Fullerton, State Headquarters of the Works Progress Administration, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

E. O'Neil, Moss Patterson, Elmer T. Peterson, Waymond Ramsey, C. K. Reiff, Dr. A. C. Scott, T. J. Settle, Allen Street, R. T. Stuart, Hosea Vinyard, O. K. Wetzel, Dr. W. R. White, Dr. Paul S. Wright, Wilbur Vandegrift, A. L. Cook, Dr. William E. Cole, Dr. Hervey A. Foerster, Ralph Neely, and Hugh Owens.

Among the newspapers bringing out historical editions in April are the Norman *Transcript,* the Stillwater *Free Press,* the *Daily Oklahoman,* and the Capitol Hill *Beacon.* The Oklahoma City *Times* is publishing a historical series on Oklahoma counties and the *Daily Oklahoman* is running pictures of the early days in Oklahoma.

Okemah will celebrate its thirty-seventh anniversary on April 22, 1939. On that day the Governor will participate in the afternoon parade. A special invitation was extended to him, on January 9, at his inauguration, by the Buckaroos. George Shultz, President of the Chamber of Commerce is in charge of arrangements.

The Cherokee Seminary Students Association will meet on May 7, 1939, at Tahlequah. The Northwestern State Teachers College will be the place of the meeting. In the morning there will be registration and a sermon with dinner on the grounds at noon. The afternoon will be devoted to a reunion of former students. The following are officers: Judge Wm. P. Thompson, Oklahoma City, President; Lola Bowers, Tahlequah, Secretary, and J. B. Milam, Chelsea, Program chairman.

The Oklahoma Historical Society will hold its annual meeting at Durant, May 11-12, 1939. The President, Judge R. L. Williams, has announced the following program committee from the Society: Chairman, Dr. Grant Foreman, Vice-Chairman, Col. A. N. Leecraft; Judge Harry Campbell, Judge John Bartlett Meserve, and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour.

The principal address will be made by Dr. B. D. Weeks, President of Bacone College. There will also be a tour of points

of historical interest in the old Choctaw Nation, in the vicinity of Durant, extending to Fort Washita, Tuskahoma, old Rose Hill (the Robert M. Jones Cemetery) and the Goodland Academy.

Plans are being considered for an observance of the anniversary of Hinton in May, according to Mrs. Arthur Wettengill of the Hinton *Record.*

On May 21, there will be a meeting of the Old Day County Association at Grand under the leadership of the following officers: J. L. Bivins, President, and O. E. Null, Secretary.

A recent issue of the Westville *Record,* edited by Dean Sebring, tells of the plans for the celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Baptist Mission Church near Westville, on May 21, of this year.

Judge R. A. Hefner has renewed his offer to give $50.00 another year for the best paper on some phase of Oklahoma Baptist history. The contest is open to all students of Oklahoma colleges and universities whether undergraduate or graduate students. The activities, biographies, or institutions treated must go back at least fifty years in time. All papers entered should be in the office of Dr. E. C. Routh, editor of the *Baptist Messenger,* at Oklahoma City, by April 30, 1939.

The attention of our readers is called to the "Minutes" on pages 110-114, where other items of interest may be found.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Colorado Range Cattle Industry. By Ora Brooks Peake, (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937. 357 pp. Frontispiece, maps, illustrations, bibliography, and appendices. $6.00.)

Since Colorado is one of the range states that has been somewhat neglected by writers dealing with ranching operations in the West, this supplies a real need.

In addition to a brief introduction the volume is divided into six sections. These deal with stocking the state, the removal of the Indians, securing land for grazing, stock associations, state ordinances and laws, and marketing Colorado range cattle. Numerous short tables present figures that are both interesting and informative. The portrait of John Wesley Iliff used as a frontispiece and eight additional illustrations and maps add to the interest and value of the volume. Many of the twenty-four brief appendices also present valuable material, though it is an open question as to whether some of them might not as well have been omitted.

It is to be regretted that a few errors and loose statements have crept in that, although trivial enough in themselves, might possibly serve to detract attention from other very valuable features of the book. For example, in referring to the destruction of prairie dogs (p. 242) the author says: "One teaspoonful of bisulphite (sic) of carbon soaked into any dry substance and dropped into a hole would kill about two hundred dogs." While bisulphite of carbon was extensively used to kill prairie dogs throughout the range area, any such easy wholesale slaughter was obviously impossible.

Other statements which tax the credulity of the reader are (p. 254) that a good cook was "supposed to prepare a meal in a half hour for from thirty to forty men." Also it is stated (p. 255) that in the eighties often as many as seventy-five wagons

were connected with a single round-up. Since the author gives the number of men for every wagon as ten to twenty, each man with five to ten horses, it seems incredible that such an army of men, horses, and wagons could "often" have taken part in a single round-up. To pay twenty-three dollars for a Spanish bit (p. 256) must have been very unusual and the reference to "fish slickers" on the same page is misleading since the term "Fish" merely referred to a well known brand of slicker and linseed oil rather than "fish oil" was used in its manufacture.

Citations and bibliography indicate that the book has been prepared largely from printed materials and, though some manuscript sources have been used, the critical reader will regret that there is little reference to range books, personal letters, diaries, and other contemporary manuscripts of a personal nature.

In spite of such errors and omissions the volume shows evidence of long and painstaking research. It contains a great fund of very valuable information and is an interesting and worth while contribution to the literature of the ranching industry.

Edward Everett Dale

University of Oklahoma

McGillivray of the Creeks. By John Walton Caughey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938. 385 pp. Bibliography. $3.50.)

Both the Indians and the white men were fortunate in having able leaders during "the critical period" following the War for Independence. The places of Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson were taken among the red man by those two great leaders, Joseph Brant and Alexander McGillivray. This treatment of the latter presents him and his policies with a long-desired clarity. By using the system of printing the source material prefaced by an introduction of some fifty-seven pages by the editor, both those who read and run and those who stay to study are pleased.

It has been the fate of the Indian always to be involved, willingly or unwillingly, in international rivalries. Sometimes the Indians used these rivalries to play off Europeans against each other. In every case any temporary success was followed by eventual defeat. Mr. Caughey presents documents showing that no one could have played the diplomatic game more adroitly, nor with more desire for the good of the Indians themselves, than did Alexander McGillivray. Though often incapacitated by disease, this important and remarkable man moulded a loose collection of villages into an effective instrument for trading upon the rivalries of Spain and the United States to extort concessions from both.

Of Scotch, French, and Indian descent, McGillivray's first great experience was his education at Charlestown and the confiscation of his property as a loyalist in the Revolution. He served with the British, and as a colonel and British agent among the Indians obtained experience and importance. The withdrawal of the British left the Creeks without protectors and trade facilities. In his need McGillivray turned toward Spain. Americans were so notoriously land-hungry that they remained his *bete noir* for the rest of his life. By adroit presentation of the necessity of Creek friendship to Spain and the urgency of cheap and plentiful trade goods to hold this friendship, McGillivray secured Spanish help, increased his own importance among both Spaniards and Indians, and aided his own financial condition as agent of the Spanish and partner in a trading concern. He pushed the backing given by Spain to the utmost against the encroachments of Cumberland and Georgia. In spite of false treaties and attempts at his assassination and the dividing of his nation by the Georgians he held the Indians together, and convinced many Americans that he was in the right. Though handicapped by threats of the withdrawal of Spanish support, he drove back the settlers on disputed lands and compelled the United States to send a commission to settle matters. After walking out on this commission, he relented enough to go to New York in 1790 and make a treaty with Washington and the new government.

This did not end his difficulties. The Spaniards were afraid that he had sold himself to the Americans; the land-hunters and speculators fought any limitation of Georgia's boundaries and grants; the filibustering exploits of William Augustus Bowles divided the Creeks; and McGillivray's old friend, Miro, was succeeded by the less-able Carondolet. Just when it seemed that McGillivray had overcome these obstacles he died at the height of his influence. Though it seems a pity, yet his death may have been fortunate. He did not live to see Pinckney's treaty and the defeat of Wayne, with their forecast of the destruction of his great goal of Creek independence.

Dr. Caughey, now assistant professor of history at the University of California at Los Angeles, presents a fine selection of documents telling this story. He is to be congratulated on his bibliography as well as his discovery, selection, and editing of the documents, which are largely taken from Spanish archives.

The main disappointment which students of this period may feel is that little is said about McGillivray's relations with the northern Indian confederacy, then engaged in a similar fight for life. Scattered statements in the sources printed here and the logic of the situation lead us to believe that this relation was important. One would like to know McGillivray's policy in this direction. Dr. Caughey is concerned with Spanish relations and probably did not feel it wise to make the necessary investigation into Canadian and British archives to develop this element. These archives lead one to the belief that Creek influence was influential, and perhaps even led to the failure of peace in the North in 1793.

This is volume 18 of the Civilization of the American Indian Series of the University of Oklahoma Press and has the attractive appearance, type, and make-up which we are accustomed to expect in its products.

M. J. Smith.

Bacone College

Conquest of the Southern Plains, by Charles J. Brill. (Oklahoma City: Golden Saga Publishing Company, 1938, 323 pp. $3.50.)

The struggle between the Indians and the white men for the dominance of this continent reached its climax in 1868 in the "Battle of the Washita" in the western part of what is now the State of Oklahoma. There are two sides to every story, and in *The Conquest of the Southern Plains,* Charles J. Brill gives the Indian side of the struggle for dominance in the Southwest.

It is very important that the Indians' story should be told, and the author draws a vivid picture of some of the wrongs which the Indians suffered. That picture, in so far as it is true, is one which should make every decent citizen of the United States hang his head in shame. Brill is unquestionably right in his charges of bad administration of Indian Affairs by the United States Government. The Indians were driven from lands guaranteed to them by treaties and they were often cheated in the distribution of food and supplies.

Twice the House of Representatives passed bills putting the Indian administration entirely in the hands of the army, but both bills were strangled in the Senate. Few army officers, if any, would be likely to risk their reputations and their retired pay for the sake of petty pilfering, but the members of the Senate were not willing to take the political appointments away from civilians. There were also post-traders who were civilians, appointed by the Secretary of War, himself a civilian, and one of the greatest scandals in our history developed from the sale of the post-traderships under Secretary Belknap. Indian agents and dishonest traders often worked together for the undoing of the Indians.

Army officers in general are not attacked in the book, but General Custer, because he was the officer in command at the "Battle of the Washita," is.

As to the author's charge that the "Battle of the Washita" was mainly a massacre of women and children with the assassi-

nation of Black Kettle, we have Ben Clark's assertion that when General Custer heard that some of his soldiers were "chasing the panic-stricken women and children" and Clark asked him if he wanted them killed, Custer replied, "No. Tell Myers to call off his men and take the runaways to a big lodge, and put a guard over them." Ben Clark then got together about sixty women and children who were saved by Custer's order. Of the women who were killed many had guns and were fighting as fiercely as the men. Most of the others were killed by the Osage scouts over whom Custer could not watch continuously, and who were glad to get a chance to wreak vengeance on their tribal enemies.

The author is correct in stating that Satanta and other chiefs of the Kiowas did not take part in the Battle of the Washita. But the Kiowas of his village went back on the 26th of November from Fort Cobb and could easily take part in the battle. According to General Hazen, Satanta and his principal chiefs did not leave Fort Cobb until the 27th the day of the battle. As to how friendly they were to the white men and how eager for peace, we have several statements of General Hazen in letters to General Sherman. They were published in General Hazen's *Some Corrections of (Custer's) Life on the Plains,* from which the author makes other quotations. Hazen wrote to Sherman on December 7, 1868:

> "I have never had faith in Satanta, and if he finally gets a drubbing with the rest, it will be better for everybody. I think by large presents of coffee and sugar he might have been bought for peace, but not for a valuable and lasting one. . . . I am more strongly of the opinion than ever that General Sheridan should do his work thoroughly this winter, and that it will be lasting . . . To suppose the late battle decisive and cease offensive operations would be very unfortunate."

Hazen quotes a letter from Philip McCusker, an official interpreter for the Indian agency who had lived with the Indians for eight years and who wrote:

> "Soon after the close of the Council at Medicine Lodge, the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, instead of remaining on their reservation at peace, as they had promised deliberately violated all their pledges of friendship, and made many murderous raids

> into Texas—murdering many men, women and children, and carrying many of the latter into captivity, some of whom were with great difficulty ransomed with large sums of money and goods: many children dying on their way to the Indian camps, and some few were never given up, but have grown up among the Indians, the latter saying they were dead. As fast as I learned the particulars of these outrages, I reported them promptly to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and to the Commissioner, and urged that some steps be taken to punish the guilty parties."

It seems inconsistent that Hazen and McCusker should admit the guilt of the raiding and murdering Kiowas and urge their punishment, and yet condemn the action on the Washita. They thought for a time that the guilty Indians should be punished as individuals after a trial.

As to the guilt of Black Kettle's Cheyennes, Hazen wrote to Sherman on December 31, 1868:

> "I notice the papers are stating that Black Kettle's camp destroyed by Custer were peaceable Indians on their way to their reservation. In his talk with me some five or six days before he was killed, Black Kettle stated that many of his men were then on the war path, and that their people did not want peace with the people above the Arkansas. His people were those engaged in the trouble on the Solomon, and their reservation was not in this section of the country at all."

It was one of the war parties mentioned here by Black Kettle whose returning trail was followed by the Seventh Cavalry to Black Kettle's village the night before the battle.

As for the participation of Black Kettle's band in raids, it is admitted, as early as 1864, before the Chivington Massacre, in a statement signed by Black Kettle and quoted by the author on page 53 that at that time the Cheyennes had three war parties out and were holding seven white prisoners. As he was sincerely anxious for peace with the whites, he offered to give up the prisoners, and tried to keep his warriors from hostile acts.

The author of *Conquest of the Southern Plains* twice quotes General Harney as saying, "I have never yet known an instance in which war broke out with these tribes that the tribes were

not in the right." But he condemned as strongly as did Sheridan and Custer the way in which the Indians made war.

Brill is to be commended for the tireless way in which he has collected material—photographs, maps, and documents of great interest and value. And it is very interesting to learn through him what the Cheyennes of seventy years ago told their children about the white men's conquest of the Southwest. But he has not written a history of that period. He has told the Indians' story of it. He rejects from the authors he quotes statements which reflect on the Indians.

His chief sources of information are the stories of aged men who were in their teens at the time of the events they describe. Those who are accustomed to weighing evidence have learned that great caution must be used in accepting details of stories told by old men of any race.

There is need of an accurate history of the struggle between the two races for the dominance of this continent. But its author must weigh evidence carefully and be able to see and understand both sides of the struggle. There was right and wrong on both sides. The Indian race has made a great contribution to the building of America in the past, and all her sons of every race are needed to build the America of the future.

Colonel Charles Francis Bates,

U. S. A., Retired.

Bronxville, New York.

Southern Plainsmen. By Carl Coke Rister. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938. 289 pages. $3.00.)

This interesting book written by an eminent scholar in southwestern history is a valuable contribution to the entire field of history. The author has made a minute study of the background of the present southern plains civilization. His purpose has been to show that the area including the plains of Nebraska, Kansas, Indian Territory, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado

is apart from the northern plains in its physical characteristics, its flora and fauna, and in its history, and to demonstrate that these peculiar forces have given rise to a culture which is unique and outstanding. From first hand knowledge as a son of a pioneer Texas family, Dr. Rister is familiar with the intimate details of the southern plains life. His work reflects his intense interest in it but he has not lost the historical approach and logical evaluation of the abundant material which he has collected. In his fluent, lucid, and readable style he has pictured vividly the merciless tempering of the rugged pioneer by the fire of Indian raids, grasshopper pestilences, and outlawry, and his polishing by education, religion, and justice to produce the southern plainsman.

Dr. Rister opens his narrative with a discussion of the abundance of wild life in the Southwest before the advent of the white settler. The author relates the story of the destruction of that "hunters' paradise" by the inrush of the railroad, highways, and permanent settlements. The life of the Indian warrior, the early hunter, trader, missionary, teacher, cowman, and the pioneer farmer are brought before the reader for review. Not satisfied with relating the events of this background period he has searched out and chronicled the traits of the country and people, details of everyday life, and historical facts surrounding it, and has carefully traced and analyzed the effect of all these factors in the development of the present plains culture.

The courageous Indian, although often duped by profiteering and corrupt agents, was conquered despite his heroic resistance to save his wild game, his lands, and his people. The cattlemen in possession for a brief era were forced to share the rich lands with the "nesters" who soon began to fence their fields. The author tells the interesting story of the opening of Old Oklahoma and its rapid development during the next few years. Many amusing stories of experiences in early days enlighten the narrative. The boasting bullwhacker swinging his twenty-foot blacksnake whip in his effort to cut a man's pantaloons without cutting

the flesh, the Judge Roy P. Bean type of western justice, the pioneer square dances, the selection of a teacher for a frontier school who could spell "surcingle", are examples of western comedy. However, in contrast the sufferings of white women and children from Indian raids and tribal captivity, the struggle of the frontier farmer against devastating insects and severe dust storms, and the hardships of the early missionaries reveal that life on the early plains had its serious side.

Many of the eighteen chapers have catchy titles such as: "The Land of Milk and Honey," "Ships of the Plains," Moonlight Raids," "Clodhopper vs. Grasshopper," "Soldiers of the Cross," and "Home Remedies and the Pill Bag." Twelve illustrations of early pioneer life, and a map of the southern plains with early and late settlements, give distinct aid. The author includes an excellent bibliography composed of manuscripts, state and national government publications, newspapers, periodicals, diaries and journals, and many books on western history. The book is printed in Caslon 337 type which is somewhat trying upon the eyes of the average reader.

The publication is covered with an attractive jacket which has an interesting pioneer village design drawn by J. P. Conkright. The quality of the book is proven by its recommendation by the Book-of-the-Month Club. The author has assembled valuable historical material upon an era of American history which has passed and the reviewer feels that the writer has succeeded in his purpose in showing that life on the southern plains differed from that of any other region.

J. V. Frederick.

Northwestern State Teachers College.

Quanah, the Eagle of the Comanches. By Zoe A. Tilghman. (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1938, viii+196pp. $2.50.)

In the sixth year of the third decade of the last century a band of marauding Comanches descended upon the pioneer settle-

ment at Parker's Fort on the Navasota river in Texas. A young girl, snatched away amid the fire and slaughter on that day in May grew up among her captors, the Comanches, to become years later the wife of the Nokoni chief. To this strange union was born late in 1845 a son whom they called Quanah, which translated into the language of the boy's mother meant *The Eagle.*

The tragic story of Cynthia Ann Parker might have been as other tales of white captives of Indians, but for this son. Quanah, bearing in his person the blood of two races but all Indian by inheritance and by instinct, was born in a Stone Age culture. He became the leader of his father's people, and from this primitive and nomadic life he passed into the civilization of the white man and became the friend of two presidents. The story of the life and accomplishments of Quanah Parker is, at the same time, the story of his people. This is the chronicle of Comanche wandering on the plains of Texas, and the struggle of the tribe against the steady white encroachment upon the Indian domain which reached its climax in the defeat of the Indians at Adobe Walls. The Comanches were relentlessly pursued by the United States Army until they finally capitulated and were moved to the great reservation in what is now southwestern Oklahoma. There the Comanches entered a new life, and their last chief became at once a trusted friend and adviser of the Government, living to see his tribe give itself and its heritage to the formation of the commonwealth of Oklahoma.

The life of the Eagle of the Comanches has been faithfully drawn from the meager official records, family documents and newspaper sources; and, in manuscript form, was read and corrected by a son of Quanah, the Reverend White Parker. Many passages are descriptive of the beautiful Comanche frontier; indeed, at times Mrs. Tilghman's prose is almost poetic. Especially contributory are the chronology of the chief events of the biography and the listing of the members of the family of Quanah. A map of the Comanche country at the time of Cynthia Ann and Quanah Parker forms the end papers. Other illustrations are

drawings in sepia by Phoebe Ann White. These reproductions from photographs are faithful and artistic; but this reviewer, for one, would have preferred instead the inclusion of some of those photographs, though perhaps they would not have reproduced so well. The volume does not have an index.

This is substantial contribution to the history of the Southwest. Mrs. Tilghman, whose husband was a well-known frontiersman, deserves hearty congratulations for this fascinating story of this great Indian leader.

Gaston L. Litton.

The National Archives.

Song of the Old Southwest. By John A. Overstreet. (Guthrie: The Cooperative Publishing Company, 1937. 300 pp. Twenty full page illustrations. $1.00)

This is written in amphibrachic blank verse with alternating tetrameter and trimeter lines. The work also has a special feature of absolute measure not heretofore observed in books of blank verse composition. The word-selection used has molded the lines into correspondingly even and exact lengths, so that there are no divided words at the end of the lines. This is made possible by using equal-space type for the text, and unquestionably required considerable attention in the formation.

The work treats of the early conditions and peoples of the areas formerly known as "the Southwest," with special emphasis on the roving Plains Indians, the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Buffaloes, the Cowboys, the Roundups, the Cattle Trails, the Cowmen, the Bad-Men, the Squaw-Men, and the Immigrant Farmers. The consideration of these subjects is based mostly upon the personal contact and observation of the condition by the Author himself, who was born in Texas and has spent more than fifty years of his life in the section of country now embraced in Oklahoma. He was one of the early students in the University of Oklahoma, where he was in attendance for

a period of five years and was one of the organizers and a charter member of the University wing of the Oklahoma Historical Society. His knowledge of the early conditions has substantially aided him in this work. The price of the book has been reduced to $1.00 recently.

Song of The Old Southwest was printed and bound by The Co-operative Publishing Company at Guthrie, Oklahoma, and the excellent format of the book reflects credit on their ability to turn out work of high character. The text is printed on 80-pound enameled paper, and the attractive and durable "Karatol" is used for the cover. It is neat in appearance and convenient in size, being eight inches by six inches.

Joseph B. Thoburn.

Union Room
Oklahoma Historical Society.

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY January 26, 1939

The first regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 26, 1939, at 10:00 A. M., with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Judge Harry Campbell, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mr. George H. Evans, Dr. Grant Foreman, Mr. James H. Gardner, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Gen. William S. Key, Mrs. Frank Korn, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. John R. Williams, Judge Robert L. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The following members had reported their inability to be present: Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. John B. Doolin, Judge Robert A. Hefner and Mr. John B. Meserve, and upon motion the reasons given for absence were deemed sufficient.

The President presented to the Society a framed photograph of 34 of the 200 United States Deputy Marshals working out from the Federal Court for the Western District of Arkansas, 1875-1896.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that the photograph be received and that Mr. W. J. Truby be paid $1.50 for framing the picture. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. James H. Gardner presented to the Society a large map of the Chisholm Trail, made by the Aero Exploration Company, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, January, 1938.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that appropriate recognition and thanks be rendered to Mr. Gardner and the donors of this map. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that a committee be appointed to investigate and ascertain the cost of framing this map and the cost of a table to set it on under the glass. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore introduced Mrs. A. E. Perry, who presented to the Society the portrait of Mrs. Czarina Colbert Conlan, gift of friends, and painted by the Polish artist Rembski.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that the portrait be accepted with thanks to the donors. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President presented to the Society a family Bible of the late Col. Robert M. Jones and a collection of his letters and other papers and manuscripts delivered to him for such presentation by the late J. H. Randell of Denison, Texas, the following being a list of same:

A Bible published and sold by Edmund Cushing, of Luenburg, Mass., 1829, in which was inscribed the births and deaths of members of the family of Robert M. Jones.

Original school certificate dated June 11, 1830, signed by Theo. Henderson, superintendent of Choctaw Academy, and also original supplemental

certificate, signed by Theo Henderson, Teacher, and F. C. M. Calla, Asst. Teacher, and Richard M. Johnson, afterwards Vice-President of the United States.

A note signed by Sam Garland, dated Dec. 14, 1867, and also a note memorandum signed by A. Wright, Dec. 19, 1867.

An account memorandum dated 1850, Col. P. P. Pitchlynn, Dr. to Berthelet, Jones & Co.

Also other notes signed by Samuel Garland, dated Dec. 16, 1867, and other memoranda as to Pitchlynn, and a letter dated October 27, 1860, addressed to Robert M. Jones, by P. P. Pitchlynn. Letters signed by Campbell Leflore, dated Nov. 2, 1888, and certified copy of communication by Campbell Leflore to the Choctaw Council, dated November 2, 1888, the certificate being made by A. Telle, National Secretary of the Choctaw Nation, and dated Nov. 7th, 1888.

A letter from Robert M. Jones dated at Armstrong Academy, Friday, 8th Nov. 1872, to his wife. A letter addressed to Robert M. Jones, written from Boggy Depot, September 23, 1872, signed by Allen Wright. A letter from S. B. Maxey, General of the Confederate Army and later U. S. Senator from Texas, dated at Paris, Texas, April 14, 1868, addressed to R. M. Jones, Rose Hill, Choctaw Nation. A letter from P. P. Pitchlynn to Robert M. Jones, dated at Washington. D. C., 1872. Letter from D. H. Cooper, Brigadier General of the Confederate Army from Indian Territory and formerly Indian Agent to the Choctaws, dated July 19, 1871, addressed to Robert M. Jones. Printed statement of an account made by Campbell Leflore, Choctaw Delegate, dated Washington, D. C., January 16, 1888.

Other data as follows: Statement to Martin Epps, dated Amelia Court House, Va., June 20, 1878, and copy of marriage bond of John Jennings on account of William Jennings and W. Fanny Jones, the marriage taking place the 12th day of December, 1736, the bond being of record in Amelia County, Virginia, and also a letter dated Amelia County, Va., May 14, 1878, written by E. H. Coleman, Clerk in said county. (This data goes to show that Robert M. Jones was probably kin or descended from the Jones Family in Amelia County in Virginia. RLW).

Also a letter from P. P. Pitchlynn dated April 25, 1872, a little over two months after Colonel Robert M. Jones' death. A letter from Mrs. E. A. Moore, nee Earles, who was the wife of Col. R. M. Jones at the time of his death, also a letter dated Wheelock, Oct. 16, 1868, signed "Mary Jones," who was the daughter of Colonel Jones, and addressed to him. Also a receipt from G. W. Harkins, given to Mrs. E. A. Bailey, formerly Mrs. R. M. Jones. Also a letter from Sampson Folsom dated January 16, 1869. Also a letter from Mrs. A. E. Moore, formerly Mrs. R. M. Jones, dated Oct. 6, 1888. Also a letter from T. J. Bond, to R. M. Jones, dated Washington City, D. C., May 17, 1868. Also letter from Allen Wright, dated Boggy Depot, C. N., February 22, 1868, addressed to R. M. Jones. Also a letter dated Washington, D. C., May 16, 1872, addressed to Robt. M. Jones, signed by M. S. Temple. Also a letter from Tate Springs, Tenn., written to Col. Jones by T. C. Bass. Also material signed by Sam'l Garland. Various papers signed by A. Wright, Sam'l Garland and printed circulars signed by R. M. Jones.

All these matters, papers, and letters were committed to me by J. H. Randell in his life time with the injunction that I was to place them in the vaults of the Historical Society for preservation, including the Bible, and I also file a statement from J. H. Randell and copies of correspondence which he committed to me at the same time. And I ask that these papers be placed in proper folders and designated as the "Robert M. Jones Papers."

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that same be accepted wiith appreciation and thanks and placed in a vault for safe-keeping. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Hays of Ada, Oklahoma appeared before the Board to secure help in preserving the Chickasaw Capitol, now used as a county court house, and located on a five-acre site in Tishomingo, all of which is the property of Johnston County, Oklahoma.

Mrs. John R. Williams moved that this question be referred to the authorities of the City of Tishomingo and of Johnston County, with the assurance that the Historical Society would be glad to co-operate, with the understanding that Mrs. Jessie E. Moore would notify the proper authorities of our attitude in the matter. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Czarina C. Conlan presented to the Society an enlarged framed photograph of the Rev. Joseph Samuel Murrow, Baptist Missionary to the Indians, 1857-1929, gift of his eight living grandchildren: Murrow McBride, Clara Butler, Ralph McBride, Elliott McBride, John McBride, Hiram McBride, Mrs. Victor Cline and Mrs. Joy Morris.

Judge Baxter Taylor, a life long friend of Mr. Murrow, moved that the photograph be accepted by the Society and the donors thanked. Motion was seconded and carried.

Gen. William S. Key presented the following resolution: Resolved that the death of Peter James Hudson, on October 1, 1938, closes the chapter of a life causing an irreparable loss to his tribe and to the Oklahoma Historical Society; and its Board of Directors, in regular session, by this resolution so express itself, and extend its sympathy to his bereaved relatives and fellow tribesmen. Upon motion duly seconded, the resolution was adopted.

Mrs. John Randolph Frazier having died in Oklahoma City on December 4, 1938, an active career as wife and mother, clubwoman and church worker was closed. She was for years a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and a number of years a member of its Board of Directors.

Resolved, that her death is a great loss to that throng of such workers and we express to her surviving children and relatives and friends our sympathies.

The adoption of the foregoing resolution was moved by Hon. W. J. Peterson, which was duly seconded and unanimously adopted.

Dr. Grant Foreman, the Society's representative, reported on the Fort Gibson Stockade Commission, and requested that the account be audited. The President appointed Judge Harry Campbell to act as auditor.

Dr. Grant Foreman presented to the Society a plat of Fort Davis, a Confederate Garrison Post in 1862, showing the location of buildings and well, also the location of a prehistoric Indian Mound used for lookout and flagstaff, and moved that the map be accepted and that Mr. T. P. Clonts, Engineer of Muskogee, be thanked for his services in preparing this map. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman reported on the WPA project (S179A) sponsored by this Society, which unless renewed would expire in April, 1939, and moved for its continuation or renewal, and that the President of the Society be authorized to act to that end, and that he be given authority to use any funds available, either state appropriation, direct or by transfer, or private funds of the Society as may be necessary for its extension or renewal or being re-created that such work may be carried on. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The President read a letter from Mr. J. M. Owen, President of the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association, presenting to the Society a diorama depicting Oklahoma City when only a few weeks old.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the diorama be accepted and the donors thanked for this contribution to the museum. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman read a letter from the Assistant Librarian of the A. & M. College regarding the preparation of a bibliography of manuscripts printed in Indian Territory and Oklahoma, in which the Society was asked to recommend that the work be done.

Judge Harry Campbell moved that the matter be deferred for further consideration. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, chairman of the committee to search magazines published by other Historical Societies and learn what they are doing in the way of giving their magazines a more human interest as to news items, read her report which was ordered received and filed with the Secretary and he was requested to furnish a copy to each member of the Publication Committe.

The President read a letter addressed to the Board from Mr. Hugh M. Johnson, President of the First National Bank and Trust Company, Oklahoma City, planning with the cooperation of the Society for the participation in celebrating the Fiftieth (Golden) Anniversary of the opening in 1889 of the Oklahoma country to settlement, and asked that certain designated exhibits be placed in the lobby of said bank, which was offered for such service, from April 20 to May 20, 1939, the bank agreeing to pay for the insurance of such articles for the full protection of the Society.

Hon. W. J. Peterson moved that we accept with the provision that the bank insure the material, pay all transportation charges, and all expenses incident thereto, and also that the bank pay the salary of an officer or regular employee of the Historical Society to be in charge of said exhibit during said period. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President presented the matter of the annual meeting of the Society be held at Durant and requested that the Board fix the date of the meeting.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the said next annual meeting of the Society be held May 11-12, 1939. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary reported that no petitions had been filed for the placing of any candidate on a referendum ballot for the election of members of the Board of Directors to succeed the five members whose terms would expire with said meeting, to-wit, Judge R. L. Williams, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Dr. Grant Foreman and Judge Samuel W. Hayes. As under the Constitution and under such a status, said members standing as being reelected for another term of five years, Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that the rules be suspended and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of said board for reelection as members of the Board of directors for the respective ensuing five-year terms. Said motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried. The Secretary accordingly so cast the votes of said directors and said members were then and there declared duly elected for such terms.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership in the Society:

Life: John Albert Brown, Oklahoma City.

Annual: Mrs. Marie Rodke Bailey, Shawnee; Capt. William Bleakley, Oklahoma City; Mrs. W. E. Broach, Tulsa; A. B. Butler, Jr., Tulsa; W. E. Carey, Oklahoma City; Emmett D. Chisum, Spiro; Haskell Clark, Durant; F. P. Cowan, Mangum; Carney O. Dean, Chandler; Phyllis Hancock, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Beulah Harmon, Alex; Vernon E. Hill, Tulsa; Frances Jean Kawick, Chickasha; George A. Kelly, Oklahoma City; Mrs. C. R. Key, Wewoka; Phillip Charles Lauinger, Tulsa; Mrs. A. Martinez, Anadarko; L. T. McAtee, Lawton; Mrs. Viola Pelter McGreevy, Carmen; Perry J. Morris, Shattuck; Jonathan R. Osborne, Sr., Maysville; Earl Pruet, Oklahoma City; Mrs. B. P. Smith, Chickasha; Prof. M. J. Smith, Bacone; Charles E.

Sparks, Tulsa; Goldie E. Spencer, Chickasha; Prof. T. U. Taylor, Austin, Texas; Mrs. Emmett Thompson, Ponca City.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that these persons be elected to membership in the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that the rules be suspended and that the former Secretary, Dan W. Peery, be elected to a life membership in the Society. Motion was seconded and carried, and he was declared to be a life member thereof.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the Board of Directors express their regret for the accident that had happened to Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, custodian of the Union Soldiers' Room, and express our sympathy and wish for him a speedy recovery. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read a letter from Mr. Albert Sydney Edmonds, of Kansas City, Kansas, relating to a diary kept by his uncle on a trip by wagon from Lexington, Missouri, over the Indian lands to Texas in 1870, and reported that the book could be obtained and photostated, or that portion of it that referred to the Indian lands, and asked that it be referred to the publication committee for consideration for the magazine.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that this procedure be approved. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the reading of the minutes of the Board meeting held October 27, 1938, be dispensed with at this time. Motion was seconded and carried.

Upon motion of Judge William P. Thompson the meeting stood adjourned subject to call of the President.

Robert L. Williams, President,
presiding.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

WILLIAM LEE ALEXANDER

NECROLOGY

WILLIAM LEE ALEXANDER

1869-1938

William Lee Alexander, son of Abdon and Martha Jane Sloan Alexander, was born near Charlotte, in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on January 29, 1869. His parents located on a farm in Grayson County, Texas, in 1872.

During his youth his unceasing effort was toward securing an education. He made the run into Oklahoma Territory on April 22, 1889. The following year he returned to Texas, entering the Normal School at Denton, and during intervening vacations teaching two terms of country schools. He returned to Oklahoma County to engage in teaching. He taught at Choctaw and vicinity for five years, during this period securing a claim in Pottawatomie County at the opening of the Pottawatomie Reservation. In 1896 he was nominated by the Democratic County Convention of Oklahoma County for County Treasurer, and elected in the general election. In 1898, being renominated, he was again elected. At the expiration of his second term in 1900, his brother John S. Alexander, was nominated and elected to succeed him.

He had two other brothers, Charles Alexander, who for years served as Deputy State Examiner and Inspector, and James N. Alexander, of Love County.

When the Kiowa and Comanche Reservations were opened for settlement, he removed to Hobart, engaging in the real estate business. After a year and a half, he returned to Oklahoma City and established the Alexander Real Estate and Insurance concern, with his brother, John S. Alexander and Harry Upsher.

An original member of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce he served as a director for three years. A member of the Oklahoma Territorial Democratic Committee for ten years, he served for a part of that period as its Secretary. In the campaign in 1902 for the election of the late William (Bill) Cross as a democratic delegate to the Congress of the United States, he was manager. In 1908 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Denver, Colorado. He was an active and capable worker in the Democratic party organization.

A member of the 89ers Association, he served for a time as its Secretary. He was a member of the Odd Fellows, A. O. U. W. organization, the Masonic Order (32° Mason) and a Shriner.

His first wife, Miss Dora Johnston, whom he married in Texas in 1890, died in 1904. He and Mrs. Cleo Greer of Sherman, Texas, were married in 1905. No children came to either marriage.

He was descended from the Alexander family that was active in the adopting and promulgating of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,[1] the following being among its signers: Colonel Abraham Alexander, Colonel Adam Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, Ezra Alexander, and Charles Alexander.

He was persistently active in business and politics, loyal to his friends—an opponent to be dreaded.

[1] *The Mechlenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775, and Lives of Its Signers*, by George W. Graham, M.D., The Neale Publishing Company, New York and Washington, 1905.

In 1914 he was nominated in the democratic primary for state treasurrer and elected, serving faithfully from January 11, 1915, to January 13, 1919. In 1918 he was a formidable candidate for the democratic nomination for governor. In 1923 he was appointed superintendent of the Northern Oklahoma Hospital at Enid, continuing in such capacity until early in 1931, his administration being regarded as efficient and humane. During Governor E. W. Marland's administration he was appointed as superintendent of the East Oklahoma State Home for White Children at Pryor, in which capacity he was faithfully and efficiently erving at the time of his death on October 2, 1938, being buried in Oklahoma City.

His widow, Mrs. Cleo Greer Alexander, two sisters, Mrs. John Godwin of Moore, Oklahoma, and Mrs. Susan Amos of Phoenix, Arizona, a brother, James N. Alexander of Marietta, Oklahoma, and a niece, Mrs. Lotus Alexander Harper of Oklahoma City, survive him.

R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

JOSEPH FRANCIS KING

JOSEPH FRANCIS KING

1858-1938

Joseph Francis King, son of John King and his wife, Hannorah Cusic King, was born October 28, 1858, at Leavenworth, Kansas, and died at Oklahoma City on November 10, 1938, being buried at Marshall, Missouri.

His paternal grandmother was a McDonaugh, born and died in County Galway, Ireland, and his maternal grandmother a Crow, born in Ireland but died in Leavenworth, Kansas. Both his father and mother died near Junction City, Kansas.

He was the oldest of four children, the next in order of age being a brother, George W. King, now deceased, survived by two children, Harold King, now living, an attorney, at Denver, Colorado (Symes Building), and Ed King of Scotts Bluff, Nebraska. The third in order of age is Marguerite, a Roman Catholic nun at St. Mary's Academy, Leavenworth, Kansas, known as Sister Sylvera; and the youngest, a brother, James King, now deceased, who lived at Skiddy, Morris County, Kansas, survived by ten children and his widow. One of his daughters, Dorothy King, resides at Topeka, Kansas, and a son, Edward King, at Skiddy, Kansas.

When Joseph Francis King was seven years old his parents moved from Leavenworth, Kansas, to a farm southeast of Junction City, Kansas, where he attended the country schools, and afterwards completed a course of study at St. Mary's Academy at Leavenworth, Kansas, then attended the University of Missouri, for the years of 1878-79, 1879-80 and 1881-82, receiving in March, 1882, the LL. B. degree. The intervening year of 1880-81 he devoted to private study, then returning to the law school—the law course at that time covering a period of two years.

In 1883, having attended the law department of Washington University at St. Louis, Missouri, he was granted by it a LL. B. degree. Immediately thereafter he located at Marshall, Missouri, engaging in the practice of the law, and so continued until 1887 when he removed to Pratt, Kansas, there engaging in the practice of the law until 1894 when he located at Newkirk, in Oklahoma Territory.

While at Marshall, Missouri, he was married to Mary E. Morgan, nee Stuart, the widow of Arthur Morgan. She died at Newkirk, Oklahoma, on March 27, 1910. In November, 1913, he was married to Mrs. Helen E. Diekman, who died on May 20, 1937, at Newkirk, Oklahoma.

Judge King died without any surviving children, none having been born to him during either marriage. He retired from the active practice of law in 1933.

During his long residence at Newkirk, in Kay County, he served for a number of years as president of the Kay County Bar Association and was attorney in said county for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.

He was active in public matters, affiliated with the Democratic party, acting for it in many capacities as delegate and chairman of conventions. He served as special Judge on the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and as Referee. He was a delegate from District No. 16 to the Constitutional Convention (1906) which framed the constitution for the state of Okla- He was temporary chairman of the first caucus of the democratic delegates to said convention, and President Pro Tempore when its permanent officers were elected.[1]

He was chairman of the committee on Revenue and Taxation, and member of other committees as follows: Rules and Procedure (vice-chairman); Judiciary and Judicial Department; Private Corporations; Public Service Corporations; General Provisions; Legal Advisory; and served on the following special committees; Steering, Editing, and Election Ordinance.

He was active in the proceedings of said convention, taking a primary interest in the adoption of the provisions relating to revenue and taxation and the retention of the county seat of Kay County at Newkirk and afterwards was active in the election held in said county which resulted in continuing the county seat at said location.

During the administration of Governor Murray, the appointment as a Commissioner of the Supreme Court was tendered him, which place he would have filled with great ability, but on account of his health and declining years, same was not accepted.

In Frantz, et al., v. Autry, 18 Okla. 561, 91 Pac. 193, in which was passed upon and sustained the ordinance providing for the election as to the ratification of the proposed constitution, he was one of the attorneys on the part of the Constitutional Convention.

Able, courteous, ethical, and honest in the practice of the law, honored as a citizen and loved by all, his memory will be so cherished.

R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

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[1] *Durant, Oklahoma*

THOMAS HORNER OWEN

THOMAS HORNER OWEN

1873-1938

Judge Thomas Horner Owen, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, was born February 24, 1873, in Arkansas. He died in Oklahoma City, September 19, 1938. His father was Dr. James Pickett Owen and his mother, Eliza Horner Owen. His mother, whose maiden name was Horner, was born in Ohio, migrated to Missouri, and Dr. James Pickett Owen was born in Owensburg, Kentucky, and was an officer in the Federal Army. He is buried in the National Cemetery at Ft. Gibson.

Judge Owen studied law with Judge Wm. J. Crump, now of Muskogee, but at that time located in Harrison, Arkansas. Judge Owen was admitted to practice at the Arkansas bar on January 9, 1894, and opened a law office in Muldrow, Oklahoma, January 14, 1895. After practicing there, he moved to Muskogee in 1896 and was the first City Attorney of Muskogee.

Judge Owen was appointed a member of the Criminal Court of Appeals on January 21, 1909, and resigned March 30, 1910, to accept the place of County Attorney of Muskogee County to fill an emergency need.

Governor Robt. L. Williams appointed Judge Owen as a member of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma March 21, 1917, and he served as a Justice of the Court and Chief Justice of the Court until April 30, 1920, when he resigned to enter the practice of law in Oklahoma City.

Many of Judge Owen's opinions called forth praise from the legal fraternity, but his opinion holding the importation of altar wine to not be a violation of the prohibition laws of the state, attracted not only national, but international attention. After leaving the Supreme Court Judge Owen became the trust office of the American First National Bank and Trust Company.

Judge Owen had a distinct distaste for holding office, but was very active in public affairs during the formative period of the State. He was a factor in the organization of the constitutional convention and was active in the organization back of the campaign, which resulted in the election of C. N. Haskell as the first governor.

He was the secretary of the Wilson pre-convention campaign committee, and with McCombs, McAdoo, and Senator Gore, managed the organization, which resulted in Woodrow Wilson's nomination at Baltimore. He was the assistant secretary of the National Committee during the Wilson campaign. He declined the position of Assistant General Attorney of the United States, offered to him by A. Mitchell Palmer, and made it plain that he did not expect position or reward for his work for President Wilson.

He was an active member and an officer of the First Presbyterian Church in Muskogee and was the first President of the Presbyterian Brotherhood at the First Presbyterian Church in Oklahoma City.

Reluctantly yielding to the insistence of friends, he was a candidate for Governor in 1922, but made very little campaign because of the critical illness of his wife. He really had no desire to serve as Governor.

He married Beulah Davis in Muskogee in 1898. She died December 11, 1907, leaving three children, Thos. Horner, Jr., Davis Horner and Jessica Owen. Thomas died in early manhood. In 1916 he married Louise Hall Parker of Vinita, who survives him.

E. M. Kerr.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

RICHARD D. (JACK) MORGAN
1854—1938

In the passing of Richard D. (Jack) Morgan Saturday night, November 19, Durant lost one of its oldest and most useful citizens, one that may well be called a founder of this city.

D. Morgan (he dropped the Richard at an early date) was born in Mecklenburg county, Virginia, April 25, 1854, and was therefore in his 85th year. When still a boy he came to Texas, locating at Wolfe City, where he early engaged in the raising and shipping of cattle, which became his major business in later life. He set out in March, 1890, and settled in Durant, then a town of 300 people, the W. T. Clark Merchandise Company, Ober L. Shannon's drug store and a barber shop being the principal places of business at the time.

Durant at that period was not only a center for the raising of corn and cotton, but as Morgan said, was one of the finest grazing regions he had ever seen. He at once identified himself with the town and region's life. In 1892 he married Lorena Nail, daughter of Ed Nail and his wife Catherine Harkins Nail.

Throughout his early life in Durant, D. Morgan was a leader in every enterprise. Just a few days before his death he wrote down some of his contributions to the life of Durant, the paper being found after his death. It is worth quoting in his own words: "I was one to help build and operate the first chartered bank, the First National Bank, and was vice-president and director for 26 years. I helped build the oil mill, and the first church, the Methodist, and was a principal donor to its construction. I helped build the Presbyterian college, and gave something like $500 to it. Dr. E. Hotchkin can verify this. I helped in nearly every enterprise—had stock in the gins and the Abbott-Haynes Wholesale grocery. I graded the first market road coming into Durant, and built four bridges or culverts on it at my own expense. This road ran by my ranch eight miles east of town, and was the main public road for all the country east of Durant. While connected with the bank I financed many farmers, and not one was ever foreclosed. In 1919 when we had a complete corn failure, I sent Ed Butler to Broken Bow, bought and shipped here six car loads of corn, and sold it to the farmers on time and at cost—some of it I have never collected. I have lived here 48 years and have contributed, when I was able, for the good of the country."

Morgan was one of the founders of the Democratic party in this section, and served as alderman in the first city government. Before statehood he was also prominent in Choctaw politics, being a partisan of the Wilson R. Jones faction.

The Morgan family was a prominent one in old Virginia. His father, W. E. Morgan of Mecklenburg county, was a colonel in the Confederate army and surrendered with Lee at Appomatox.

Funeral services were held for Mr. Morgan at the First Presbyterian Church Monday, November 21, 1938, at 2 o'clock. The services were conducted by Dr. Ebenezer Hotchkin, pioneer Oklahoma missionary and minister and near friend of the deceased, assisted by Dr. W. N. Sholl, pastor of the church.

Mr. Morgan is survived by three sisters, Viola Vernon Morgan and Mrs. David Bolan Lee, of Williamsburg, Virginia; Mrs. Ernest Louden, Houston, Texas; and one brother, James J. Morgan of Umatilla county,

Oregon. Of these Mrs. Loudon was the only one able to be present at the time of his passing. He is survived also by the following children, all of whom were present: Floyd E. Morgan Macomber of New York City; Riley D. Morgan, Boston, Massachusetts; Mrs. A. B. Jenkins, Mrs. Sallie Lee, and Mrs. Joe B. Click, all of Durant.

W. B. Morrison.

Southeastern State Teachers College

JOSEPH AUGUSTUS LAWRENCE
1856—1938

Words are inadequate when we want to tell the story of a man who walked up and down the highways of life for more than four score years, leaving his imprint on thousands of individuals with whom he came in contact both in a social and business way.

Joseph Augustus Lawrence was born in Smith County, Texas, October 18, 1856, and died in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, November 10, 1938. For some these vital facts might be all there is to record but for J. A. Lawrence there are volumes that might be written between these two definite statements.

Born and educated in Texas, he followed his chosen profession, law, in Quitman, Texas, Woods County, and was elected prosecuting attorney of this county in 1882 and again in 1884.

From Quitman, Texas, he moved to Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in 1889. In this historic town which was at that time the capital of the Cherokee Nation he engaged in the mercantile business. He realized that there was a great future for agriculture around Tahlequah and encouraged the farmers to raise diversified crops, helping them by arranging for cotton seed to be brought in from Texas.

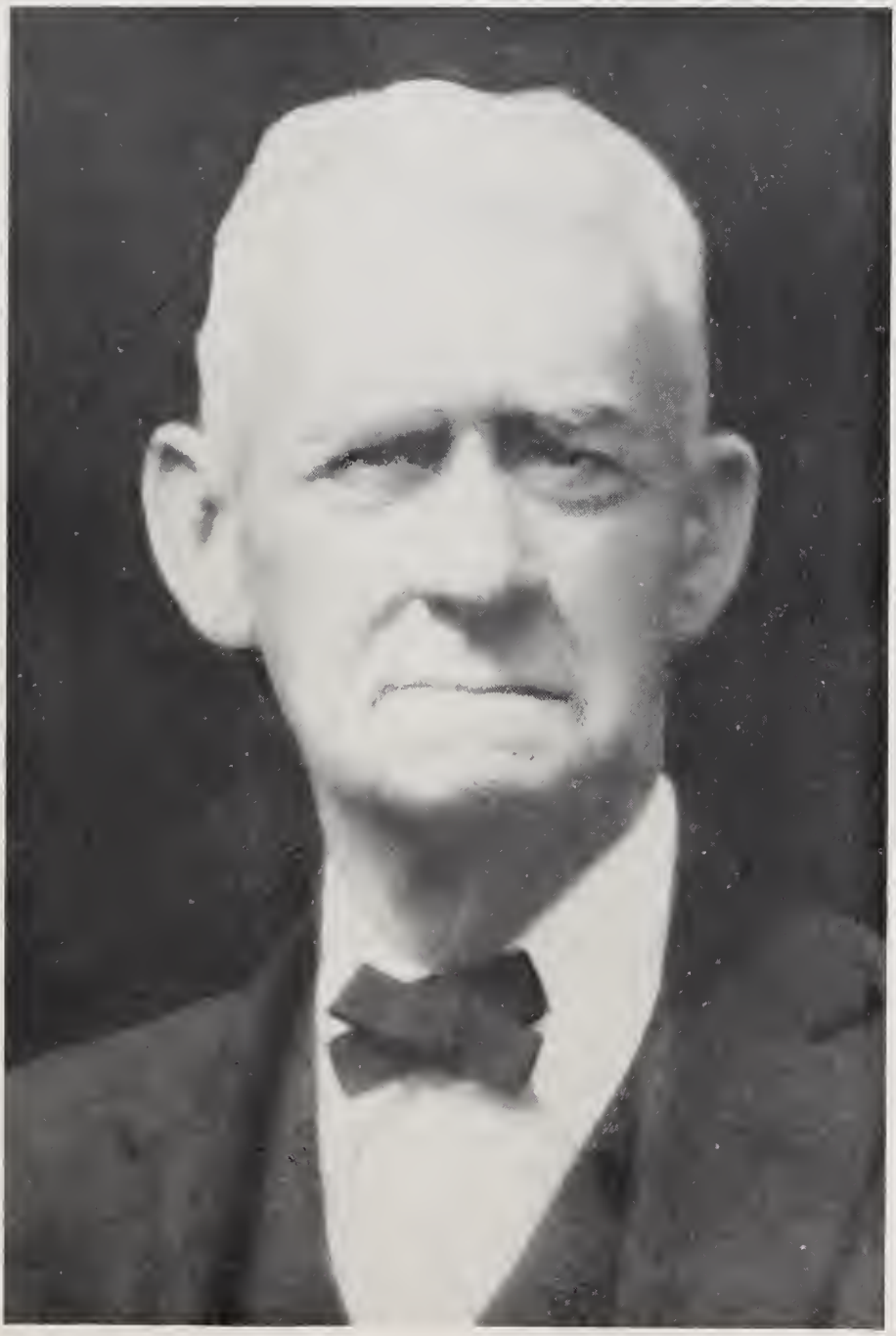
In 1907 he expanded his mercantile business into a corporation, The Lawrence-Wyly Mercantile Company, and served as its president until his retirement from active business. At the time of his death he was Director in the Mid-Continent Life Insurance Company, the Porter-Crew Wholesale Drug Company, R. T. Stuart and Company, and others. He had also served as president of the First National Bank of Tahlequah from 1907-1910. While he was still president of the bank there occurred the panic of 1907, which is known as the "Rich Man's Panic," and by order of President Theodore Roosevelt, no depositor could draw on his account in excess of fifty dollars ($50.00) per day; however, exception was made because of the sound financial condition of the First National in Tahlequah and no limit was placed upon its depositors. This example of sound business policy is typical of that followed by Mr. Lawrence in all of his business dealings.

In December of 1884, Mr. Lawrence married Miss Dora Wilson, of Quitman, Texas, who died in 1897. A few years later he married Miss Sarah (Bluie) Adair, a teacher in the Cherokee National Female Seminary, from which institution she was graduated. To this marriage were born two sons, J. Adair, who died in March, 1930, while a student in the Medical School of Tulane University, and Gilbert Shelton, of Tahlequah.

The full-blood Cherokees gave Mr. Lawrence the name of Carsolane, meaning coat, because of the fact that when Mr. Lawrence first came to the Cherokee Nation he always wore a long coat, either a Prince Albert or a frock.

To scores of people around Tahlequah and his former home in Texas there is a feeling of loneliness which it is difficult to describe, for Mr. Lawrence meant many things to many people. The following tribute from a boyhood friend expresses the sentiment of friends and neighbors of Mr. Lawrence:

> "It is in a mood of reminiscent sadness that the writer finds himself as he undertakes to chronicle the death of an old boyhood friend and chum, J. A. Lawrence, who died at his home in the city of Tahlequah, in the State of Oklahoma, on Thursday, November 10th, 1938,



JOSEPH AUGUSTUS LAWRENCE

and was buried in the city cemetery there on Saturday, November 12th, 1938. He died in the fullness of years, having passed his 82nd birthday. He was better known to his many old Wood County friends as Gus Lawrence. He was the son of the late John E. Lawrence who was for many years a respected citizen of Wood County. He was born in Smith County, Texas. His father and family moved to Wood County in 1867, and located for a while down in the Ebenezer Church community, about three-quarters of a mile from the boyhood home of the writer, and we had known each other intimately from that early time until the day of his death. They moved from this location into the Shady Grove community where he grew to manhood on a farm. Although we never attended the same country school, yet in the days of our youth we picked cotton together in the same cotton field. He was always studious and industrious and was stirred with an ambition to improve his condition in life and to rise in the domain of a busy world's affairs. He was pupil under the late Professor Orr, in Smith County, and later attended school at Sulphur Springs, Texas. He began the study of law soon after he became 21 years of age and was admitted to the bar about the year 1880. He was elected to the office of County Attorney of Wood County in 1882.

"Yes, he whom we know as Gus Lawrence, the honest citizen and successful businessman has gone from the achieving walks of men to his long and well-earned rest. Peace to his ashes and consolation to all who are bereaved and sorrowing by reason of his going."[1]

Eula Fullerton.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

[1] Letter of V. B. Harris, Quitman, Texas.

MARY EMILY HENSLEY
1859—1938

It was almost sixty years ago that a young woman of twenty-one, already a wife and the mother of two baby boys, had a career as manager, editor, and newspaper worker dropped into her willing but inexperienced hands. The story of the next forty years of her life would fill a volume, for its tells of the struggles and strife of pioneer days in Oklahoma, and of the adventures and trials of those hardy ones who sought life in the new country. But also it tells of a fine, true soul whose devotion to her family and to her town and state should prove an inspiration to all who read it.

Mary Emily Mullen was born near Crawfordsville, Indiana, March 10, 1859. She was the eldest daughter of James and Permelia Ann Mullen, and a lineal descendant of John Endicott, first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. While still a small child she moved with her parents to Missouri. There she attended school, and in 1873 was married to Travis F. Hensley.

Eagerly ambitious for the success of her husband she encouraged him in every aspiration. First she helped him win a degree from Grand River College, Edinburg, Missouri, and although the degree was his, an equal gain in academic knowledge enriched her bright young mind. Their sons, Claude born in 1876 and Frank born in 1877, added to their financial problems, but valiantly they struggled on. Early in 1880 their dream of a newspaper career began to materialize, and the young couple purchased a weekly newspaper, *The People's Press*, at Princeton, Missouri. This paper was no sooner well established than Mr. Hensley received a political appointment from President Cleveland to a position in the Pension Department at Washington, D. C.. This seemed too good an opportunity to overlook, and so Mrs. Hensley persuaded him to accept, while she remained in Missouri, assuming full control and managership of the newspaper. This plan continued for five years, Mrs. Hensley gaining in business acumen and writing ability as she successfully pursued her work. Then *The People's Press* was sold, and the young mother and her sons journeyed to Washington.

Again the Goddess of Learning beckoned, and with his wife's help Mr. Hensley again attended college, this time winning a law degree from Georgetown University. For a time it seemed that newspaper work was over for these two, but with the original opening of lands for homesteading in Oklahoma the wander-lust struck the Hensley family, and in April of 1892, when the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country was opened for settlement, Mr. Hensley came to El Reno. In May of that year he purchased the *Oklahoma Democrat*, changed the name to the El Reno *Democrat*, and his newspaper career in Oklahoma began. Mrs. Hensley and their sons joined him in August of that year, and then for thirty years the newspaper partnership of Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Hensley flourished. During much of this time Mrs. Hensley was active manager and editor of the paper, for like many another veteran Oklahoma editor much of Mr. Hensley's time was taken up by various political activities. Their Oklahoma newspaper ventures included besides the El Reno *Democrat*, the *West Side Democrat* of Enid, (which was the first newspaper published in the Cherokee Strip); "Hensley's Magazine"; and "The People's Press" of El Reno.

It is difficult to estimate the value to a new country of the tireless effort put forth by this woman in her years of newspaper work, but in

MRS. EMILY HENSLEY

the ceaseless struggle to point the way toward a better and stronger Oklahoma, the year after year grind to offer to the people of her community a news organ that might improve their lives and further their interests, in those things she has indeed a worthwhile record.

An editorial titled "She Carried the Torch," written by H. Merle Woods, President of the Oklahoma Press Association, and published in the El Reno *American*, briefly eulogizes the life and work of Mary E. Hensley, and it seems fitting to quote it here. Mr. Woods says:

"When the plains of western Oklahoma were opened to settlement in those stirring days of 1889, the pioneer newspaper men and women who ventured into this wild and wooley country bore burdens and hardships which would overpower and crush the softer generation of the present day."

In her book, *They Carried the Torch*, Mrs. T. B. Ferguson, pioneer Watonga newspaper woman gives an insight into the difficult life experienced by those hardy newspaper folks, and her experiences paralleled in many ways the life of Mrs. T. F. Hensley, pioneer newspaper worker who died November 24th:—

"In 1922 Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Hensley retired from the active newspaper career which had seen them found and build up into successful publications in western Oklahoma a number of interesting, vigorous and well-edited newspapers.

Mrs. Hensley was a most worthy representative of the fourth estate, finding time in addition to her editorial duties to rear a fine family. Since she and her husband retired from active newspaper work sixteen years ago, they have retained their alert interest in state and national affairs and also kept up to date on literary and historical matters.

When Edna Ferber created the character, Sabra, in her famed book, *Cimarron*, she must have had Mrs. Hensley in mind, so exactly does she fit the part.

In her retirement Mrs. Hensley lost the touch with the outside world to a certain extent, but those who knew El Reno back in 1922 could not help but remember the cheery, friendly newspaper woman who was no minor part of the Hensley team. In her passing we are reminded that she too carried the torch in those early days and helped make Oklahoma journalism more attractive and more worth while."

Mary E. Hensley passed away at El Reno on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1938. Besides the husband she leaves to mourn her loss the sons, Claude E. Hensley, of Oklahoma City, Frank Hensley of Houston, Texas, and a daughter, Mrs. Frank M. Engle of Tulsa, Oklahoma. She also leaves three granddaughters, Mrs. Mott Keys of Oklahoma City, Mrs. Hillord Hinson of Houston, and Miss Frances Engle of Tulsa, and two great-granddaughters, Karen and Joan Keys of Oklahoma City.

Joseph B. Thoburn

Union Room
Oklahoma Historical Society

GEORGE MADISON BERRY

1858—1939

George M. Berry, son of Thomas Nelson Berry and his wife, Juliet King Berry, was born December 1, 1858, in Whiteley County, Kentucky. His paternal grandfather and grandmother were John Berry and Nancy Clark Berry. Maternal grandfather and grandmother were Isaac King and Jane Laughlin King.

He received his education in the common schools of Whitley County, Kentucky, and Arkansas City, Kansas, and at a business college in Lawrence, Kansas.

In 1877, from his home in Kansas, he entered the Indian Territory, his destination being the Pawnee Indian Agency, where his brother, Thomas Embassy Berry, had a license to trade with the friendly Indians, a brother, King Berry, being manager of the trading store, George Madison Berry becoming a clerk under his two brothers.

Said traders license was the second granted by the Interior Department for the establishment of a trading store on the Pawnee Reservation, the first license having been granted to Stacey Matlock.

Later, George Madison Berry was a government farmer on said reservation.

Thomas Embassy Berry and King Berry were not only associated in the trading store but also in ranching interests.

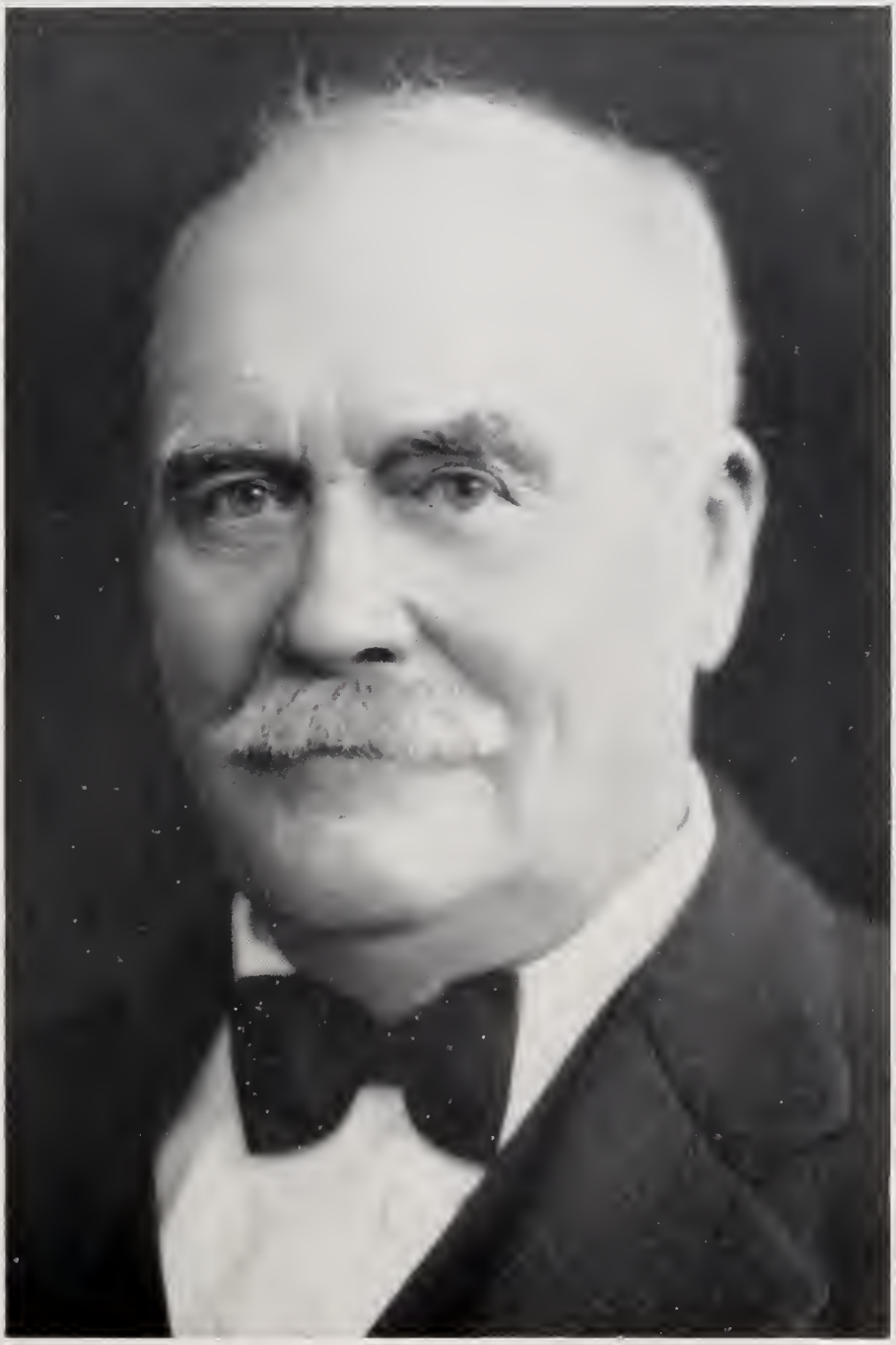
George Madison Berry and his brothers, while operating the trading store, loaned money to the Indians when their funds ran low before payments were made by the government. When the Indians were to make payments, the brothers spread a blanket near the cashier's window and designated by sign language just how much each Indian owed. In one payment 1800 silver dollars were thrown into the blanket, and transported in a grain sack to a bank in Arkansas City, Kansas.

George Madison Berry and his brother, Robert Berry, sought claims in the run of '89. George Madison Berry staked his claim northwest of West Guthrie, but released it to his brother, Robert Berry, who in turn won a contest thereon with other claimants. George Madison Berry secured a claim at the opening of the Sac and Fox country midway between Cushing and Chandler. He also leased for ranching purposes other lands in the Sac and Fox country. After he made the run in '89 for a claim, which he released to his brother, Robert Berry, he moved to a place near the present town of Ripley, Oklahoma, residing there until the opening of the Sac and Fox country.

He had two other brothers, Andrew Berry and William Edward Berry.

In 1894 when the Pawnee County Bank, now the First National Bank was organized by C. E. Vandervoort and Frank Thompson and George Madison Berry, he sold two lots which he had secured in the Pawnee townsite to the bank for a site.

From south of Pawnee, where he operated a ranch, he moved his family into Pawnee that his children might attend school. Though a large stockholder in said bank, he was never an active officer, being engaged principally as a cattleman and farmer, dividing his time between the operation of his farm and ranch.



GEORGE MADISON BERRY

He died on January 21, 1939, in an Oklahoma City Hospital and was buried at Pawnee on Monday, January 23.

He represented District No. 18 in the convention that framed the Constitution for the State of Oklahoma.

He was active in seeking provisions for the development of roads and highways, and also as to judicial and legislative apportionments, and the bringing about of prohibition against the license and sale of intoxicating liqours.

On February 13, 1887, he and Miss Nellie Dowis were married. She and the following children and other near relatives survive him: Three sons, G. Roy Berry, Tulsa; Everett Berry, Wynona, and Robert G. Berry, of Pawnee; five daughters, Mrs. S. E. Darby, Pawnee; Mrs. R. M. Dannenberg, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Thomas M. Scott, Ripley, Tenn., Mrs. W. N. McKinney, Nashville, Tenn., and Miss Margaret Berry, of Pawnee; two brothers, I. King Berry, Los Angeles, Cal.; and Robert C. Berry, Norman; a niece, Mrs. E. C. Mullendore, Cleveland, (Okla.); and a nephew, Lieut-Gov. James E. Berry, of Stillwater, Okla.

A sturdy character and fine citizen, dependable friend and devoted husband and father has passed away.

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma.

FRANK HENSLEY
1877—1939

Frank Hensley, pioneer Oklahoma newspaper publisher and printer, was the younger son of T. F. Hensley of El Reno, Oklahoma, and the late Mrs. Hensley. He was born October 3, 1877, at Edinburg, Missouri. Born into a family of newspaper workers his earliest recollections centered around a printing office. The smell of printer's ink was in his nostrils, and his lullaby was often the hum of the presses. As he grew older he played with a printer's stick and a box of pied type, and so it is not strange that his entire life was built around the printing and publishing business.

His early education was obtained in Princeton, Missouri, and in Washington, D. C., and in 1892 he accompanied his parents into the new Oklahoma Territory, where his father was editor and publisher of the El Reno *Democrat.*

At the opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1893, he and his father made the run into Enid where they established the *West Side Democrat,* the first newspaper to be published in the Cherokee Strip. The first issue of this paper was printed at El Reno and taken in by train, and more than a thousand copies were distrributed the day of the opening on the streets of Enid. Then the Enid plant was completed, and the publications were continued there under the active management of Frank Hensley. At that time he was sixteen years of age, and was credited with being the youngest newspaper manager in the United States.

In 1907 he established the *New State Tribune* at El Reno, which he published until the plant was removed to McAlester. He again entered the El Reno newspaper field as one of the publishers of *The People's Press* He continued in this capacity until 1922.

For the past ten years Mr. Hensley had been a resident of Houston, Texas, where he was an employee of the Houston *Post.*

In 1905 Frank Hensley was married to Rebecca White Miller at El Reno.

Mr. Hensley passed away on February 12, 1939, at the home of his father in El Reno. Besides his widow and his father he leaves to mourn his loss a daughter, Mrs. Hillord Hinson of Houston, Texas; a brother, Claude E. Hensley, of Oklahoma City; and a sister, Mrs. Frank M. Engle, of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

G. H. E.

MRS. THOMAS ERVIN OAKES

MRS. THOMAS ERVIN OAKES
1853-1938

Mrs. Thomas E. Oakes passed away at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Howard Morris, Soper, Oklahoma, March 11, 1938. Death was due to the infirmities of age. Funeral services were held in the Soper Methodist Church, conducted by Rev. G. C. Crowell, Presbyterian minister of Hugo. Interment was in the Soper Cemetery, by the side of her husband, who passed away January 16, 1929.

Margaret J. Ervin was born November 27, 1835 at Old Doaksville, near Ft. Towson. She was the daughter of Calvin D, and Sallie Gibson Ervin. Calvin Ervin was teaching school in Gainsville, Alabama, when he met the Indian girl who became his bride. She was the great granddaughter of Hopia Iskitinia, or Captain Little Leader. He was an Indian warrior of the Choctaw tribe in Mississippi. The old buffalo horn spoon which he carried in the War of 1812 is in the Oklahoma Historical Building at Oklahoma City. He gave it to her as a keepsake when she moved from her home in Mississippi to the Indian Territory.

The Choctaw people were separated into clans, and Margaret Ervin was a descendent of the Hyah-Pa-Tusk-Kalo clan, through the line of her mother, Sallie Gibson Ervin.

Calvin D. Ervin and his wife came over the "Trail of Tears" in 1832 to the Indian Territory, where they settled in Doaksville, near the present town of Ft. Towson. They lived here the remainder of their lives and reared a large family of girls and boys.

Margaret Ervin was married to Thomas E. Oakes April 10, 1870, at Rock Hill Church, near old Spencer Academy, by Rev. Mr. Walker, a Presbyterian minister. The greater part of their married life was spent in the country near Soper. To this union twelve children were born, five of whom survive, as follows: D. W. Oakes, Soper; Thos. J. Oakes, Dallas; Edgar O. Oakes, Hugo; Mrs. Sue Morris and Mrs. Rosa Huff, Soper. Besides, she is survived by 24 grandchildren and 14 great grandchildren. She also reared six others by adoption.

Their home was a hospitable one; always open to every one. Any one in need of assistance received it from them. Their kindness and generosity will long be remembered. They were pioneers with the true pioneer spirit, and to know them was to love them.[1] Their passing is mourned by a host of friends and relatives.

—Mrs. Thos. O. Kirby.

Jericho, Texas

[1] See *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), VII (1929), 124.

ROBERT BARNETT MITCHELL
1862-1925

Robert Barnett Mitchell was born near Paris, in Lamar County, Texas, on September 25, 1862, and died on November 30, 1925, son of Forest Mitchell and his wife, Martha Mitchell, both of whom in an early day came from Indiana and settled in Texas.

In 1880 at the age of eighteen years, he came to the Indian Territory, locating about three miles northwest of Albany in the Choctaw Nation. On August 1, 1899, he was married to Missouri Beal, who died on August 8, 1928, both being buried in the Albany Cemetery. He is survived by an adopted daughter, Mrs. Mary A. Mitchell Lewis.

He was appointed and served as United States Deputy Marshal in the Indian Territory during the administration of the late Sheb Williams, United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Texas, when certain parts of the Choctaw Nation and all of the Chickasaw Nation were under that jurisdiction.

He was a member of the Presbyterian Church and affiliated with the Democratic party.

A rugged, honest, and faithful supporter of the law and good government passed away, and his community lost a fine citizen.

—R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

HARVEY T. CHURCH
1879-1933

Harvey T. Church, son of Samuel Church and his wife, Bammy Bingham Church, was born March 8, 1879 near the village of Shady Grove, Hickman County, Tennessee; his mother dying when he was eight months of age, his father placed him with his maternal grandparents, who lived on a farm, where he remained until he finished grade school.

From his uncle, Reese Bingham, he obtained a loan that enabled him to attend college near Memphis, Tennessee. Working and teaching, he later entered David Lipscomb College in Tennessee, where he graduated in 1902. Afterward he attended the Southern Norman School at Bowling Green, Kentucky, graduating and receiving a degree on July 31, 1905.

After studying law, he was first admitted to the Bar in Kentucky, engaging in the practice of law at Paducah, Kentucky for a year. Then he came to Oklahoma, locating at Wilburton, in Latimer County, in 1908, being admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma on June 4, 1908. In 1909, he was appointed Assistant County Attorney of Latimer County, Oklahoma. From 1912 to the latter part of 1917, he was County Attorney of said county, resigning to become assistant United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, continuing in such capacity until November, 1918, when he resigned to return to the practice of the law at Wilburton. In July, 1923, he moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma to engage in the practice of the law, forming a partnership with W. L. Coffey, which was dissolved when Coffey became assistant United States Attorney for the Northern District in January, 1924, Church continuing in the practice of the law.

In November, 1929, Church, having purchased his father's old homestead, closed his law office in Tulsa and returned to the farm in Hickman County, Tennessee. Two years later he returned to Tulsa and re-engaged in the practice of the law in which he continued until his death on April 29, 1933.

On April 12, 1914, he was married to Opal Gladys McIntire at Guthrie, Oklahoma. No children came to this union. She survives him and resides at 923 Lawton Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

He was made a Master Mason in Trinity Lodge No. 501, A. F. & A. M. at Shady Grove, Tennessee, P. O., Duck River, Tennessee, November 23, 1906, and demitted March 23, 1907. He later placed his membership in the Lodge at Wilburton, Oklahoma. He was affiliated with the Democratic party.

An exemplary citizen, a good lawyer, and a faithful friend has passed from this earthly sphere.

—R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

C. GUY CUTLIP
1881—1938

A settler's dugout on the western plains of Kansas, then an area barely within the fringes of civilization, was the birthplace of C. Guy Cutlip, a son of pioneer stock who was destined, in his later years, to become one of the outstanding jurists of the state of Oklahoma.

That event occurred on April 6, 1881, about fifteen miles west of Medicine Lodge, not far from the spot where the famed peace treaty between the government and the Plains Indians was signed in the late '60's.

Mr. Cutlip came of Southern ancestry. His father, Thaddeus G. Cutlip was a native of West Virginia; and his mother, Susan Mills, had come west with her parents from Tennessee, where her father had lately been a captain in the Confederate forces of that state.

An impressive recollection in his life was at the age of eight when his family, as '89ers, took part in the epic run for homesteads that opened Oklahoma Territory to settlement. He made the run with his father on the train into Kingfisher.

When C. Guy was 14 years old—in 1895—his family moved to Tecumseh, in the Pottawatomie country, and upon completion of public school, one of his first ventures into the world was as clerk and stenographer for the picturesque Judge J. D. F. Jennings.

He spent all his spare time during those days in reading the classics and the romances, and in studying law—a practice that he continued when, early in 1901, he went to Wewoka, the Indian Territory town which was the capital of the Seminole Nation. He worked there, too, as stenographer for an early day lawyer—at a time when the little village boasted but two or three stores and a population which was principally Indian.

In 1902 Mr. Cutlip and his father went into the banking business in the trading post town, but that venture was short-lived, and somewhat difficult days followed. Meantime he had been married to Miss Amo Butts of Tecumseh. For awhile he worked at odd jobs, tried his hand at newspaper and western story magazine writing, which kept his feet on the ground until he obtained a clerkship with the Atlas Abstract Company of Holdenville, where he soon was transcribing abstracts for all the companies doing business in that part of the country.

This work gave him a new start in life. Through his interest in titles he obtained a familiar insight into the oil leasing business, and the sale of a block of leases to Frank Chesley, one of the discoverers of Glenn pool, enabled him to complete his study of law and hang out his shingle as an attorney.

The town to which he had taken his bride, a village of dusty streets and board sidewalks, on the main line of the Chicago, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad, was growing as new settlers came in, family by family, to carry on commerce with the Indians.

Their only child, Maxine, was born in Wewoka on January 4, 1906.

Meantime, he was taking a leading part in the affairs of the local Masonic chapter and participating actively in the small civic enterprises that were beginning to evince themselves in the small town; and the year 1908 found him occupying the position of assistant county attorney.

In 1919, having already acquired a great deal of local property, he purchased from Governor John F. Brown, of the Seminoles, his interest

C. GUY CUTLIP

in the famed Wewoka Trading Company, and in the Wewoka Realty and Trust Company. He built up these properties in Wewoka—only to see them wiped out by fire with a $50,000 loss. It was, naturally, a blow, but he courageously picked up the loose ends and began rebuilding.

It was during this period that he was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce—the first Wewoka ever had—and he was kept in that post by popular demand for a decade.

He formed a law partnership with Thomas J. Horsley, but even his legal business, heavy as it was, failed to divert him from his two principal hobbies—reading and writing. At the time of his death he owned one of the finest private libraries in the state of Oklahoma.

Judge Cutlip also served as Wewoka's first mayor from 1921 to 1926, and in 1930 he was a member of the board of governors for the Oklahoma Bar Association, and in the following year was one of the state's delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

In 1931 when Governor William H. Murray, his life-long friend, created the Superior Court system Mr. Cutlip was the first appointed to the bench in his district, and he was re-elected in 1934.

Much of his judicial philosophy was derived from the career of Judge Isaac C. Parker, of the Federal Court bench at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in old Indian Territorial days.

So great was Judge Cutlip's admiration for Isaac Parker that he spent several years collecting material for a biography of the jurist, a book that his untimely death prevented him from writing. However, he left all his notes for his son-in-law with instructions for him to complete the work.

He also had planned to write a history of the Seminole Indians, a task for which he was extraordinarily well qualified, but this, too, was in note form at the time of his death. Authorship of a book was the one thing that he wanted in the rounding out of his career.

He wrote but one—a small book on the *History of Law*, the text of a speech he once made at a banquet of the State Bar Association at Oklahoma City. Those who heard it urged him to have it published, and it later was published and translated into five different languages.

He was particularly noted for his knack in story telling and repartee, and his services as a speaker were constantly in demand all over Oklahoma.

A little more than a month after his return from Mexico, shortly after Christmas in 1936, Judge Cutlip become ill of a heart ailment. He was confined to his bed for several months, but returned to his court bench in the summer of 1937. Stricken again in the fall of that year, death came in a hospital at Wewoka—the town which credits him with being its principal builder and citizen—on January 24, 1938.

He was mourned by all Oklahoma, and the following editorial from the *Daily Oklahoman*, reprinted widely in the state press and in Kansas, is typical of the expressions made on his death:

"The bench of Oklahoma lost one of its brightest ornaments when Judge C. Guy Cutlip died at Wewoka. And Oklahoma lost one of her worthiest citizens when the Seminole jurist passed out of life."

MRS. JOHN RANDOLPH FRAZIER
1875-1938

Death Sunday morning in St. Anthony's hospital at Oklahoma City closed the long, active career of Mrs. John Randolph Frazier, 63-year-old club woman and church worker.

Mrs. Frazier was stricken November 25 with a cerebral hemorrhage at her home, 100 Northeast Eleventh street, Oklahoma City.

Active in humanitarian enterprises, Mrs. Frazier worked so quietly that the scope of her activities was not generally known. At the time of her death she was president of the Ruth Bryan Owen club, and a member of the Hospitality club, Big Sisters, Cosmopolitan club, American War Mothers, and past matron of the Omega chapter of the Order of Eastern Star.

Members of St. Luke's Methodist church knew her as one who never missed a conference of the church or a missionary council. Years ago, before moving to Indian Territory in 1902, she was vice-chairman of the Women's Missionary conference in Arkansas.

She was president of the State Federation of Woman's clubs, 1921-23; chairman of the Oklahoma Illiteracy commission, 1923-25, and head of the Oklahoma City cancer control committee in 1937.

Born in Hamilton, Alabama, she was taken, while still an infant, by her parents to western Arkansas near Hartford. Her father, Rev. J. M. C. Hamilton, was a Methodist evangelist.

In 1892, she married Frazier, Mansfield, Arkansas, merchant. They had three children and moved in 1902 to Wilburton in Indian Territory, where Frazier operated as a merchant for 27 years.

At Wilburton she organized a study club, one of the first in the territory, and a women's dramatic club. Frazier gave most of his money to build a new church, and Mrs. Frazier obtained the money to install the pews. Her dramatic club raised money to complete the church equipment.

Mrs. Frazier underwrote the first lyceum in what is now eastern Oklahoma. She was affiliated with the national inter-racial commission, the Women in Industry conference, the four national Cause and Cure of War conferences, and the Council of National Defense.

She was responsible for the adoption of 100 French orphans by Americans, a job to which she was appointed by Gov. Robert L. Williams.

Mr. and Mrs. Frazier moved to Oklahoma City in 1930. Frazier died three years ago.

She took care of her extensive real estate properties here. During her spare time she edited a monthly magazine of the State Jeffersonian club.

Survivors include two sons, J. Floyd Frazier, 2605 Northwest Twenty-fourth street, Oklahoma City, president of the Midwest Material Co.; James Randolph Frazier, principal of the Wewoka highschool; a daughter, Mrs. Homer Pace, Wilburton; two brothers, Rev. Argus Hamilton, Earlsboro; S. A. Hamilton, Broken Bow, and a sister, Mrs. Ella E. Love, Sulphur.[1]

The funeral was held at the Grand Avenue Methodist Church at McAlester, December 6, with Dr. Clovis Chappell of St. Luke's Methodist Church in Oklahoma City preaching the comforting sermon.[2]

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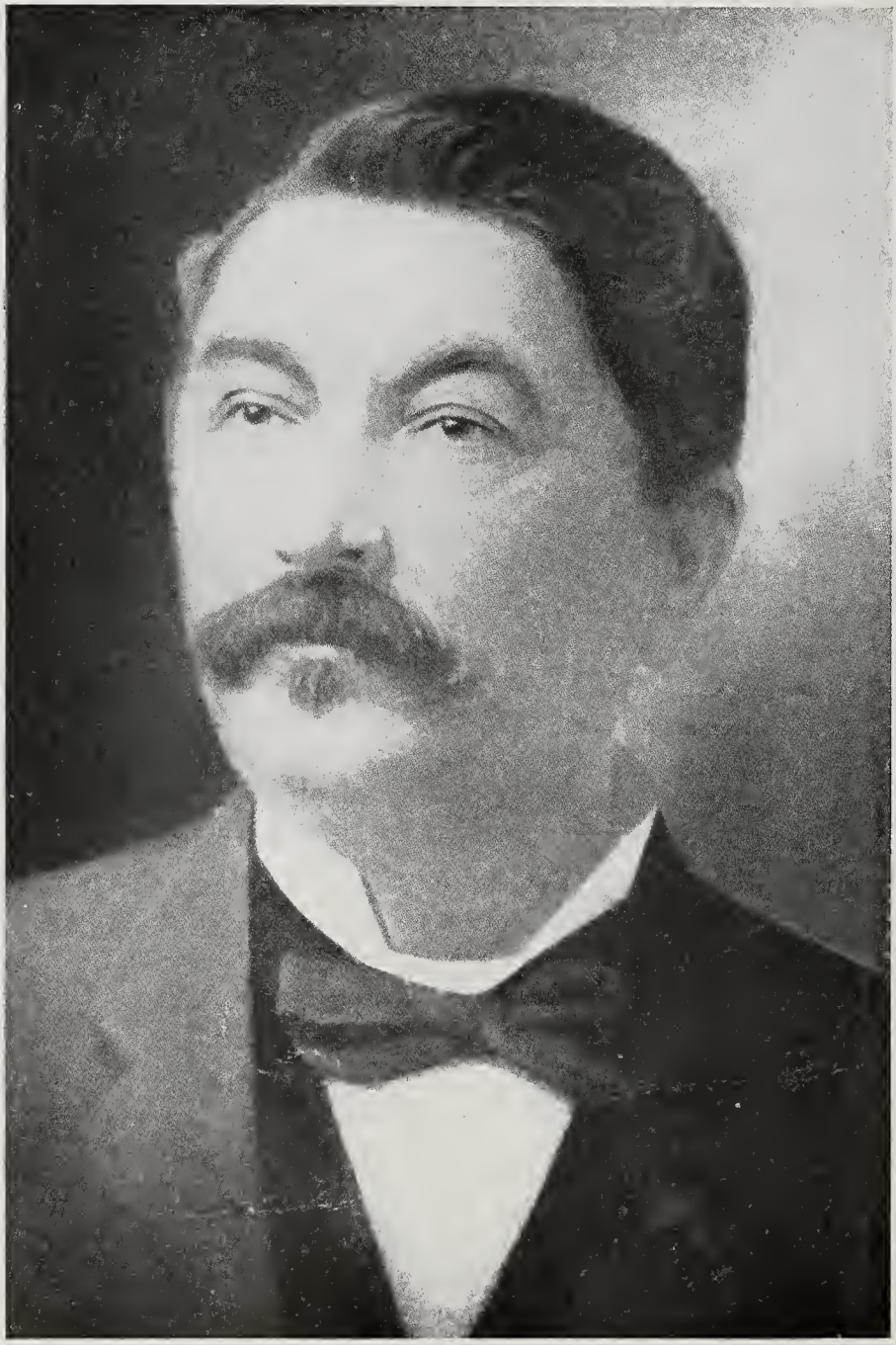
1 *Daily Oklahoman*, December 5, 1938.

2 Hartshorne *Sun*, December 8, 1938.

MRS. JOHN RANDOLPH FRAZIER



THOMAS MITCHELL BUFFINGTON

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

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CHIEF THOMAS MITCHELL BUFFINGTON
and
CHIEF WILLIAM CHARLES ROGERS

by

John Bartlett Meserve.

The Cherokees were irritated by the white adventurers who crossed the Alleghanies in the middle decades of the eighteenth century and began to impress their tribal lands in Tennessee for settlement. They supported the British during our War of the Revolution and in so doing were responsive to the British agents and traders who lived among them and in numerous instances had intermarried into the tribe.[1] After the Revolution, the Indian tribes were militant towards the new United States government, their war spirit being encouraged by the Spanish authorities at New Orleans and Pensacola, from which source military supplies were available for the southern tribes. English traders and influential mixed bloods were conveniently used by Spanish Governor Carondelet to contact the Indian leaders.[2] The reprisals exacted by the Indians during this period were of a sordid character. They were the years of the tomahawk and scalping knife and many horrors and cruelties were perpetrated. The Cherokees have been maligned because of the savage atrocities committed during those twilight years, but against that, they must be pardoned an interest in the preservation of their ancient homeland even though they were unable to define it with precision. The crushing defeat of the northern tribes at Fallen Timbers by General Anthony Wayne

[1] Prominent among them was Capt. John Stuart, a Scotchman who had intermarried among the Cherokees. He died at Pensacola, Florida on February 21, 1779. He was a great grandfather of Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead of the Cherokees.

[2] Among the contact men used by the Spanish was John MacDonald, a Scotchman, who was an Indian trader. He was a deputy British agent under Capt. John Stuart and his trading post became a British commissary during the Revolution. He had intermarried into the tribe and became the maternal grandfather of John Ross, the Cherokee chief.

in 1794 produced a sobering effect upon the southern tribes. They further were affected, indirectly, by the Napoleonic wars in Europe which caused the suspension of Spanish military supplies. By the spring of 1796, the outrages practically had ceased and a more composed posture towards the white settleres was assumed by the Cherokees. The more unreconciled members of the tribe, about 1809 began a gradual, voluntary removal to the White River country in what is today the State of Arkansas where they were to become known as the Western Cherokees. The status of these Indians was recognized by the Government by the terms of a treaty entered into with them on July 8, 1817.[3] Then followed the years of their warfare with the wild Osages.

Accompanying the adventurous party led by Capt. John Rogers, in 1821, to join the Western Cherokees, in Arkansas, was Ellis Buffington, a quarter blood Cherokee Indian and his family. He was a son of Ezekiel Buffington a Scotchman, and Mary Emory,[4] his wife, who was a daughter of Ludovic Grant, the celebrated Scotch trader. Ellis Buffington was born in Georgia where he married Catharine Daniel. He first settled at Dardanelle, but later his family removed to lands near Mulberry, in what is today Crawford County, Arkansas. Ezekiel Buffington, a son of Ellis Buffington and Catharine Daniel, his wife, was born in Georgia in 1809. He married Louisa Newman, a daughter of Jonathan Newman. She was born in Tennessee in 1817 and died in Goingsnake District in the old Cherokee Nation in 1898. Ezekiel Buffington was a Presbyterian minister and, while farming and stockraising were his gainful pursuits, his spiritual labors as a missionary among the Cherokees were the engaging efforts of his life. It was not until 1835 that Reverend Buffington removed with his family to the Indian Territory where he settled upon lands in Going-

[3] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 140.

[4] Mary Emory who married Ezekiel Buffington, a Scotchman, and became the great grandmother of Chief Thomas M. Buffington was a daughter of William Emory, an Englishman and his half blood Cherokee Indian wife, who was a daughter of Ludovic Grant, the celebrated Scotch trader. Mary was a sister of Elizabeth Due nee Emory, who married John Rogers, the Indian trader, and became the great grandmother of Chief William C. Rogers and was also a sister of Susannah Emory who married Capt. John Stuart and became the great grandmother of Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead. The amours of the Scotch traders left an abiding influence upon the political life of the Cherokees.

snake District, northeast of the present town of Westville, Oklahoma, where he passed away in 1864.

Thomas Mitchell Buffington, the fourth son of Rev. Ezekiel Buffington and Louisa Newman, his wife, was born on the old farm in Goingsnake District, Cherokee Nation, on October 19, 1855. He attended the tribal schools, his education being reenforced by the private tutelage of his parents. Early in life, he engaged in farming and in about 1887 established himself upon a farm in the Delaware District on Mustang Creek, some eight miles east of Vinita.

Young Buffington entered the domain of Cherokee politics in 1885 when he became secretary for his brother John D. Buffington who had been elected senator from Goingsnake District. He entered more actively into political affairs in August, 1889 when he was chosen district judge of the Delaware District. His election to the judiciary was not inspired by any peculiar fitness he may have exhibited as a lawyer, because, in fact he was not a lawyer and at no time pretended to be such. The constitution and laws of the Cherokee Nation made no requirement of legal training for its judiciary. The young jurist resigned from the bench to accept a position in the senate of the Cherokee Council to which he had been elected from the Delaware District in the fall of 1891. The young senator was elected president of the senate which was an evidence of his standing and prominence among the Cherokees.

Chief Joel B. Mayes of the Cherokees passed away on December 14, 1891 being preceded in death by four days by Henry Chambers, the assistant chief. This situation automatically vested the chieftainship in Thomas M. Buffington, as president of the senate, and he served in that capacity until December 23, 1891 when Colonel J. Harris was chosen by the council to serve out the term and Buffington was selected as a delegate to Washington. Upon the completion of his term as senator he removed to Vinita where he was elected and served as one of the earliest mayors of that city. He resigned this position when he became the candidate of the Downing Party for chief at the tribal election held on August 7, 1899, his opponent being Wolf Coon of the National

Party. Buffington made no active campaign but was elected by a majority approximating four hundred votes. He succeeded Samuel H. Mayes as chief of the Cherokees.

Affairs moved rapidly between 1895 and 1899 to conclude the independent status of the Cherokee Nation. The ensuing four years, covering the administration of Chief Buffington, witnessed the final arrangement of details to conclude the allotment of the tribal domain and the dissolution of the tribal government. They were years of much internal dissension because the allotment policy of the Government became controversial among the more conservative full blood members of the tribe. It awakened no Utopian dreams in the hearts of these well-intentioned tribal members. Obviously, it was difficult for these simple folk, who were so inured to their traditional system of land tenure, to yield their distinctive privilege of self-government and become an integral part of American life. To Thomas M. Buffington was committed the task of reconciling his people to an acceptance of their altered status. He was a strong supporter of the policy of the Government.

Details for the allotment of the Cherokee domain were crystalized into the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902. Under the leadership of Chief Buffington, this act was approved by the Cherokee electorate at a special election called by the chief and held on August 7, 1902. This Act of Congress, referred to as the Cherokee Supplemental Agreement, divested the Cherokee Nation of its major functions of government. As a political entity, it was to lapse entirely on March 4, 1906.

The chief, in his message addressed to the council, in November, 1902, evidenced his complete appraisal of the situation. Speaking, as it were, over the heads of the council members, he sought to lay upon the hearts of his people, the gravity of the situation. He endeavored to lead them to an unreserved acceptance of the new situation which confronted them and to awaken them to the consequent responsibilities of American citizenship.

"The cycle of time has added another year to our existence as a people and stamped the unmistakable marks of decline and decimation upon our tribal government. One by one the attributes of Indian sovereignty have been wrested from us and the exercise of that supreme power by the great and powerful government of the

United States has been introduced in its stead. Every political innovation affects most powerfully our property rights and when the two are intimately connected, entwined and inseparable, conditions will ever be complicated, serious and perplexing. Owing to this state of affairs and the resultant pecuniary loss to every citizen by further delay and our consent to a change became apparent to a majority of the Cherokee people, this absolute necessity was consummated on the 7th day of August, by the ratification of the Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902. . . . Time is the prime requisite for the application of its provisions. By its terms our communal interests will be individualized. The system of land tenure goes from national to a personal ownership. The result of this method makes every Cherokee citizen, a landlord. . . . The distribution of our land among our citizens necessarily requires that more careful and scientific methods be employed in the cultivation of the land. New conditions have come into existence and created a demand for a different kind of activity. The blending of all Indian tribes into the Anglo-Saxon form of government and their absorption as a part of the population, is being rapidly consummated and it is a question of a short time until its final completion. According to the teachings of Christian civilization, the red man should gain morally, intellectually, physically and economically. . . . The proper course to pursue in order to have some weight and prestige in moulding the government of this country after ours is gone, is a subject of the greatest vital concern to every Cherokee citizen. . . . If there ever was a time in the history of any country that demands a grand, harmonious movement to the end that a government be secured 'for the people and by the people' at the earliest practicable moment, that time is now. . . . It is not wealth, not royal blood, not learning that make true men, but a life of noble deeds, true manhood, devotion to family, home and country and a talk and conversation void of offense that constitute true worth. . . . We are passing off the stage of action; the places that know us now will soon be filled by others and the admonition is that we so conduct ourselves here that hereafter we may meet the reward of the just upon the Otherside. I trust that our hopes, beliefs, faith and anticipations may go out to a higher, better, purer and Eternal life.'"[5]

The tribal rolls were completed and the allotment of tribal lands well nigh completed during the administration of Chief Buffington, which drew to a close in the fall of 1903. He rendered valuable assistance to the officers of the Government in their efforts and, to his efficient service, the Cherokee people are greatly indebted. The term of Chief Buffington practically concluded all administrative functions of the old Cherokee Nation and what ever of details remained, it would seem, should have been com-

mitted to him. Through some legerdemain of Cherokee politics, the chief was denied the renomination by a narrow margin in the fall of 1903 and William C. Rogers became the candidate of the Downing Party and was elected.

Upon his retirement from office, Chief Buffington returned to Vinita which remained his home until his death. He engaged in the stock business and later, to a modest degree, in the oil business. The chief became an outstanding character in public affairs at Vinita, serving that city again as its mayor upon numerous occasions, concluding his last term in 1917. Upon the approach to Statehood, he became a strong advocate of single statehood for the two territories. He was a member of the Presbyterian church and of the Masonic and Elks secret societies.

Chief Buffington married Susan Woodall on May 10, 1878 who died on November 11, 1891.[6] Thereafter he married Emma Gray on December 28, 1895. She is a daughter of D. A. Gray of Tahlequah, was born in North Carolina on October 18, 1872 and lives (1939) at Vinita. Upon the Cherokee approved rolls, the name of Thomas M. Buffington appears opposite roll number 9823 as shown by census card number 4073 as a one-eighth blood Indian and to him was allotted his distributive share of the tribal domain.

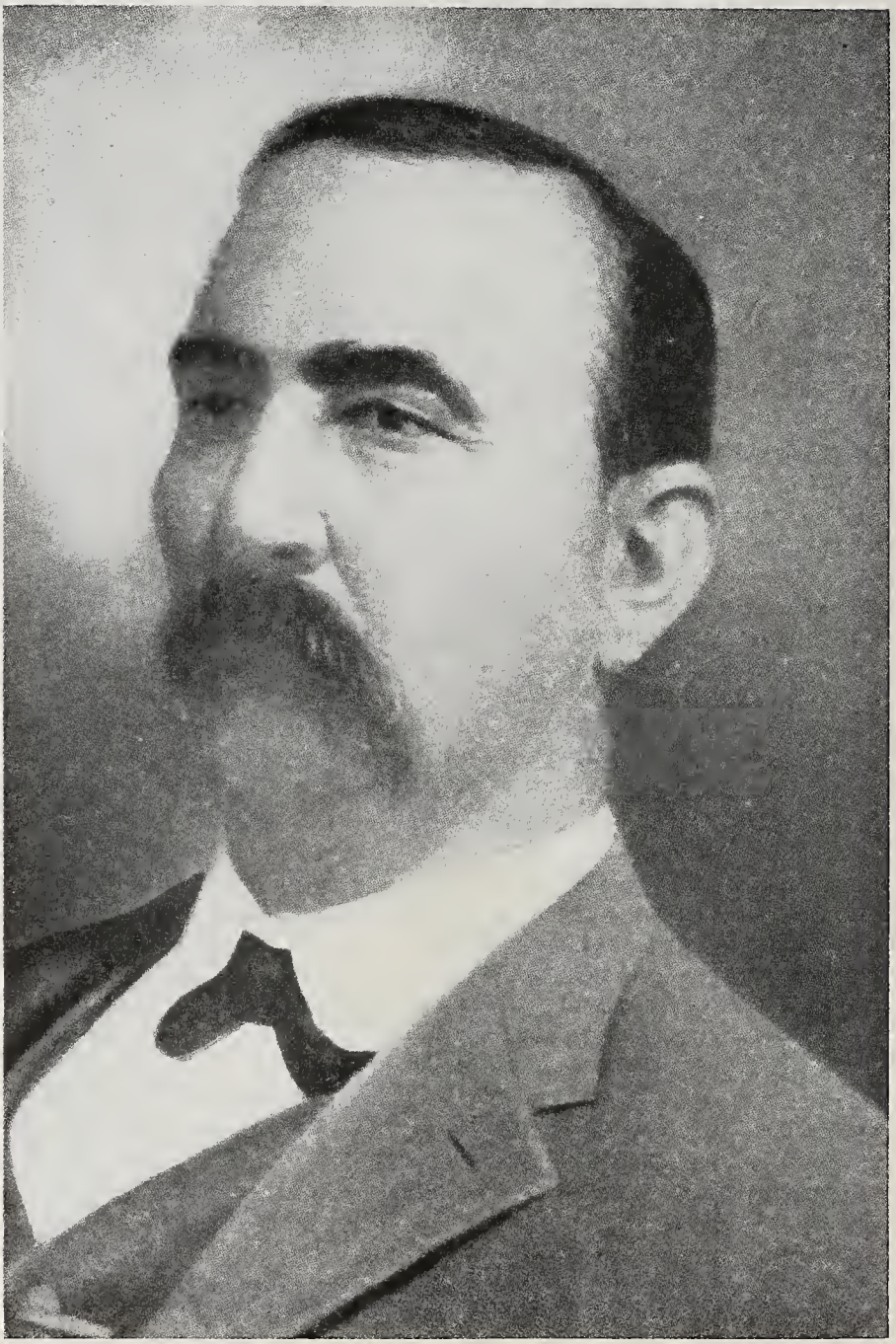
The chief was a large man, but well proportioned, standing six feet, six inches and weighing around 250 pounds. His posture was pleasant, agreeable and easy of approach. He enjoyed the respect and esteem of his people and maintained an abiding influence with them. During the last years of his life, the old chief became rather inactive. Chief Thomas M. Buffington answered the last summons at his home at Vinita on February 11, 1938 and rests in the Fairview Cemetery near that city. He was the last surviving elected chief of the Cherokees and his passing closed the final chapter in the history of a splendid people.

We now pass on to William Charles Rogers, who succeeded Chief Buffington, as chief of the Cherokees.

The celebrated Chief John Jolly (Oolosleeskee) left his Haw-

[5] *Tahlequah Arrow*, November 8, 1902. No. 9.

[6] The writer is indebted to Mrs. D. H. Moffat, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, a daughter of the late Chief Buffington, for much valuable information.



WILLIAM CHARLES ROGERS

assee Island home in February, 1818 with a party of 331 and joined the Western Cherokees. The interesting old white trader, John Rogers departed from the East with a party of 31 emigrants on October 18, 1817, arriving among the Indians in the White River country on April 18, 1818.[7] John Rogers, of Scotch-English descent, had lived and traded among the Cherokees for many years which reached back to the period before the Revolution. It was an undocumented era among the Indians and hence little is preserved of what must have been a most adventurous career. We learn that his life was saved by John Sevier in 1782 and that in 1805, along with Major Ridge and Alexander Saunders, he became involved in the killing of Chief Doublehead of the Cherokees. Much of the success of Chief John Jolly, who became chief of the western Cherokees upon the death of his brother shortly after removal, was due to the counsel and support of John Rogers, the trader, who was his brother-in-law and a headman of the tribe.

John Rogers married (1) Elizabeth Due nee Emory, the widow of Robert Due, a Scotchman and a grand-daughter of Ludovic Grant, the Scotch trader. By his first wife, John Rogers became the father of two sons, James and John both of whom achieved prominence among the Cherokees. (2) He married Jennie Due, a daughter of his first wife and a sister of Chief John Jolly and among his children by this wife was Tiana, who became the Cherokee wife of Gen. Sam Houston.[8]

John Rogers, a son of John Rogers, the trader and Elizabeth Due, his wife, was born in Burke County, Georgia in 1779. He was known among the Indians as "Nolachucky Jack" Rogers and acquired the title of "captain" through his command of a company of Cherokees, under Gen. Jackson in the Creek War of 1813-14. Captain Rogers removed to the country of the Western Cherokees in 1821, removing to the old Indian Territory in 1829. He first settled at or near Dardanelle, Arkansas, subsequently settling near

[7] The late Will Rogers, famous humorist, was a direct descendant of John Rogers, the old Indian trader.

[8] Tiana Rogers married first, David Gentry, an Englishman whose first wife was Mary Buffington, her aunt. Gentry died before 1829. In the summer of 1830, she became the wife of Gen. Sam Houston and after the departure of Houston for Texas late in 1832, she married another white man by the name of Samuel D. McGrady.

Mulberry, in what is today Crawford County, Arkansas and upon the death of Chief Jolly in December, 1838, became a chief of the tribe. He was the last chief of that division of the Cherokees. The captain was a member of the delegation which departed for Washington on December 28, 1827 and became a signer of the Treaty of May 6, 1828 which provided for the removal of the Western Cherokees to lands in the Indian Territory. He ran trading posts at Ft. Gibson and Ft. Smith in co-partnership with Col. John Nicks[9] and on June 17, 1836 conveyed a tract of 308 acres near Ft. Smith to the Government upon which the permanent fort was erected. The captain again was dispatched as a delegate to Washington in November, 1831, by Chief Jolly.

The enforced emigration to the old Indian Territory of the thousands of Eastern Cherokees, in 1838-9, led by Chief John Ross, at once began to imperil the independent political autonomy of the Western Cherokees who were thereafter referred to as the "Old Settlers." Ross insisted upon an immediate liquidation of the government presided over by Chief John Rogers, to which Rogers and his associates strongly objected. A constitutional convention inspired by Ross was held, a written constitution adopted and the absorption of the Old Settlers became quite complete. Ross easily was chosen the constitutional chief of the new government. Captain Rogers vigorously opposed the efforts for amalgamation and until his death, declined to contribute, in any manner toward its accomplishment. In 1840, he made a hurried journey to Mexico City to avoid adding his signature to an agreement of union of his people with the Eastern Cherokees. It is highly improbable that Capt. John Rogers ever celebrated the birthday of John Ross.

Sam Houston acquired from Colonel Chouteau the salt springs on the Grand River near the present town of Salina, Oklahoma, in 1830, but being prevented from operating them, he very soon disposed of the same to his friend Capt. John Rogers. Rogers christened the springs, Grand Saline, installed a rather extensive

[9] Col. John Nicks, a native of North Carolina was a military officer at Ft. Gibson and on February 21, 1827 was appointed postmaster of the post, being the first postmaster in what is today, Oklahoma, and held the position at the time of his death on December 31, 1831.

plant and continued to operate the salt works until the entire property was confiscated by an act of the Cherokee Council of October 30, 1843, which declared all salines to be the property of the Cherokee Nation. The animosity of John Ross toward Captain Rogers probably inspired that action. He thereafter removed to Ft. Smith but subsequently and for the last few years preceding his death, established his home on the south bank of Panther creek some 2½ miles southeast of the present city of Claremore, Oklahoma. In 1846, the old chief again journeyed to Washington where he attended a conference and again urged consideration of what he considered the paramount rights of the Old Settlers. It was his concluding protest. Captain John Rogers passed away at the boarding house of Mrs. Eugene A. Townsley in Washington, D. C. on June 12, 1846 and rests in the National Cemetery in that city. Captain Rogers married Elizabeth Coody who died on July 14, 1842.

Charles Coody Rogers, a son of Capt. John Rogers and Elizabeth Coody, his wife, was born in Georgia about 1810. He married Elizabeth McCorkle, a white lady of Irish descent who was a native of Arkansas. He subsequently married Nannie Coker nee Patton, a widow and later married Jennie Harlan. He lived at the old farm home southeast of Claremore and later at the old town of Skiatook where he passed away in June, 1885. He was a farmer and trader and served as judge of Cooweescoowee District in 1857 and again in 1871-3-5.

William Charles Rogers,[10] a son of Charles Coody Rogers and Elizabeth McCorkle, his wife, was born on his father's farm southeast of Claremore, Indian Territory, on December 13, 1847. He was modestly educated in the tribal schools and early in life engaged in farming, establishing himself upon a farm some two miles north of the present town of Skiatook, Oklahoma. He maintained his residence upon this farm until his death and it is today (1939) owned by his widow. It was upon this farm that young Rogers, about 1877, built a general store and where he

[10] The writer acknowledges indebtedness to Mrs. W. C. Rogers, relict of the late chief, for much valuable assistance.

established the old town of Skiatook which he removed to its present site in 1905 when the Midland Valley Railroad was built. The trading and stockraising activities of William C. Rogers were highly successful.

William C. Rogers entered the political arena of Cherokee Nation politics when he was elected to the lower house of the council from Cooweescoowee District in the fall of 1881 and re-elected in 1883. He was chosen from that district to the senate in the fall of 1889 and again in 1895. He was prominent as a member of the council when the sale of the "Strip" was made and in the years of preparation for allotment of the tribal domain and the dissolution of the tribal government. This service fitted him most capably for the service he was destined to render his people as their last elected chieftain. At the last tribal election, held in the Cherokee Nation, on August 3, 1903, William C. Rogers, as the candidate of the Downing party was elected chief, defeating E. L. Cookson, his opponent of the National party. He succeeded Chief Thomas M. Buffington.

The administration of Chief Rogers was rather perfunctory. The Government had assumed all major functions leaving few if any administrative features to the discretion of the new chief. The position was simply honorary. Under the terms of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, the tribal government was to expire on March 4, 1906. This probationary period was provided to enable the tribal authorities to undertake a final disposition of the assets of the tribal government. Tribal title was held to the old capitol building at Tahlequah and numerous other institutions which included the old building formerly used as a jail, the *Advocate* building, Orphan Asylum, Insane Asylum and several school buildings which included both the Male and Female Seminaries and the Colored High School. The allotment of tribal lands had proceeded far enough to evidence that fractional residues of unallotted lands would remain and of which disposition must be made. A disposition of these assets, which were frozen in so far as the Cherokee Nation was concerned, became a problem of the new chief. Chief Rogers sensed the situation concern-

ing which he addressed the council in his initial message on November 7, 1903.

"In fact, there are a number of unsettled relations with the government of the United States and I recommend that a commission be appointed of sufficient number, authorized and empowered to meet with the proper authorities of the government of the United States whenever the Secretary of the Interior indicates his willingness to receive them to adjust all unsettled relations between the Cherokee Nation and the government of the United States, as well as to provide for the disposition of all of our surplus lands, common property and moneys of all kinds derived from all sources."

A most interesting meeting was the concluding session of the old Cherokee Council which assembled at Tahlequah on November 9, 1904. It was the end of the trail and the closing words of Chief Rogers in his message to them, are of interest. Perhaps no chief executive in all history ever faced the concluding moments of the political automony of his people, so abruptly destined, as did Chief Rogers. He greeted them,

"But a crisis in our affairs is at hand. The Government which our forefathers cherished and loved and labored so hard to perfect, has been sentenced to die. The scepter must soon pass to other hands. Still, we must force back the resentment we feel and accept the conditions as they are. The decrees of fate are inexorable. Representative bodies are usually brought together to organize or maintain a government; seldom indeed is the spectacle afforded of such a body of men calmly assembled together to prepare for its own dissolution and yet your coming together is largely for that purpose. The importance of this melancholy fact must not be underestimated or approached in a spirit of indifference. The best service of which you are capable is the demand of the hour and painstaking effort should characterize your every act so that the result may redound to the everlasting credit and benefit of our people."

The Indian had left the "land of dreams" to enter the "land of promise"; his traditional oddities had lost their significance; he had become sophisticated; his duel with the white man was concluded. Not unlike the ancient Briton whose blood became intermingled with that of the successive hordes of Saxons, Danes and Normans, the American Indians have fused their blood, language and culture with those of the conquering race. The Cherokees have risen to their full stature as American citizens.

Upon the completion of his four year term, the chief was retained in the position to aid the Government in making the final adjustments. The affixing of his signature to the thousands of patents evidencing title in the individual allottees, constituted his primary service during the latter years. And so the concluding years of the once powerful Cherokee Nation were piloted by Chief William C. Rogers, whose service was of the highest character. He labored in close harmony with the allotment officials of the Government. A futile effort was undertaken in the fall of 1905 to provoke trouble. The excuse was the refusal of the chief to call the usual biennial election at which new council members might be chosen. The chief declined to issue such a proclamation because the tribal government would cease to function within a few months. Some sort of an election was held, however, and the council members so elected convened on November 11, 1905, proceeded to impeach and remove the chief and elect Frank J. Boudinot to the position. This gesture was influenced largely by an element in the tribe who were dissatisfied with the entire allotment policy. Chief Rogers carried the entire matter to Washington, in person, and received the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

Chief Rogers enlisted, on July 12, 1861 and served thereafter as a private soldier in company E in the First Regiment of Cherokee Volunteers, in the Confederate Army, under Col. Stand Watie.[11] He married Nannie Haynie at Kansas City, on February 15, 1892. She was a daughter of S. B. Haynie and Georgiana Humphrey, his wife and was born on October 2, 1869. She lives (1939) at Skiatook, Oklahoma.

The chief was a member of the Masonic Fraternity. His name is carried upon the final rolls of the Cherokees opposite roll number 14781 as evidenced by census card number 6199, as an Indian of the one-fourth blood. He remained chief of the Cherokees until his death. The old chief passed away at his farm home near Skiatook on November 8, 1917 and rests in the Hillside Cemetery about 3½ miles north of the present town of Skiatook, where his grave is suitably marked.

[11] Records, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C.

MARKER AT THE GRAVE OF
WILLIAM CHARLES ROGERS

FORT DAVIS

By Grant Foreman[1]

During the days of strife and bloodshed in the Indian Territory through the civil war, no section of the State of Oklahoma heard more of the roar of cannon fire than the area that is now Muskogee County. At an early stage of the war the Confederacy sought to intrench itself south of the Arkansas River, whence raids were made into the Cherokee Nation north of that stream. From Webbers Falls up the Arkansas River, above the present Muskogee the southern army guarded all possible crossings of the river with troops. Cannon again were planted at every possible crossing to prevent federal troops from passing to the south side of the stream.

From the cannonading that carrried the news of the battle of Honey Springs from southern Muskogee County over a radius of twenty-five or thirty miles to the vicinity of the Muskogee Pump Station, the roar of hostile cannon became a familiar sound. At some periods, for days at a time Confederate cannon bombarded the picket posts of Fort Gibson, and the Union forces responded in equal measure. Sniping across the Arkansas River between the opposing forces concealed behind trees along the river became commonplace. At times, when the rifle fire stopped, the officers knew that the Indians were visiting on the sand bars, exchanging coffee for tobacco, swapping military secrets and other forms of indiscretion.

Two of the most important events connected with the federal activities in Indian Territory find their locale in Muskogee County. One is the construction and brief existence of Fort Davis; the other the battle of Honey Springs, fought south of Oktaha in which 150 confederates were killed—the greatest loss sustained by the Confederacy in the Indian Territory during the war. Both these places are worthy of appropriate commemoration.

[1] Dr. Grant Foreman lives at Muskogee, Oklahoma. He is the author of *Indian Removal, Indians and Pioneers, Advancing the Frontier, The Five Civilized Tribes* and other well known historical works.

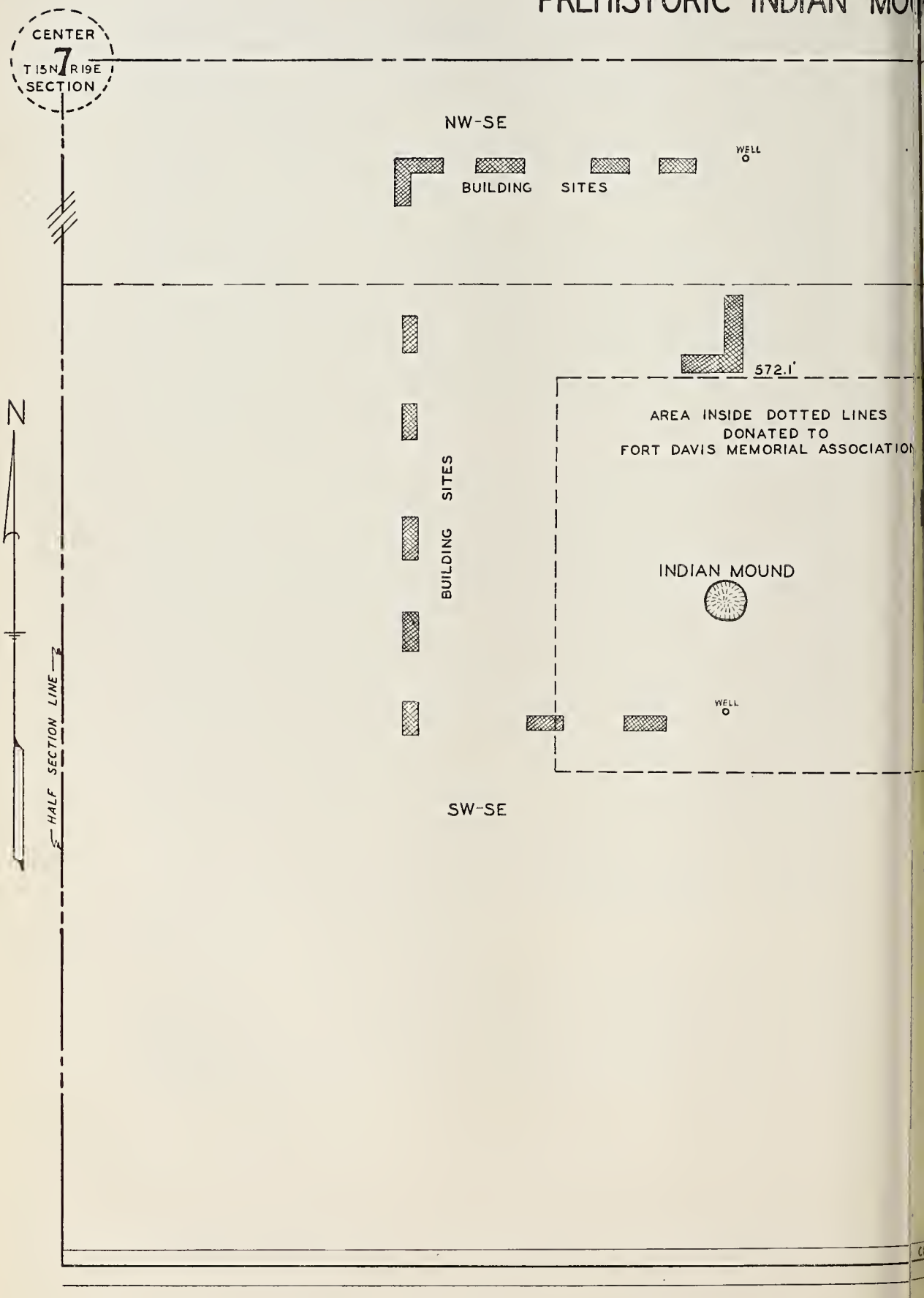
In November 1861, the Confederate government created the department of Indian Territory, and named Brigadier-general Albert Pike to the command of that department. After his appointment he selected a site directly across the Arkansas River from Fort Gibson, a mile or two south of the mouth of the Verdigris River. Here he constructed fortifications and erected a large number of buildings for barracks, commissary stores, stables and other purposes. The establishment was named Cantonment Davis, though it was commonly known as Fort Davis. This place Pike intended to make the military and civil headquarters of the Confederacy for the Indian Territory. Fort Gibson was at that time a badly run-down and decayed establishment, and the confederate authorities believed they could maintain more certainly a headquarters established south of the Arkansas River than on the north side.

Fort Davis was built around a prehistoric mound standing some 25 or 30 feet high above the surrounding terrain. It was on the crest of a gentle elevation that sloped both east and west. On the west slope it was possible to drill and assemble a large force of men, horses and mules, screened from observation from Fort Gibson. The east slope fell away gently toward the Arkansas River and Fort Gibson, leaving an unobstructed view across the river to the old fort and to the surrounding prairies. With this advantage the confederates could hide most of their men from the field glasses in the hands of union observers in Fort Gibson; while at the same time they had an excellent view of the surroundings of the latter fort, especially of the lands where their live stock was pastured. It was this advantage that resulted in a raid on the pasturing herds of the union forces on Menard Prairie, in which the confederates captured more than a thousand horses and mules, after killing twenty herdsmen.

Fort Davis was a stronghold of the confederate forces during 1860; but after the battle of Pea Ridge early in March 1862, Pike retired with the most of his forces south almost to Red River, with the conviction that it would be impossible to hold Fort Davis

PLAT OF FORT DAVIS A

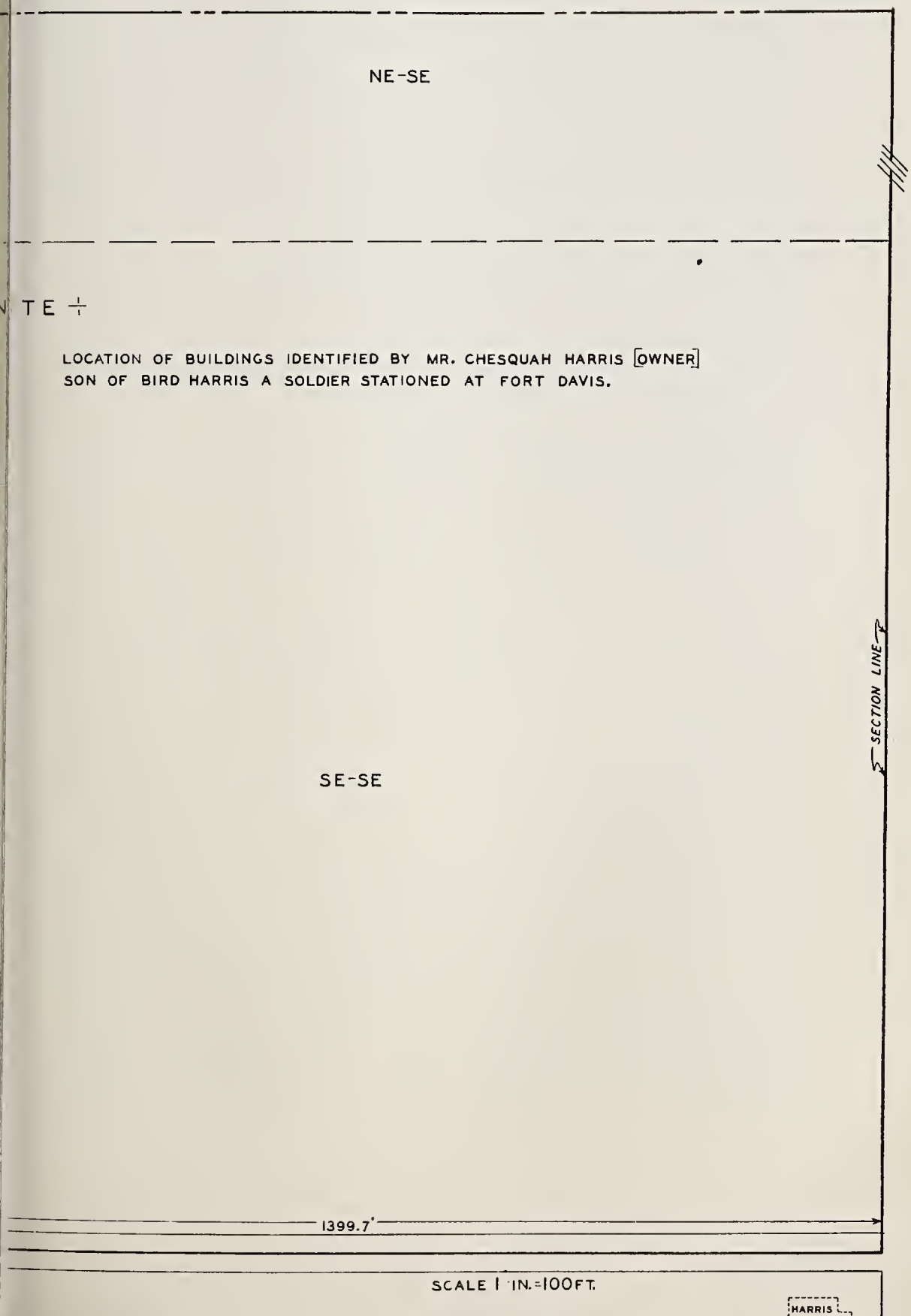
LOCATION OF BUILDIN
PREHISTORIC INDIAN MO



E GARRISON IN 1862

E STILL IN USE] ALSO A

LOOKOUT & FLAGSTAFF



longer. From this manoeuvre resulted the construction of Fort McCullough on Blue River.

After Pike was relieved from his command, his successor reoccupied Fort Davis, and it continued in the possession of the confederates until December 27 of that year, when General William A. Phillips with his command from Fort Gibson crossed the Arkansas River at Frozen Rock east of Muskogee, captured the fort and burned most of the buildings. Contemporary authorities say that the fort had been constructed at a cost of "upwards of a million dollars." From the meager information available, it seems that the buildings were constructed of logs; and while they were extensive and perhaps some of them two stories in height, it seems incredible that so much money could have been expended on these buildings in a year's time, especially when the logs were probably all cut within a mile or two of the fort by soldiers.

So far as known, there is just one man living who possesses authentic information about Fort Davis, and that is Mr. Cheasquah Harris who owns the site of the fort. In order to preserve and make a record of available facts concerning this fort, the writer and Mr. T. P. Clonts enlisted the aid of Mr. Harris, who very cheerfully gave his services. On Sunday January 8, 1939, Mr. Harris accompanied us for this purpose. His parents lived near by at the time Fort Davis was constructed, and when Pike retreated to Red River, they and their neighbors joined in the general exodus. Mr. Harris, our conductor, was born a short distance from the site of the old fort in 1873, and he has a distinct recollection of considerable ruins of the old buildings. While the logs have all disappeared, there are still heaps of stones and scattered debris over the six or eight acres occupied by the fort, that indicate the sites of chimneys and fireplaces. Mr. Harris has the benefit of his personal recollections of the ruins, and of the information given by his father as to the location, size and character of the buildings constituting the old fort.

Mr. Harris conducted us from one site to another over the area in question, and Mr. Clonts, a skilled engineer and surveyor, with his assistant and a surveyor's tapeline, measured off the spaces and located the sites of the buildings. This information

Mr. Clonts has compiled in a sketch, a copy of which is deposited with the Oklahoma Historical Society, for such use as may be made of it. In making this deposit, the writer hopes that steps will be taken to discover more of the history of this fort, the extent of the buildings and, if possible, a more extended account of their construction. He feels that this information must have been confided by General Pike to the confederate authorities at Richmond, or might be found among the Pike papers in Washington.

PAWNEE TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

By
Guy Rowley Moore

The origin of the name "Pawnee" and its meaning are, to the present day, concealed in mystery. There was no name for the confederacy as a whole.[1] It is certain that the white man is the author of the name; but what prompted him to employ such an appellation has long been forgotten. To be sure there are words in the Pawnee language which may lead one to speculate on the origin of the work in question. Some authorities attribute its origin to the word "pariki"[2] or as the Skidi now pronounce it "parrico" which means "horn," and referred to the peculiar erect scalp lock which was so decorated as to have resembled horns. It is also possible that the name could have been derived from the word which, with the Skidi accent, is pronounced "pah-ree-shoo," or as the Chaui pronounce it "pah-ress-oo," which means "hunters." It is possible that the white man's questions were misunderstood and that this word was given in answer to his first inquiries. The name has come to us through the French in which language it was spelled "Pani."[3]

The Pawnee tribes comprise a branch of the Caddoan Linguistic family which is composed of the Pawnees, Arikaras, Caddos, Huecos or Wacos, Keechies, Tawaconies and Pawnee Picts or Wichitas.

The Pawnee confederacy is composed of four tribes or bands of which the "Skidi" is the largest and by far the most aggressive. The other three bands are: the Kitkehahki, the Chaui and the

[1] The Bureau of American Ethnology; *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213; asserts that the Pawnees called themselves "Chahiksichahiks" which, they say, means "Men of Men." If this be true it has long been forgotten and the old men of the present time say that this name would not be applicable to the tribe at all because its meaning is too general.

[2] Bureau of American Ethnology. *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213; "The Pawnee Indians, Their History and Ethnology," by John Brown Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History*, IV, 245; George Bird Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales*, 239.

[3] The Spanish spelling of the name was Panana.

Pitahauerat.[4] The word Kitkehahki means "on the hill"; Chaui, "in the middle"; and Pitahauerat, "down the stream," or "east."[5] These names were derived from the position in which their villages were located.

The original home of the Pawnees was in the southern part of Mexico,[6] perhaps near the peninsula of Yucatan. Tradition says that they left their home early because of an inundation from the sea.[7] This catastrophe having come upon them it was necessary that they retreat to a higher altitude.

Another tradition which tells that they once lived in houses built of stone and that in their migrations they crossed two ranges of mountains,[8] adds to the proof of their migration from Mexico. The custom of offering the human sacrifice and the ritual of the ceremony, their fondness for magic performed by their medicine men and their gentle welcome and hospitable entertainment of invaders remind one of the Aztecs.[9] Could they be descendents of Mayan or Aztec civilization, changed by climate and surroundings? If so then it would be easy to understand how the Spanish conquerors were led on by the stories of rich cities to the north.

At the time of their migration, especially after they came into what is now the United States, they were very numerous and no doubt embraced all of the Caddoan linguistic family. The general direction of the group was toward the north and east until they

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[4] The orthography of these names differs. Skidi is also found Skedee, or Skeedee which means "wolf," hence the French "Pani Loup." The United States Government negotiated a treaty with this band in which they were spoken of as Pawnee Marhar. (See Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 159). They are elsewhere spoken of as Panimaha. Kitkehahki is sometimes found Kitkehawki, Kitkaha, Panionassas and Paniassas. They were otherwise known as the Pawnee Republic or Republican Pawnees because of their location on the Republican River. Chaui is sometimes spelled Xaui, Tsaui or Chowee. They were otherwise known as the Pawnees Grand or the Grand Pawnees. Pitahauerat is sometimes spelled Petahowerat. By the Government authorities it was spelled Pitavirate or Tappahs. The French knew them as Pani Tapage or Noisy Pawnees.

[5] Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 216.

[6] Alfred Sorrenson, "Life of Major Frank North," 11. (The page references of this writing to which I have referred, as elsewhere in this work, are from the copy in typewritten form in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

[7] While visiting the Pawnees I was told an ancient tradition by David Gillingham (White Eagle) which, though imperfect and contradictory in places, allays all doubt as to the reason for the first migration, and the position on the map of the ancient home of the Pawnees.

[8] Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 224-225.

[9] Judge James W. Savage, "A Visit to Nebraska in 1662" in *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, 1887*, p. 129.

crossed the Rio Grande when they bent their course toward the east. Their landmarks may be traced from the Colorado River in Texas to Lake Itasca, including a large portion of Texas, all of Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa, a very large portion of Minnesota and the Dakotas, almost all of Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma besides small portions of the states east of the Mississippi River from the northern exteremity of Illinois to the mouth of the Arkansas River.[10]

The ancient Caddoans uniformly buried their dead in the valley land cornfields where a sandy loam subsoil made possible the excavation of a grave with clam shells in a mere fraction of the time that would have been necessary to make such an excavation in the heavy clay soil of the uplands with the crude implements which they possessed. Nearly every burial was accompanied by one or more pieces of earthernware pottery, presumably for the sustenance of the departed during the course of the journey to the spirit land. Where only one or two pieces were used the vessels were very plain in design and sometimes so fragile as to suggest that they had been fabricated and burned expressly for mortuary purposes. Where three or more pieces are to be found, nearly all of them are of superior quality in design, decoration, finish and quality of texture. There seems to be an almost infinite variety of forms including the plain conventional bowls and kettles, vases, urns, water bottles, jugs and effigies of animals, birds, fish and reptiles and even human figures and faces.

In their northward movement the various Caddoan tribes separated. The Caddos remained in Louisiana, the Wichitas wandered farther north and the Pawnees continued until they reached the Platte River Valley. The Arickaras must have led the way northward as they were found as far north as North Dakota. Traditions of their movements add color to the story but the exact reasons for their separations cannot now be ascertained.[11] The reason for their northward movement was, without doubt, a de-

[10] William E. Connelley, "Notes on the Early Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains" in *Collections* of the Kansas State Historical Society, XIV, 438 ff.

[11] Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 12 relates the separation as one agreeable to the bands concerned, but the stories told by the old chiefs lead one to believe that there was a differnce between the head chiefs of the bands, some wishing to stay and others wishing to proceed northward.

sire to find better hunting grounds and to procure sinew. According to tradition, at a time long after the separation of the tribes, the Arickaras came to live with the Skidi. Intermarriage took place and it seemed as if the two tribes would become one when for some unknown reason the Arickara chiefs led their people north again to their former home.[12]

When the Caddoan people came to the Great Plains they found them already inhabited. They took the territory by conquest.[13] When the Siouan family moved to this country from the east they found the Pawnees already established. The Pawnees had been so long in this country that their language had taken up local expressions for directions such as "O-kut-ut," above stream, meaning west; "Oku-kat," below stream, meaning east; "Puk-tis-tu," toward the Omahas, came to mean north and "Kiri-ku-ruks-tu," toward the Wichitas, meaning south.[14] The Sioux, from their first arrival on the plains, became enemies of the Pawnees and remained enemies until the Pawnees were removed to Indian Territory in 1876.

There were several institutions and practices, some of which exist to the present time, all of which directly or indirectly depend upon religious belief. Among these are: the human sacrifice of the Skidi, medicine, the construction of the earth covered lodge, secret societies, dances, war parties, the buffalo hunt, agriculture, games, marriage, feasts, and tribal government.

The line of demarcation between mythology and superstition on the one hand and rational religion on the other cannot be definitely drawn by the unbiased critic. The fact that there is but one Deity has been maintained by the Pawnees as far back as tradition can tell. "Ti-ra-wa" is the Great Creator of the universe. He is the Great Spirit who is omnipotent as well as omni-

[12] The old tradition explains how the Skidi found the Arickaras while on a buffalo hunt. They were surprised to find another people who spoke the same language. The Skidi chiefs sent ten men to invite the Arickaras to accompany them on the hunt. The Arickaras accepted the invitation and after the hunt came home with the Skidi with whom they lived a long time. Daughters of the Arickaras married Skidi men. The Arickara chiefs decided to go home. The Skidi agreed to allow their wives to go with their people. The Arickara chiefs were glad. About five days after they left the Skidi the Arickara women came back to their husbands.

[13] Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213 ff; Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 12.

[14] Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 230.

present. With Tirawa, the Father, who lives in the heavens, there are lesser spirits which correspond to the angels of the Christian belief.[15] There are many of these and they are often characterized by the heavenly bodies. Some are masculine and some are feminine. Each has his allotted function to perform and Tirawa governs them all. The morning star, the evening star, the north and south stars, the sun and moon represent such characters as the Angel of Life, the Angel of Death and many others. The morning star and the evening star are the Angels of Life, They are directly instrumental in providing for the usual necessities of man.

There is a Spirit Land but knowledge concerning this life cannot be had as none who have gone there have ever returned to tell about what one may expect beyond the grave. The milky way is the long pathway leading to the Spirit Land. The Angel of Death, The North Star, starts the departed on the long journey to the Great Beyond.[16]

Since the tribe had no writings of any kind, the sacred history had to be kept in another way. Hanging up in the lodge was a bundle wrapped in the skin of some kind of animal. This was known as the sacred bundle.[17] On various occasions this bundle was taken down and the stories it guarded were recounted. Among its contents was an ear of corn which was handed down by Tirawa to his children. The scalp represents the wars which were fought and also the achievements of heroes. The bow and arrow were symbolical of many things. While they were weapons of offense and defense they were also of the utmost importance on the hunt. The eagle feather was as much esteemed by them as the national emblem is by the whites. The lasso which was made of buffalo hair was another major article. Together with these were several other articles of lesser importance. Each represented

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[15] Charles A. Murray, *Travels in North America*, I, 333; *Missionary Herald* XXXI, Extracts from the Journal of Mr. Dunbar, 420; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213.

[16] George A. Dorsey, *Pawnee Mythology*, 136; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213.

[17] Information concerning the sacred bundle was obtained from Adolphus Carrion who is mentioned hereafter in this work. Mr. Carrion maintains that the significance of some of these articles is contained in the Holy Bible.

some great event which the keeper knew and was able to relate.

If the Pawnees had had a means of preserving all of their sacred history other than by the sacred bundles, which lose some of their beauty at the death of each keeper, we would know in full what we now know in part. There was a genesis. After Tirawa created the heavens and the earth, "He spoke, and at the sound of his voice a woman appeared upon the earth." Tirawa then created man and sent him to the woman.[18]

There is a tradition that giants once inhabited the earth.[19] The bones of the dinosaur which were found on the plains were supposed to have been bones of these giants. Tirawa destroyed them with a great deluge after which he promised not to destroy the earth in that manner again. He has told the people that he will use other means to destroy the earth and its inhabitants. Some day the earth will come to an end. Among the means of destruction which Tirawa shall employ are excessive storms and fire from the sky.[20] The moon shall turn red, the sun shall cease to shine and the stars will fall from heaven.[21] Many other signs will mark the end.

The Pawnees are profoundly religious. It is not uncommon for a person to go out on a hilltop alone or otherwise to seclude himself there to pray to Tirawa in secret. When once a person wanders thus from the village it is understood by the others that he desires to be alone with Tirawa and his wishes are respected.

Before starting out on any undertaking the Pawnee always invokes the guidance of the Almighty Tirawa. In those days when the hunters and their families left for the hunt they humbled themselves and implored divine aid in their undertaking. Burnt offerings were made to the Deity. Prayer and sacrifice mark the beginning of a feast and often its end. At the conclusion of each undertaking thanks and sacrifices were offered for the success or a safe return.[22]

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[18] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 13. It will be noted that this is contrary to Gen. 2: 7 and 18, but is strangely in keeping with certain theories proposed by scientists.

[19] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 134; Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 34; Gen. 6:1-4.

[20] *Cf.* II Peter 3:10.

[21] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 135. *Cf.* Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:28-32; Matt. 24:29; Mark 13:24-25; Luke 21:25; and Acts 2:17-21, inclusive.

[22] Grinnell, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII.

It was the custom of the Skidi band to offer a human sacrifice[23] to the Great Star to insure good crops. This ceremony usually took place sometime in April. The Skidi alone performed the rite. They always sent an invitation to the chiefs of the other tribes to attend the celebration but each time the latter declined.

The victim of this terrible affair was a captive taken from some other tribe with whom the Skidi had been at war. At a time previous to the ceremony of sacrifice the captor in council with some of the chiefs announced that he wished to offer his captive to the Great Star. This intention was kept strictly in secret. None outside the circle of chiefs and braves who attended the council were permitted to know lest such intelligence reach the ears of the captive. The unfortunate one was then taken into the captor's lodge and given freely of all the necessities of life that these people could afford. Nothing was spared to make the captive happy. The best food was abundantly supplied. This was done that the captive might be made as cheerful as possible and thereby be a more acceptable offering. On the day appointed for the sacrifice the captive was led to the fatal spot before he could even conjecture what was to happen. Authorities differ on the methods of torture, but the unfortunate person was tortured for some time after which he was put to death in the manner chosen by his captor.

Certain parts of his body were taken to the corn field where much ceremony took place over the newly planted corn. Some parts were burned while the agricultural implements were passed through the smoke which was looked upon as a strong medicine to insure a bountiful crop.

The victim of these gruesome ceremonies in many instances within the historical period were young women. A few times they were men. Sex did not cause any deviation from the regular order of affairs.

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[23] H. R. Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, etc., 495-496; Father P. J. DeSmet, "Narrative of a Year's Residence Among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains" in *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, 1887*, 131-132; *Missionary Herald*, XIX, 397; John T. Irving, Jr., *Indian Sketches*, II, 146-153; Jedidiah Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War*, 247-249; Thomas L. M'Kenney, *History of Indian Tribes of North America*, I, 101.

In order to become a medicine[24] man or physician, one must conform to rules set down by the secret order of Medicine Men (Ku-ra-u-ruk-ar-u). First of all the individual who desired to become a medicine man placed his application with this order to become a student. A council of medicine men was called at which they deliberated upon the proposed admission of the new student. He was admitted or rejected as the council saw fit. His character must be such that he would keep secret the arts entrusted to his knowledge. Upon admission to the order he was taught the different kinds of roots and herbs, their qualities and uses. The medicine men became very proficient indeed. They were so skillful that their care for a gun shot wound, broken limb or knife wound was marvelously successful.

Tuition was high. The medicine men received horses as their pay. Their fees for medical attention upon the sick were also horses. Under such a system it was not uncommon that a medicine man should have more property in horses than the head chief of the tribe.

There were good doctors and poor ones. The good doctors only attended those who could pay horses as fees. Poor people were obliged to employ poor doctors or quacks.

The general idea about diseases was that they were caused by malign influences. In order to cast out these devils they put in practice a peculiar remedy consisting of incantations and dances.

The Pawnee doctors used many remedies which were very effective. Cauterizing was very common. A bit of the stalk of the yarrow (achillea millefolium), about an inch long was inserted into the affected part and fire was set to the outer extremity. This piece was allowed to burn into the skin. Sometimes several of these pieces were inserted at once. Blistering was produced by rubbing the skin with an acrid plant. They knew the use of several herbs such as the wormwood (artimisia ludoviciana), sweet flag (acorus calamus), wild bergamot (monarda fistulosa), Oswego

[24] Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-33; Murray, *Travels in North America*, I, 285; Rev. Samuel Allis, "Forty Years Among the Indians, etc." in *Nebraska State Historical Society Reports, 1887*, p. 140; James W. Savage, "A Visit to Nebraska in 1662" in *Nebraska State Historical Society Reports, 1887*, p. 129.

tea (monarda punctata), wild mint (mentha canadensis) and many others. Wormwood and wild bergamot were in general use as disinfectants and cosmetics. The women used decoctions of the wormwood at certain periods. For relieving pain they used prickly poppy (argemone mexicana) and they were also familiar with the cathartic qualities of other plants.

A remedy which was in very common usage was the vapor bath. They built a small framework about six feet in diameter and four feet high which they covered with blankets and skins and into which they would place several heated stones. The patient would enter and carry with him a vessel of water which he would sprinkle on the stones. The water thus converted into steam stimulated the activity of the secretory system.

The women were, as a rule, very faithful to their husbands and children during sickness. They carried their patients outside to enjoy the sunshine in the morning and cooked little delicacies to tempt their appetites. It is said that women did not receive such care when sick, but their husbands were often known to give them very careful attention.[25]

These medicine men were also skilled in sleight of hand. They were such good illusionists that even the white spectators wondered how such miracles could be performed. They apparently possessed the power of imbuing inanimate objects with life and motion. It was not uncommon for them to shoot arrows through their bodies and to crush their skulls with tomahawks without harm. They planted corn in the ground and in a few minutes made it grow to maturity. Swallowing sticks, knives, and arrows were the performances of mere apprentices.

The Pawnee villages consisted of dome shaped, earth covered lodges[26] of a circular ground plan with a long entrance always extending to the east. The frame work of these lodges was made of heavy poles set in the ground. The poles of the outer circle were much shorter and more numerous than those nearer the

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[25] Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians, Their Habits and Customs," *Magazine of American History*. Vol. V, No. 5, November 1880, pp. 336-341.

[26] *Ibid.*, IV, 272-276; Allis, *op. cit.*, 143-144; Dorsey, *The Pawnee Mythology*, part I, pp. 14-15; *Missionary Herald*, XXXI, 346; Bureau of American Ethonology, *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213.

center. Each was so selected as to have a crotch in the top into which were fitted the cross pieces upon which other poles were laid. Upon this primary framework rested a large number of smaller poles and twigs tied to the framework by means of leather thongs. A coat of heavy grass covered this structure above which was a coating of earth. As for the floor there was a slight excavation of from a foot to eighteen inches which left a bench entirely around the lodge (except for the entrance) on the interior. This bench was used as a seat in the daytime and upon it were spread the robes and blankets which served as a bed for the night. These beds were often made on a framework slightly above the ground. This bench was often partitioned off into apartments to accommodate all the members of the family or families, as the case might have been, as well as the occasional visitor. The partition was made of woven willow twigs and bound closely together with bark.

In the center was dug a fireplace three or four feet in diameter. The earth taken out of the fireplace was placed around the outer edge making a kind of hearth. Some distance out from the fireplace, in a circle, stood the six or eight long posts which supported the roof. In the vaulted ceiling immediately over the fireplace was an opening out of which the smoke was allowed to escape.

The opening which extended to the east about fifteen feet from the main structure usually had two flaps or curtains, one at the outer extremity and one where the entrance joined with the circular part of the structure. The size of these houses varied from twenty-five to sixty feet in diameter. The outer walls reached the height of from seven to ten feet and the highest point was often from fifteen to twenty feet in height.

Sometimes several families lived in the same lodge. Each family had a certain portion assigned to it, but there was no privacy. What one did all knew. When one family cooked a meal all the rest were given a portion of it. Borrowing and lending were common and they were usually very accommodating.

While on the hunt they lived in the movable tepee which was

constructed of a group of poles spread in a circle at the bottom, tied at the top and covered with buffalo skins.

The Pawnees were very fond of mysticism. In former times there were many secret societies[27] among them. Some of these societies were directly connected with or sanctioned by the leading sacred bundles. Membership in all societies was for life. One might become a member of any or all of them at one time and there was no age limit to eligibility. Four leaders of each society exercised the right to elect new members and their own places were sometimes hereditary and sometimes self elective. It was customary for all members to be succeeded at death by relatives. There was no limit to the number of members that a society may have and since the number was not fixed the leaders kept watch over young men to note candidates of promise. When some young man was found to show signs of greatness he was invited to become a candidate. Many young men sought admission. The ceremony of initiation was very solemn and of such a nature that the candidate was subjected to various tests. If the candidate failed in one of these tests he was forever disqualified from becoming a member. As an example, "a candidate must dance about the village an entire day, bearing the lance; should he fall from exhaustion or give up from fatigue, he could not proceed to membership, even though he inherited the place."

These societies had different purposes. Some were war organizations, some were hunting societies, and others may have had several objects combined. Some of these societies had members only in one band while others were composed of members taken from more than one or even all four bands. For example the "Black Heads" (Pakskatit) was a society whose purpose was to organize for both the war and the hunt, but they were made up entirely of warriors of the Kitkehahki band. The "Horse Society" (Raris Arusa) was a hunting organization and was composed of Skidi and Chaui. "Those Coming Behind" (hAtu-hka) was strictly a war party and was made up of members from all four bands.

[27] James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies," *Anthropological Papers* of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. IX, part VII, pp. 558-560; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213.

The buffalo hunt may be entirely in charge of a secret society at the request of one of the priests. A society may be appointed as soldiers who would dress up their lances and prepare a horse to carry them. The keepers of the lances would lead on the journey and when it came time to camp they would set up the lances at the place where the soldiers' lodge was to be which, as a rule, was in the east side of the camp. The lance was kept there until someone went to look for buffalo. Any person might do this accompanied by other members of the party. On such occasions the lance bearer took the lead and nobody was allowed to go in advance of him. When a buffalo surround was made the lance bearers acted as chief police, saw that a fair division of the meat was made and settled disputes among the hunters. While the butchering was going on the lance bearers went to a hill where they posted themselves as sentinels, watching for any enemy that might appear. They were the last to come to camp.

In case of a society leading a war party the bearers of the special lance were necessarily the last to retreat. The same was true when counting coup; they must wait until all were through. All the lance bearers placed themselves at the front and might plant the lances in the ground far in advance. This was a signal to rally around the standard and stand fast. Whenever the lance was planted before the enemy the bearer must stand fast. He could not take it up except to advance against the enemy. This made the planting of the lance a "no flight obligation." If, however, the lance was in danger some other member could bear it to safety and the bearer could follow. The lance could never be taken out by a private war party or on a raid, but was used only in repelling an enemy invading their territory.

The societies were so organized that in their general meetings each had his station. Certain places in the lodge were reserved for members according to their position or power in the family or band. Some bands assigned to the new members the places once held by their ancestors. Lodges were divided for certain functions, those on the north performing the winter ceremonies and those on the south performing the same in summer. Various stations in the lodge were assigned to individuals. There was

in some such lodges a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, an errand man or doorkeeper and a herald who in outdoor ceremonies was mounted.

Some of these organizations exist to the present day and members of such societies who are also members of Masonic organizations say that there is a striking similarity in the method of lodge work and in the emblematical applications of certain ritualistic performances.

The dances of the Pawnees were always of a religious character. They participated in them in a solemn and prayerful attitude. Dances were never put on for show and the visitor who made sport of the dance was rudely cast out of the lodge wherein the dance was held and the same person could never again enter as long as he could be identified.

Before the buffalo hunting expedition started off on the long hunt, the buffalo dance took place whereby they invoked the guidance of Tirawa and prayed that the buffalo should be plentiful. The war dance took place before going to war and was designed to call Tirawa to their aid. The drums were beaten for every occasion with the same rhythm; one accented and one unaccented stroke. Besides the drums which were beaten by the musicians, they also shook rattles made of dry gourds and filled with gravel. Another musical instrument was made of a stick to the end of which the toes or deer or antelope were fastened by leather thongs. The dancers carried their war clubs and other weapons while they danced and sang.[28] These songs which, to the untrained ear, seemed to be a monotony of "yelling" have a meaning. They recount the former victories of the tribe or tell of some of the achievements of some chief or brave. The victory dance is one in which the dancers are all women. To be sure the men may be the singers and drummers, but the women form a circle and carry the scalps which are emblematical of the victory. These they kept moving up and down. The circle moves from right to left, keeping perfect time to the music. Thus they dance and sing of the victory making up the song to accompany the

[28] Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 20, *et. seq.*

dance from incidents of the fight. They had just as big a dance over one scalp as they had over a large number.

The corn dance is a prayer for a bountiful crop. The dance at harvest time is the return of thanks to the Great Spirit.

The ghost dance,[29] which cannot be classed as an original Pawnee dance, was a delusion for which a white man, Jack Wilson, of North Dakota, was responsible. It was founded upon the fake that a Piute Indian died and went to heaven and returned after seeing the Messiah and a number of spirits. He also saw a tree of handkerchiefs and feathers. The danccers formed a circle. The leader danced inside and waved a cotton handkerchief. Some of the dancers fell into a trance and saw spirits. This false prophet idea spread among the tribes until at last it reached the Pawnees. The Pawnee, Frank White, brought it from the Wichitas in 1892. It received much opposition on the part of the medicine men and with the tactfulness of Major Wood, who was agent at that time, the dance was broken up.

Previous to going out on an expedition after wild horses which used to roam over the plains they held what is known as the wild horse dance. In this dance one man was dressed in a buffalo robe with a horse's tail fastened on behind and another tied to the neck to resemble a mane. This person was the center of attraction in the dance. Immediately after the dance they left to round up wild horses. The method of rounding them up was peculiar, as they were "walked down." The horses were followed in their regular course from one watering place to another until fatigued when they deviated from their regular course and were easily rounded up with a herd of gentle horses.[30]

War parties[31] were organized to go on expeditions for the purpose of stealing horses. This occupation was not considered a crime in any sense of the word. Among the aborigines at that time, horses were considered much the same as munitions of war. If the enemy were deprived of their horses they would not

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29 Murie, *op. cit.*, 630, *et. seq.*

30 Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 23.

31 James R. Mead, "The Pawnees as I Knew Them," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, X, 107 *et. seq.*

be likely to cause so many depredations on foot; therefore the horse was a legitimate prize.

Horse stealing parties went on foot in small numbers of from two to thirty-five. They were lightly armed with bow, quiver of arrows and a knife. Some carried a light gun. Each person was equipped with from four to six pairs of moccasins and one or more lariats. Each man also carried a pack weighing twenty pounds or more, containing dried meat, both fat and lean, and some pieces and straps of tanned skins to repair his moccasins and clothing. Such strips might also serve to make a bridle. They carried a pipe which differed from any other pipe in that it had no hole in the stem. When they came upon a camp where horses were numerous the leader filled and lighted the pipe. If he succeeded in making it work they took this for an omen that they would be successful and proceeded to steal the horses. If, however, the leader was unsuccessful they gave up the undertaking and went home no matter how far they had gone on the expedition.[32]

They carefully refrained from molesting Government mules and trains as they depended on the Government to protect them on their reservations.

From their villages in Nebraska they traveled on foot to Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Northern Texas. Tradition says that they traveled as far as the frontiers of Old Mexico. It was their usual custom to return home well mounted and with quite a large bunch of loose horses besides.[33]

The method of stealing horses was interesting. The Pawnees were masters of the art of mimicry. After lying concealed until dusk when the coyote set up his long continued, dismal howl, the Pawnee warriors, dressed in a light colored robe, hopped out on the prairie and joined the coyotes in the evening serenade. As dusk turned into night they closed in upon their unsuspecting enemy until under the cover of darkness they managed to secure a horse each and to stampede the remainder of the herd. The

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[32] Dorsey, George A., *Pawnee Mythology*, 86-87; Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 21-22.

[33] Mead, *op. cit.*, X, 108; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 300; Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians, Their Habits and Customs," *Magazine of American History*, November 1880, vol. V, No. 5, p. 335; Murray, *Travels in North Amercia*, I, 384.

enemy now on foot was at a decided disadvantage in regaining his lost property. The clattering of hoofs soon died away far in advance of the fleetest Indian runner.

On some expeditions they went more heavily armed. This depended on the purpose or objective planned. In addition to the equipment above named, they supplied themselves with a tomahawk, spear, and shield. The shield was of a circular form, about two feet in diameter. It was made of a tough piece of leather taken from the neck of an old bull. It was stretched over a hoop sometimes of double thickness. Against an ordinary missile it was sufficient protection.[34]

Several tribes of the Siouan family, including the Brules, Ogalalas, Crows and Osages; the Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Comanches were enemies of the Pawnees for many years. When these tribes spoke of the Pawnees, they spoke of them as the "Black Wolf" or the "Bete Noir."[35]

For over a half century the Omahas, Otoes and Poncas acknowledged the protection of the Pawnees against their own kinsmen, the Dakotas.[36]

These war parties, as was explained above, were sponsored by a secret organization whose purpose it was to conduct such expeditions. At the head of this organization was a chief of recognized ability and bravery. Previous to their starting out on the foray the parties spent much time at practice; fighting imaginary battles, deploying and reassembling as the chief might direct from a position on a hill where he could be seen by all. When the warriors had undergone sufficient preparation a war dance was held. Sometime in the middle of the night the party set out.[37]

Upon their return, if they were successful and took some scalps, they held a scalp dance. If, however, the contrary was true the return was rather quiet except for the lamentations for those who lost their lives on the expedition.[38]

Great ceremony was used to mark the starting off for the

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34 Dunbar, *op. cit.*, 334
35 *Ibid.*, p. 334; Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 332.
36 Dunbar, *op. cit.*, 334.
37 Dunbar, *op. cit.*, 335.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 336.

buffalo hunt. For several days the priests and medicine men prepared for the religious ceremonial which was initiatory to the setting out. There had been many prayers and much fasting. At the final ceremony a large number prayed together in earnest supplication that Tirawa would make them successful. They so thoroughly threw their souls into their prayers as to put to shame many a twentieth century Christian prayer meeting. After this solemn invocation of the guidance of the Great Father, they took part in the buffalo dance which lasted usually three days, after which nearly all of the tribe set out on the trip to the buffalo country.[39]

An officer of one of the hunting societies had command of the buffalo hunt. Each morning he sent a herald through the camp to announce the orders of the day. After having cached all the things which they did not wish to take with them they loaded the needed articles on their horses and set out. The women and children, boys and girls, led, each of them, a horse. The men were free to do as they liked and thus were able to protect the party from a surprise by the enemy. The women carried the little children or packed them on the backs of the horses they were leading.

They traveled six or eight miles a day. If it was possible they camped where they could find wood and water. In former times it was not necessary to go far from the villages on the Platte, but later when the buffalo became scarce they were obliged to make long journeys in order to find them.[40]

Prior to the advent of the horse on the plains, the Pawnees would form a long line to make a surround on foot. Disguising themselves as wolves they would slyly gain a position by which the game would be completely surrounded. Then it was not long until they had closed on the buffalo and after skilfully manipulating their bows and arrows the entire herd was killed.

Buffalo meat was the Pawnees' "staff of life." Failure to obtain the same meant six months of poverty and hunger, there-

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39 Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 270 *et. seq.*

40 *Missionary Herald*, XXI, 348.

41 Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, part 2, p. 213; Murie, *Pawnee Indian Societies*, p. 557; Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 335; Allis, *op. cit.*, 134.

fore the hunt was organized and systematized.[41] Certain soldiers, appointed by the chief in charge, kept order. It was their duty to see that no one should leave the village to go in the direction in which the buffaloes had been seen. They dealt out severe floggings to those who broke this law. Nobody was allowed to start on the hunt until the general order was given. Even then the soldiers took the lead. That their scent might not frighten the animals they approached the herd from the windward side and when near the buffalo they dismounted and prepared for the chase. They again mounted and the soldiers kept the lead until they were discovered by the game and then at the signal each man started his horse on a gallop. Half of the hunters went around the herd in one way and half went the other. A complete surround was made. They were so skilled with the bow and arrow that they often sent a shaft clear through the thickest part of a buffalo.[42] The hunter would ride close to a buffalo until it fell and then when the mount felt the jerk of his rider's heels he immediately started forward to another buffalo, and so on until all of the herd was killed. They generally slaughtered from four to five hundred at one surround.[43] Regardless of how many buffaloes were killed, none of the meat was wasted. After this work was completed they skinned the animals, packed the meat on their horses and led them into camp. The men's work was now completed.[44] The women came out and unloaded the meat, cut it into strips and dried it. A great deal of time was necessary in preparing the skins for use. The skins taken in the summer hunt were used for covering the tepees, making moccasins, straps for bridles and all the necessary leather articles. Those taken on the winter hunt were better for robes and rugs because of the heavy crop of hair which is borne in that season. The skin must first be "fleshed" which work is done with a bone implement cut something in the shape of an adz with a serrate edge. Sometimes the skin is suspended on a frame. More commonly it is stretched upon the smooth ground, flesh side up and fastened with pegs. It is then allowed to dry and is fleshed again with the same bone

[42] Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 7; Dunbar, "Missionary Life Among the Pawnees," *Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, XVI, 279.

[43] *Missionary Herald*, XXXII, 68; Allis, *op. cit.*, 134.

[44] Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 6; *Missionary Herald*, XXXI, 378; Allis, *op. cit.*, 139.

implement. The surface is then smeared with brains and the hide is rolled up with the flesh side in. The brains from one buffalo are more than sufficient to dress the hide. After two or three days the hide is again taken, moistened and softened by continual working and rubbing until it dries. Sometimes, to shorten the task, it is placed on a frame before a fire. The inner surface is scraped with the serrated adz and rubbed with pumice stone. Sometimes the skin is passed rapidly back and forth over a slack cord. When it is thus dried it is ready for use.[45]

The drying of the meat is a slower process in winter than in summer because it is necessary to construct a rack for that purpose and build a fire to aid in the drying. The meat is then wrapped in buffalo hides and these bundles are tied with leather thongs so that they may be easily loaded upon the horses when travel is resumed.[46]

It was their custom to start off on the summer hunt about the first of July, after the corn had been cared for until it was tall enough to shade the ground, and to return about the first of September when it was time to harvest the corn. They started off on the winter hunt about the first of October and returned in March to plant and hoe the corn. They were at their village about five months out of each year and were off on the hunt the remaining seven months.[47]

Since prehistoric times the Pawnees have been an agricultural race. They have planted corn ever since "it was given them by Tirawa" in ancient times.[48] The corn planting and harvesting regulated the seasons for the buffalo hunts each year. Their fields contained other crops than corn. They were known to raise many squashes, pumpkins and beans.

Thus the Pawnees were found on the prairies by the white men.[49]

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[45] Gregg, *op. cit.*, II, 293; Murray, *op. cit.*, 338.

[46] *Missionary Herald*, XXXI, 376; Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin* 30, part II, p. 213.

[47] *Missionary Herald*, XXXII (1836), 68.

[48] Sorrenson, *op. cit.*, 24; Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 16; Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 253-254.

[49] The following contributed to this study: Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn; Captain L. H. North; Adolphus Carrion; Rush Roberts; David Gillingham (White Eagle); Stacey Matlock; Henry Roberts; the Reverend G. Lee Phelps; Mrs. Guy R. Moore.

This article is adapted from a History of the Pawnee Indians by Guy Rowley Moore which was presented as a Master of Arts thesis at the University of Oklahoma in 1925.

FRANCIS BARTOW FITE, M. D.

By LeRoy Long, M. D.[1]

In historic Rowan County, North Carolina, Peter Fite was born January 5, 1793. Early in his life he moved to McMinn County, Tennessee, where, on February 24, 1824, he was united in marriage with Nancy Carlock, the daughter of Isaac Carlock. He and his wife, destined to be the parents of a large family, moved to Georgia in 1844, settling on a farm near Resaca, Georgia.

Peter Fite died October 22, 1888, having lived 44 of his 95 years in Georgia. He is described as having been an enterprising planter and a highly respected citizen of rugged honesty and strong convictions. His wife was a refined, genteel and home-loving woman.

One of the children in the large family of Peter Fite was Henderson Wesley Fite. He was united in marriage with Sarah Turney Denman, the daughter of Felix G. Denman who lived near Cartersville, Bartow County, Georgia. Henderson Wesley Fite became a Doctor of Medicine, and, later, was soldier and surgeon in the Fortieth Georgia Regiment of the Confederate Army.

Dr. Francis Bartow Fite was the son of Dr. Henderson Wesley Fite and his wife, Sarah Turney Denman. He was born October 17, 1861, in the home of his mother's father, Felix G. Denman, near Cartersville, Bartow County, Georgia.

The year 1861 was a momentous year in the history of the United States, and particularly in the history of the South. Smouldering dissatisfaction over the question of State Rights burst into sudden flame. The South was in open secession. Beginning with the evacuation of Fort Moultrie by Federal troops in late December 1860 and the capitulation of Fort Sumter following a Confederate bombardment a few months later, the year 1861 un-

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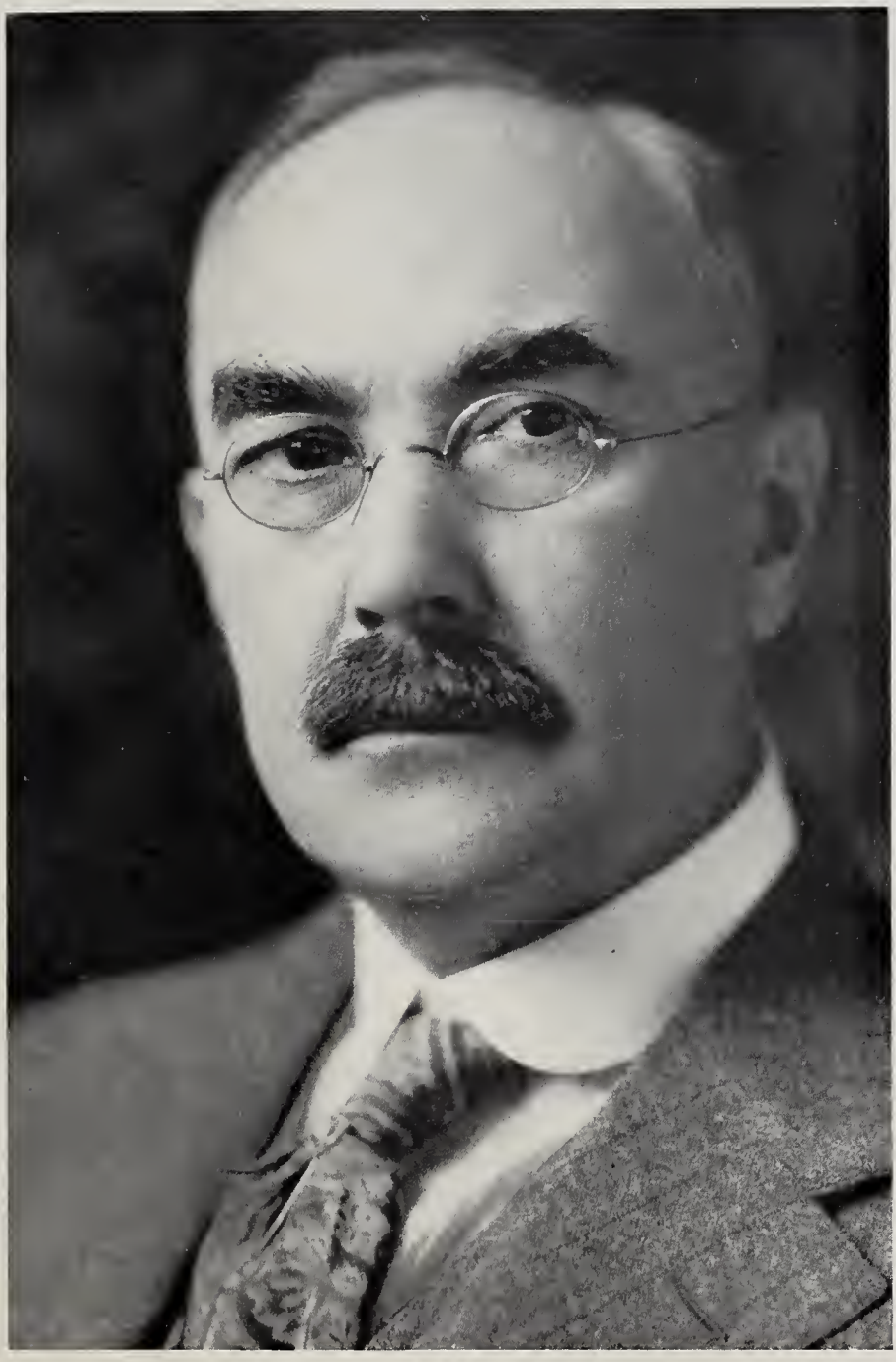

FRANCIS BARTOW FITE, M. D.

folded to the world a mixture of gruesome tragedy and unprecedented heroism that was to continue until the fateful day of Appomattox.

It is a reasonable assumption that the father of Francis Bartow Fite, Dr. Henderson Wesley Fite, was in the Army when his son was born, and that his mother had found a welcome asylum in the home of her father. But it was not to be a place of uninterrupted refuge and shelter, because the home of Felix G. Denman was in the path of Sherman's "march to the sea", and was burned to the ground.[2]

In his boyhood during the period of readjustment, the Dr. Fite to be, attended private and public schools in the neighborhood of his birth-place, later being a student for a time in Pine Log Academy, Pine Log, Georgia, and for a time in Johnstone Academy, Cartersville, Georgia.

At the age of nineteen, having been inclined to the study of medicine through association with his father, he discontinued his preparatory education, and joined his brother, Dr. R. L. Fite, and his half-brother, Dr. J. A. Thompson, at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, for preceptorial instruction in medicine. For a part of this time he had charge of a drug store.

A little later, following a successful examination at Cherokee Normal Institute, he was awarded a teacher's certificate, after which he taught school for one term.

In 1884 he was admitted to the Southern Medical College, now the medical department of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, and in 1886 that institution conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Medicine, with first honors of his class. During his last year in medical school he served as "student physician" at Central Ivy Street Hospital.

Following his graduation in medicine, Dr. Fite returned to Tahlequah, Indian Territory, where he was associated with his brother, Dr. R. L. Fite, until 1888, when he entered the New York Polyclinic Medical School and Hospital, New York City, where he served as first assistant to Dr. John A. Wyeth until 1889. The Polyclinic Medical School and Hospital was founded

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[2] *Indian Territory Biographical and Genealogical Data* (*Chicago*, 1901), 248-250.

by Dr. Wyeth, a native of Alabama, and soldier in the Confederate Army, in 1881. It had the distinction of being the first regular institution for post-graduate medical training in the United States. Dr. Wyeth, an original and capable surgeon, was head of the department of surgery. He was one of the master-surgeons of his time. Because of the intimate association between student and master, Dr. Fite always regarded his service with Dr. Wyeth as being of tremendous value to him in the shaping and the preparation for his career in medicine. From Wyeth he received practical training in surgery at a crucial period in the development of modern surgery. It was at a time when the teachings of the incomparable Pasteur and the brilliant and practical Lister were first given serious attention by a few leading surgeons of the United States. The enthusiastic young Dr. Francis B. Fite was an eager witness of the beginning of a great revolution in medicine and surgery that was to continue throughout his entire life. He took an active part in that revolution which was still uncovering the mysteries of life and death when he reluctantly, but with the consciousness of duty well done, laid down the scalpel, and placed the mantle of his years upon the shoulders of his splendid children.

On November 1, 1889 Dr. Fite began the practice of medicine at Muskogee, Indian Territory, (now Oklahoma), where he lived the remainder of his life. While engaged in the general practice of medicine, he was called upon more and more frequently to perform emergency surgical operations. He worked under many disadvantages, it being necessary to perform surgical operations very often in homes or in a room of a small building he used as an office. In an effort to improve the situation, he established a sanitarium very early in his career. The name of it was St. Mary's Sanitarium, the name being changed later to Martha Robb Hospital. This was the first institution of its character in Indian Territory.

In 1893 he was joined in the practice of medicine by Dr. J. L. Blakemore, still in active practice at Muskogee, the association with Dr. Blakemore continuing until 1933 when Dr. Fite retired from the active practice of medicine.

The year 1889 was an auspicious year for the young Dr. Francis Bartow Fite. He had completed his professional training and had started out on a promising career in medicine. But the event of transcendent importance was his marriage with Miss Julia Patton, of Vinita, Indian Territory, on November 13, 1889, and for forty-nine years they lived together.

Dr. Fite was a congenial, aggressive, public-spirited citizen. Largely through his initiative, resourcefulness, and influence, the Dawes Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, headed by the late Tams Bixby, Sr., fixed its headquarters at Muskogee in 1897, occupying the Fite Building, now known as the Fite-Rowsey Building, erected by Dr. Fite in 1893, and offered to the Commission. This led to the later selection of Muskogee as permanent headquarters for the Five Civilized Tribes Indian Agency.

He served as mayor of Muskogee from April 6, 1905 to April 11, 1906, and again from December 26, 1919 to April 13, 1920, he having been chosen by the city council to succeed John L. Wisener, deceased. This term expired with the advent of the managerial form of city government. In 1896 he was offered the presidency of the First National Bank of Muskogee, but declined. For two years, 1896-97, he was a member of the Board of Directors and Vice-President of that institution.

Dr. Fite was a good family man. From the beginning of his career he felt very keenly the responsibilities for the welfare of his wife and children. With energy and conservatism, he acquired property in the City of Muskogee and in the surrounding country. He had the ability, all too rare among members of the medical profession, to build a competency for old age and for his family, notwithstanding the trials and vicissitudes of professional work. His first home at Muskogee was a splendid and well-appointed home for that period. Prosperity continuing to smile upon him, he erected a splendid residence at Sixteenth Street and Emporia Avenue, Muskogee, in 1906. It is a palatial home, and in it he ended his days.

But to Fite the acquirement of property was simply a means to an end. He provided in a material way for his own household, but in doing it he did not forget the finer things of life.

There were four sons and one daughter. All of the sons are graduates from the University of Virginia and the daughter from Vassar. He has been heard to remark that the most important investments that he had ever made were in connection with the bringing up and the education of his children; that the most important legacy that he could leave the world was his children.

He did not hold himself aloof from other men, but took part with them in laudable enterprises. He was a member of Muskogee Commandery of the Knights Templar; the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks.

The second of three generations of physicians, Dr. Fite was actively interested in the progress and the efficiency of the medical profession. It is significant that Indian Territory Medical Association was organized in May, 1890—the very next year after he had located at Muskogee—and the initiative in connection with the organization was taken by Dr. B. F. Fortner, Vinita, who was elected the first president of the Association, and by Dr. Francis Bartow Fite, Muskogee. He was one of the founders of Indian Territory Medical Association. That organization had an uninterrupted existence, with regular meetings twice a year, from its organization in May 1890 until, and including, 1906, when, anticipating statehood, a committee was created to confer with a like committee from Oklahoma Territory Medical Association for the purpose of agreeing upon terms of merging the two organizations. The committees had a conference in Oklahoma City that year (1906), and it was agreed to merge the two associations under the name of "Oklahoma State Medical Association." The name was chosen because it was generally believed that "Oklahoma" would be the name of the new state. At that time Indian Territory Medical Association had had an uninterrupted existence for sixteen years. Oklahoma Territory Medical Association had had an unbroken existence for thirteen years, it having been organized in 1893. The beginning of progressive medicine in what is now the State of Oklahoma was in Indian Territory, and Dr. Fite was a prime mover in the beginning. He

was elected to the presidency of Indian Territory Medical Association in 1893.

During his career in medicine, he served for several years as secretary of the Board of Health of the Cherokee Nation. For a time he was president of the United States Board of Pension Examiners, and for a time Federal Physician at Muskogee. He became Local Surgeon for the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railway in 1891, holding the position to the end of his life.

In 1911 he was invited by Governor Lee Cruce to take a position on the State Board of Medical Examiners, and to nominate other physicians for the remaining places. One of his interesting reminiscences in connection with that duty reveals his broad and unselfish attitude touching the duties of members of the medical profession. It transpired that one of the nominees on the list that he handed to Governor Cruce was well known to him as a member of the medical profession, but he was not sure at the moment about the political affiliation of the nominee, his impression being that the nominee was a Republican. He believed that it was his duty to transmit this information to the Governor at the time that the nomination was made. Cruce told him that if he recommended the nominee, he would be appointed, and the appointment was made. It developed later that he had confused the politics of the nominee with a brother of the latter who happened to be of a different political faith.

After serving as a member of the Board of Medical Examiners, most of the time as president, for two years he was asked to serve as a member of the State Board of Education. This was in 1913. At that time the State Board of Education had control of all the schools of the State, including the State University. With characteristic zeal, industry and intelligence, he took an active part in stabilizing the educational system of the State.

He was intensely interested in the development of the medical department of the State University which was then classed as a "B" grade, or second-rate medical school. Due largely to his persistent efforts over a period of nearly two years, there was a change of administration of the school, after which its progress was satisfactory.

During the period of Dr. Fite's service as a member of the State Board of Education the United States entered the World War. He was appointed by Governor Robt. L. Williams as the medical member of the Exemption Board for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, and served in that capacity until the work of the Board was completed.

Dr. Fite was a member of Indian Territory Medical Association from its foundation in 1890 until it was merged with Oklahoma Territory Medical Association in 1906. After that date he was a member of Oklahoma State Medical Association. He was a member of the International Association of Railway Surgeons, of The American Medical Association, and a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons.

Dr. Fite was a good man, being survived by five children. There is one daughter, Mrs. Frances Fite Ambrister, Oklahoma City; and four sons, Dr. William Patton Fite and Dr. Edward Halsell Fite, Muskogee, Oklahoma, Julian Bixby Fite, Attorney-at-law, Muskogee, Oklahoma, and Francis Bartow Fite, Jr., Attorney-at-law, Seattle, Washington. Dr. Fite is survived by thirteen grandchildren: Francis Bartow Fite, III, William Patterson Fite, Mary Fite, and Julia Rector Fite, all of Seattle, Washington, and children of Francis Bartow Fite, Jr.; Pauline Ambrister, Oklahoma City, daughter of Mrs. Frances Fite Ambrister; Jane Fite, William Patton Fite, Jr., James Mitchell Fite, and Frances Fite, children of Dr. William Patton Fite, Muskogee, Oklahoma; Edward Halsell Fite, Jr., Fulton William Fite, and Coleman Bartow Fite, children of Dr. Edward Halsell Fite, Muskogee, Oklahoma; and Betty Jo Fite, daughter of Julian Bixby Fite, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Dr. Fite is survived by three sisters: Mrs. Bob Bradford, Seattle, Washington; Mrs. W. B. Treadwell, Lufkin, Texas, and Mrs. Mary Montgomery, Houston, Texas.

There were two brothers, Judge A. W. Fite, for many years Superior (Circuit) Judge at Cartersville, Georgia, who died about ten years ago; and Dr. R. L. Fite, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, who died in December, 1937.

Dr. James A. Thompson and Rev. Gilbert Thompson, both of Tahlequah, Oklahoma, were his half-brothers.

The name of Dr. Fite is perpetuated in the Fite Clinic, Muskogee, Oklahoma, established by him in 1923, his sons Dr. William Patton Fite and Dr. E. Halsell Fite; and Dr. J. L. Blakemore being associated with him. The establishment of the Clinic was the logical result of his constructive efforts in medicine over a long and vicissitudinous period of his life. For ten happy years he worked with his sons, always submerging himself, always looking to the best interests of his wife and children.

Dr. Fite was a good church man. For many years he was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Muskogee, Oklahoma. Later he helped to organize St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and it was from this shrine he had helped to rear that, on August 15, 1938, momentary farewells were said, and the soul of a great citizen of Oklahoma was committed to the tender care of our Heavenly Father.[2]

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[2] Data furnished by family, and partly found in *Indian Territory Biographical and Genealogical Data*, Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago and New York, 1901, pp. 248-250; Papers and records of Dr. Fite; *Journal* of American Medical Association, Vol. 78, p. 1738; Records of City of Muskogee; *Oklahoma State Medical Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 9, September 1938; Personal communication from Dr. J. L. Blakemore; Personal communication from Dr. E. O. Barker, ex-secretary Oklahoma State Medical Association, Guthrie, Oklahoma; Archives, State of Oklahoma. Much of the data used in this article were assembled by Judge R. L. Williams.

NEW SPRINGPLACE

By Vinson Lackey[1]

One hundreed years ago, on October 27, 1838, a covered wagon, weathered and worn, stopped on a dim rocky trail that now is United States Highway 62.

It had come westward over eight hundred miles in forty-one days, and now was about to enter the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, the goal of its occupants. They halted the galled and jaded horses while they offered a prayer of thanks to the Saviour whose Gospel they had come to the western wilderness to preach.

They were three, all young men. Miles Vogler, the leader, was not yet thirty, but already had spent years among the Cherokees in Georgia as a missionary of the Moravian church which had maintained a mission at Springplace, Georgia, since 1801.[2] His two companions were the Rev. John Renatus Schmidt, one of the most respected of the Moravian ministers among the Cherokee, and a lad named Herman Ruede, a devout young teacher.[3]

The three had watched the soldiers drive their Cherokee friends and parishoners from their homes and herd them into squalid concentration camps. They had lingered among them to reassure them and pray with them, and when the first parties began to leave for the west, Miles Vogler had gone to Salem, North Carolina, to report to the head of the church and to volunteer to come also and continue his ministrations.

Vogler, an ordained deacon, Rev. J. R. Schmidt, chairman of the new mission, and Ruede, secretary, were entering their new field of labor. That evening they sloshed across the Illinois River and drew rein at the prosperous mission at Park Hill where the

[1] Mr. Vinson Lackey lives at Tulsa, Oklahoma. He has devoted a number of years to the study of the history of Northeastern Oklahoma.

[2] See E. C. Routh, "Early Missionaries to the Cherokees," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), XV (1937), 449.

[3] See Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 359.

Rev. Samuel A. Worcester welcomed them.[4] They spent the night, however, in an Indian home on the Barren Fork nearby where they met a former Springplace student named Thomas Watie who led them the next day to a settlement of eight Moravian families on Barren Fork, near the present town of Proctor.

Here the Reverend Mr. Schmidt began to preach in the homes of the little flock, and here Miles Vogler and young Ruede organized a small school, but it was to be a long and tedious three years before the mission would be established in its own building and on its own site, at "New Springplace."

"New Springplace" is miles from that first little settlement on Barren Fork. It is at a beautiful bend in Spring Creek, just sixty miles east of Tulsa via state highway No. 33.

The site is half a mile west of the little village of Oaks, which consists of little more than the excellent establishment of the Danish Lutheran church and school which Rev. C. A. Vammen conducts in this "full blood" community, once in the heart of the old Saline District of the Cherokee Nation. The Danish Lutheran church and school, and even the town of Oaks itself, is a direct outgrowth of the old Moravian mission.

More than once the writer has trudged across the fields from the road to the ruins of New Springplace, to read the inscriptions in the little cemetery—men and boys in one row and women and girls in another, the gravestones lying flat on the ground in the Moravian manner; to probe among the buck bushes that shield the remains of the chapel's foundation; to drink of the clear, cold stream that trickles from the old stone spring house; to visualize in fancy the stark tragedy that took place in the shadow of the great oaken skeleton that once was the schoolmaster's house, and to wonder how long the sturdy old log walls of the abandoned rectory will withstand the onslaughts of the elements.

The last question will never be answered, for the elements have been cheated of their prey. Not in the way they recently were cheated of the venerable Sequoyah's cabin—by a careful res-

[4] See Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Morovian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Company, 1923), 223.

toration and sheltering stone cover-house—but by thoughtless demolition!

The Reverend Mr. Vammen accompanied the writer again to the site this spring and, pointing sadly to the shambles of timber and stone that had been the rectory, explained that the Indian who owned the land had wanted to repair his barn. An efficient and economical Indian Agent had held the necessary expenditures down by permitting him to demolish this landmark of the missionary endeavor among the Cherokees, that he might use a few beams and boards!

Little is left of the rectory building except the great stone chimney with its double flue and two fireplaces, one above the other. These served the ground floor kitchen and living room combination and the upstairs bed rooms of Vogler and his little family.

Sprawled at the foot of this sad sentinel of stone, the stout, hand-hewn sills and notched joists of the ground floor staunchly retain the outline of the venerable rectory. They seem to have absorbed some of the firm faith and grim determination of their builder and are revealing it to this irreverent and hurrying generation.

Some means should be found to preserve the old chimney as a memorial shaft to the great work that this remote and abandoned spot has witnessed.

Miles Vogler had been at the settlement down on Barren Fork but a few months when he was called back to Salem, North Carolina, by his church to be married to Miss Sophie Dorothea Ruede. According to the custom of the Moravian church, she had been selected by the officials to be his wife, and after the wedding in February, 1839, they returned by stage and steamboat to Barren Fork, the journey taking a month and two days. They arrived in Park Hill on April 14, 1839. They labored there eleven months, holding services under a brush arbor, but by March, 1840, their flock had scattered.

Those were perilous times in the Cherokee Nation and not even religious ties could hold many communities together. The

Moravians had begun their labors among members of the Ridge or "Treaty" faction who had come out to the Territory in 1835-1836. Then, with the arrival of the Ross adherents in 1839 and the bitter feud which gripped the Nation after the killing of Major and John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, many of the congregation left Barren Fork.

As it was proving to be not only sickly, but unhealthful in another sense of the word, several Moravian families moved to Beattie's Prairie on the headwaters of Spavinaw Creek, in the heart of the Ridge faction's territory, where other converts had settled. The missionaries accompanied them and set up anew in a house acquired from one of the Thompsons. They built a little school house for boys and another for girls (the sexes were not allowed to mingle at school or at play) and soon had Delilah Hicks and Martin Thompson, Cherokees, assisting as teachers.

They called their new station "Canaan," but it soon proved to be far short of a "land of promise." No sooner had they settled down to effective work than the soldiers from down on the Illinois River at the Arkansas border moved into the neighborhood. They had abandoned their swampy site below and were moving Ft. Wayne to what they claimed was a more healthful and more strategic location. The Indians resented the presence of the fort and appealed to the War Department for its removal, and the fact that the Arkansas citizens fought for its retention (and, incidentally, the retention of their whiskey trade with its garrison) leads to the belief that Capt. Nathaniel Boone's troopers did not add to the serenity of "Canaan."

Perhaps the missionaries sensed the rough going ahead for Canaan, for when a group of full-blood converts, to whom they had been preaching at Spring Creek, wanted a mission in their community the Canaan group asked permission to build one there. They chose the site by the great spring and, in June 1842, erected a log house for a church and school, obtaining the land by special permission of the Cherokee Council through

the good graces of Chief John Ross, who was a Methodist, but a friend to all missionaries regardless of denomination.

School opened September 19, 1842, and Chief Ross returned from one of his trips to Washington via Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and brought a trunkful of books from the Moravian congregation there for the new school.

History gives little detail, but the fact that New Springplace flourished from the start while Canaan seemed to wane may be attributed, largely, to the state of unrest on Beattie's Prairie, while the community of New Springplace was at the ford where Spring Creek was crossed by a branch of the busy military road from Jefferson Barracks to Ft. Gibson. Over this road an almost constant stream of troops, freighters, immigrants and travelers of every sort poured for half a century. Ft. Wayne was abandoned after about two years, but the Cherokee feud grew more bitter. Stand Watie gathered the "Treaty" families of the Canaan region at Ft. Wayne for "protection" in 1848 and drilled the menfolk under military discipline for two months. The Springplace area was populated mostly by Ross adherents. Beattie's Prairie folk were mostly slave-holding mixed-bloods.

In the 1850's when the tension over the slavery question was so great, most of the missionaries were accused of being active abolitionists, and they naturally fared better among the non-slave-holding full-bloods. Such a community was New Springplace.

When Deacon Miles Vogler died August 1, 1854, out at one of the mission branches, his wife and family had him buried at New Springplace before they left for the east in the covered wagon of another missionary who was departing for home.

Later Stand Watie recruited and trained his Confederate regiment at the Ft. Wayne site, and when General Blunt came down in 1862, Watie and General D. H. Cooper made a desperate stand there. After Blunt had completely defeated them, the countryside was in ruin and the buildings of the Canaan mission had been burned, perhaps during the fighting and may be long before.

The Moravian missionaries had withdrawn from the Indian

Territory during the War but an Indian convert had remained at New Springplace as caretaker.

When one of the missionaries, the Rev. E. J. Mock, returned in 1867 he found Canaan gone, and the home of nearly every family along the road in ashes, but at New Springplace the sturdy log buildings and the walled-in spring were unharmed, though greatly dilapidated. In the cemetery was the grave of the caretaker who had occupied the school teacher's house. His bullet riddled body had been found in the weeds near the springhouse, where it had lain for several days and had been partially devoured by wild hogs. Such was the reconstruction scene in the Indian Territory, even within the sacred precincts of a mission.

New Springplace was revived, and branches were established at five points throughout the Cherokee Nation. The work continued until the establishment was deprived of its land by the Curtis Act of 1898. Then the Provincial Synod of the Moravian church directed the closing of the mission. After the Moravians left the Nation, the Cherokees of this faith were served by a Danish Lutheran minister, Reverend N. L. Nielson, who had a church at Moodys. He preached at New Springplace occasionally, at the request of some of the Cherokees living there, having known the Moravian missionaries for several years before they left. Later the general secretary of Moravian Missions wrote him and asked him to look after their members in the Nation, and in 1902 he opened a school, with over sixty pupils, within a mile of the old mission site.

From this Danish Lutheran school has grown the present establishment called Oaks.

EARLY GRADY COUNTY HISTORY

By Meta C. Sager[1]

When I came to Indian Territory there was no Grady County, or a thought of there ever being any such county, or of any other county on this side of the Canadian River, except the territorial counties as they then stood. The Indian Territory had not then become politically conscious. The Indians had treaties with the United States which said this land should be their land, and they believed it, even though greedy hunters had come in from the states and mercilessly slain their buffaloes leaving the carcasses to decay on the plains, the cattle kings had leased and fenced up thousands of acres of the "free range," squatters and nesters were entrenched about over the land, and white men had married many of the Indian maidens. Yet these intelligent, prosperous Indians were self-governing.

Here is what I found when I came to Indian Territory. There were broad, grassy plains as far as the eye could see, with herds of cattle roaming at will, fearing nothing but the barbed-wire fences they found here and there and the branding iron of the round-up or the sting of the cowboy's lariat. At long distances there were a few real houses, but most of the homes were poor habitations. The little settlement at Silver City on the old Chisholm Trail was the best in what is now Grady County. About a mile and a half from where Tuttle is now, and a hundred yards or so from Silver City and a little to the northwest, was the old Tuttle-Smith ranch house, built long years before by W. G. Williams (Caddo Bill Williams), then sold to C. L. Campbell and later to J. H. Tuttle, which became the headquarters of the noted old ranch. It was near the Canadian River and only a stone's throw from Silver City cemetery, where sleeps the dust of the real pioneers of Grady County and which is even today

[1] Mrs. Meta Chestnutt Sager received the Licentiate of Instruction diploma from old Peabody College in 1888. See *Alumni Directory—Peabody College*, 1875-1909 (Nashville), 98. She came to Silver City and laid the foundation of a pioneer school there, September 8, 1889.

the most sacred spot in Grady County. One part of that ranch house was built of logs.

Another noted pioneer house in Grady County, situated under a hill along Boggy Creek and near the ford of the Chisholm Trail across the Canadian River and not a long way from Silver City, was "Happy Hollow," the ranch home of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Bond who were known to all the country around as "Uncle Jimmie and Mammy Bond." Happy Hollow was one of the earliest settlements in what is now Grady County. It was to that home, there "under the shade of the trees," that neighbors and travelers, both friends and strangers, found their way to spend the night or to seek aid when in need of food, tools, horses and cows, feed or money; and none went away empty handed. It was there that the cowboys of the range when sick or wounded found refuge in the house and under the great trees with "Mammy Bond" to nurse them back to health, without money and without price. If there is a place in Grady County which should have a marker, it is there where once stood "Happy Hollow," the home of J. H. and Adlaide Bond. Houses when I came to Indian Territory had no conveniences at all, but were just mere shells and dugouts. It rained in those days, too.

"Oh, the doors had no hinges
And the windows had no panes,
And the board-roof let the howling blizzard in;
But I lay there uncomplaining
In that little bed of mine
As I tucked the covers closer in the rain."

At night we had coal-oil lamps, sometimes mighty smoky ones too, and wood from the "timber" furnished fuel. We got only a "spit bath," that is those who were too long to get into a wash-tub. Men got theirs at long distances in the "crick" (creek). Houses were never locked in pioneer days, and the latch-string always hung on the outside.

Joe Lindsay had a typical cross-roads store at Silver City, the best to be found here in those days. His stock carried everything from "Carter's Little Liver Pills" and castor oil, up through

foods in tin cans, "dry salt," navy beans, sugar, coffee, lard (no "compound" for a pioneer), and calico and blue "jeans." This store had the post office, too, and we had mail once and twice a week, brought up from Purcell by stage, or "hack."

The term "highway" was not in the vocabulary of the pioneer. It was just path, trail, or road. And roads were only cow-trails across the prairie with deep ruts and sometimes stalled road-wagons. When automobiles arrived, we had to take along a spade and an ax to dig down high centers and cut brush to put under the wheels. The old Model T automobile was popular then. When a trail became too rutty for use, we just moved over and made another one along by the side of the old one. Sometimes we drove across the prairie and cut the wire fence, or pulled up the fence posts and stood on the wire while the vehicle was driven over. There were many gates to open, too, made of barbed wire stretched tight. Their being hard to open accounted for so much wire cutting and fence-post pulling. Often the roads led through gulches that made one wonder whether when he got across he would be right-side-up.

Horseback, wagons, hacks, and a buggy now and then, constituted the means of transportation. When one rode horseback, as all women as well as men did in that wayoff long ago, women rode on side-saddles and wore long riding habits, but falls were very uncommon. Horese were not trotters, but were gaited: pace, single-foot, or fox-trot. Riding in pioneer days was a graceful and beautiful art.

We did not have new clothes every time the moon changed. Women mended the clothes, darned the socks, sewed buttons on and did many other useful things to help make a habitation a home. Most foods had to be freighted in, except what was raised in the gardens, and the "home-grown" beef and pork. Even bacon and salt-pork were sold at the cross-roads store. Our fare was not always to a "king's taste." Social customs were very different in those days. Among the amusements that I found, the old fashioned square dance was the most popular. The butt of a six-shooter might sometimes peep out of its holster, or a carbine

might be strapped to a saddle, outside, but "rucusses" did not stir up among ladies. Pioneers were not divided into castes, but all who attended parties behaved or were told to leave in a language they understood. It was not uncommon to go forty or fifty miles to a "house-warming."

A Sunday School was organized on the fifth Sunday of August, 1889, by Mrs. W. J. Erwin, which grew into a church and did not fail to meet every Sunday for thirty years and long after she had gone to her reward. Members of that church moved to Minco, then others of that church to Chickasha, Tuttle, and other places, setting up the Altar of the Lord as they went. These churches still live and grow but have forgotten their origin—Silver City on the Old Chisholm Trail.

A little schoolhouse was built by a few cowmen and some of the "nesters" down near Silver City cemetery. It was a frame building 24 by 36 feet, with a log rolled up to the door for a step. Rough cottonwood lumber was nailed up for seats and desks. Three twelve-inch boards four feet long were nailed together for a blackboard and painted black. Pieces of chalk were chipped from a large lump and served as crayons with which to "cipher." The school opened September 8, 1889, with seven pupils but grew to thirty-seven that school year. The school was thoroughly graded and consisted of eight grades—the first "graded school" in Grady County.[2] The school, with all of Silver City, moved to the Rock Island railroad the next year and, on July 4, 1890, formally founded Minco, celebrating the event with a dance by the Indians from the reservation west of the town, a barbecue, with plenty of black coffee made in a big washpot. Pickles, bread, and "homemade cake" were added by the good pioneer women of the time. People came from the Kansas line to Red River, and there was plenty of "grub," and to spare. The pioneers brought food to a picnic in washtubs and clothes baskets. The school continued to grow, and its doors were kept open by its founder for

[2] Further information in regard to this pioneer school may be found in the catalogue entitled *El Meta Bond College*, Silver City, Indian Territory, 1889, Minco, Okahoma, 1914, Twenty-Fifth Session, Boarding School for Girls, Day School for Boys.

thirty consecutive years. Four cowmen, a bank cashier, a clerk in a store, the proprietor of a pool-hall, and a cowboy contributed four hundred dollars and built another house 24 by 36 feet in Minco to house the school. That was a creditable little house with good lighting and patent school desks. It was the custom in those days to open every new house with a big dance. But because the house was to be used for church purposes, as well as for a school, the teacher and Mrs. W. J. Erwin, in whose home she lived, pleaded that the dance might not take place. The guests had all been invited, and it was then only a few hours before they should begin to arrive, but finally the committee capitulated and handed over the key and the building to the teacher as a gift. That was the first building to open in Grady County without a "house-warming." The house was dedicated the following morning with a Sunday School service and the Lord's Supper and was christened "Sunny South."

When the school closed its thirty years,[3] twenty-five hundred students, Indians and white, had been on its rolls. It introduced the Manual Arts, Domestic Science, and elementary features of the Fine Arts. It had a band and an orchestra. It had elementary courses in the sciences and in agriculture, and gardening and tree-planting was its long score. It had its own paper, a monthly, *The College Student,* which was the first school paper in Grady County.[4] It surpassed the town paper in circulation.[5]

[3] The thirtieth annual commencement program of El Meta Bond College carried the following inscription: "Founded at Silver City, Indian Territory, September 8th, 1889, closed—Minco, Okla., May 28, 1920."

[4] The April, 1902, issue of this periodical has been preserved by the author of this article.

[5] This article is an adaptation of an address given before the Old Pioneers' Club at Chickasha, September 12, 1938.

SAMUEL THOMAS BLEDSOE

SAMUEL THOMAS BLEDSOE

By M. L. Lyles[1]

Samuel Thomas Bledsoe was born in Clinton County, Kentucky, May 12, 1868, the son of Elijah and Ottilla G. (Snow) Bledsoe. His preliminary education was in the common school in Clinton County, Kentucky; a private school at Jamestown, Russell County, Kentucky; the Southern Normal School and Business College at Bowling Green, Kentucky; he studied law under the direction of the Honorable Tom Brown of Brown and Bliss, Sherman, Texas; Judge Brown subsequently became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Texas. He attended the University of Texas for the year 1888-89. He was a student in both junior and senior law courses for that year, passing all examinations satisfactorily, but did not attend for a sufficient length of time to receive a degree. He taught school in Clinton County, Kentucky, in 1885; Cumberland County, Kentucky, in 1886; Grayson County, Texas, in 1887 and the fall of 1889. He was admitted to the practice of law at Sherman, Texas, in 1890. On May 1, 1890, he moved to Ardmore, Indian Territory, and began practice of law there, continuing the general practice of law until 1914, at Ardmore, Indian Territory, from 1890 to 1908; Guthrie, 1908 to 1910; and Oklahoma City, 1910 to 1914. He entered railway service as Local Attorney of the G. C. & S. F. Railway Company at Ardmore, Indian Territory, in 1895, and became Attorney for Indian Territory in 1907. From July, 1908, to July, 1912, he was a member of the firm of Cottingham and Bledsoe, Solicitors for Oklahoma for the Santa Fe System Lines. On July, 1912, he was appointed General Attorney of the Santa Fe at Oklahoma City, retaining, however, his partnership with the firm of Cottingham and Bledsoe. On January 5, 1915, he was made Assistant General Solicitor, Santa Fe System Lines, with headquarters in Chicago; and on April 12, 1918, he was appointed General Counsel and elected a member of the Board

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of Directors. He was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee on December 2, 1931, and on May 2, 1933, President and Chairman of the Executive Committee for The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, and shortly thereafter President of other Atchison System Companies.

Mr. Bledsoe was active in the movement to secure enactment of Congressional legislation authorizing the organization of municipal governments in the Indian Territory in order to provide for schools, water supply, sewerage, and other general purposes of municipal governments. He was also active in the movement which resulted in Indian Territory being admitted with Oklahoma Territory as the State of Oklahoma.

Mr. Bledsoe was leading Counsel for Oklahoma railroads in the Oklahoma rate case (1909-1914). He was also responsible for settlement by arbitration of claims arising from the explosion of a car of casing-head gasoline at Ardmore, Oklahoma, in 1915, in which many lives were lost and heavy property damage suffered. A car of casing-head gasoline had been shipped as ordinary gasoline. The heat of the sun on the car caused the escape of gas which finally exploded, and although there was grave doubt of the Santa Fe's responsibility for damage resulting from the explosion, that Company on Mr. Bledsoe's recommendation offered to assume liability to all claimants who would agree to submit their claims to arbitration by a Committee of Ardmore citizens to be selected by the Mayor of Ardmore in case they were unable to agree with the Company as to the amount to be paid. Notwithstanding there were many hundred claims, only one suit was filed, the claimant recovering much less than he had been offered.

While serving as Assistant General Solicitor in addition to his other duties he had charge of the valuation of Santa Fe System property by the Interstate Commerce Commission, of all state tax matters, and supervision of proceedings before state commissions and of litigation resulting from state legislative action and orders of state commissions and actions of state and local taxing bodies.

He was active in behalf of the railroads during the trouble-

some times preceding Federal Control, during Federal Control and for a considerable time thereafter, especially in connection with negotiating the standard compensation contract under which the government operated the railroads during Federal Control. After the expiration of Federal Control he became Chairman of the Adjustment Committee of the Association of Railway Executives, consisting of engineering, accounting, and legal representatives, the purpose being to secure uniformity in presentation of the railroads' contentions as to their rights under the compensation contract and to obtain a fair adjustment in settling differences between the railroads and the Director General. He conducted the negotiations and had charge of the settlement for Atchison System Lines of all matters arising out of the Federal Control contract, including under-maintenance of the property and liability of the Director General for materials and supplies received at the beginning and not returned at the end of Federal Control.

His public relations work kept him in touch with all departments of the railroad and offered him an opportunity to make many friends along the Santa Fe System Lines. His policy was always that the public side of every question concerning the railroads be given careful consideration. Mr. Bledsoe took a great personal interest in the welfare of Santa Fe employes, attending their family gatherings and committee meetings and frequently talking to them on matters of mutual interest. He was a member of the American Bar Association and of the bar of the State of Illinois and of New York, and an honorary life member of the Texas and Oklahoma Bar Associations, and a member of the Commercial Law League of America, of which he was President in 1905. He belonged to the several Masonic bodies and various other fraternal organizations. His social club memberships included the Chicago, University, Old Elm, Illinois Athletic, and Lake Shore Athletic in Chicago, and the City Midday in New York. He was a life member of the California State Society of the Sons of the Revolution. He passed away at Chicago on March 8, 1939.

A STORY OF CHOCTAW CHIEFS

By Peter James Hudson

(Continued)

About May, 1857, the Choctaws who belonged to the Doaksville crowd, met in council at Doaksville. In other words a council was held by both factions in 1857 and the United States government sent a United States Agent to settle their differences.

Alfred Wade was elected and sworn in as the first Governor of the Choctaw Nation in October, 1857, at Boggy Depot, for a term of two years. He was a student of Choctaw Academy. He was born in Mississippi and emigrated to this country, locating about six miles east of Talihina, Oklahoma, in what is now Leflore County. He was a son of John Wade and his brothers were Henry, Alex, Jerry, Ellis Cunningham and Kennedy. Col. Ashley Burns, Supreme Judge of the First District, Choctaw Nation, swore Alfred Wade in as Governor.

In the Spring of 1858, Alfred Wade resigned as Governor in favor of Tandy Walker who was chairman of the Convention which prepared the Skullyville Constitution. The cause of his resignation was a serious situation among the Choctaw people, one of the reasons being the abolition of the offices of the three district chiefs and the creation of the office of Governor. Alfred Wade was a member of the delegation which made the Treaty of 1866 and was member of the Council. I can't recall the date of his death. He was buried at what is known now as Wade's Burying Ground in Leflore County, near his old home. He died about the year 1868.

I do not know much about Tandy Walker who succeeded Alfred Wade. He lived near Skullyville, now Spiro, Oklahoma. He was a member of Choctaw Council in 1855 at Fort Towson when he was President of the Senate in 1869, 1870, 1873-4. He was in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. During his administration, by proclamation, he called on the Choctaw

people to vote to hold another convention to change the Constitution, either to accept the Skullyville or the Doaksville Constitution, or to make a new one. A majority voted to hold a convention. Walker then ordered the said convention to convene at Doaksville in January, 1860. In the meantime, Walker's term expired as Governor, and at an election held in August, 1859, Brazil Leflore was elected Governor and took office in October, 1859. He served one year. He was son of Louis Leflore by his first wife, Nancy Cravatt. He had three brothers, Greenwood, William, Ben, father of Campbell Leflore of Oklahoma City, and five sisters, and two half-brothers, Forbis and Jackson Leflore, Brazil Leflore was a student of Choctaw Academy, emigrated to Indian Territory and located east of Fort Towson between Fort Towson and Clear Creek. When Thomas Leflore, cousin of Brazil Leflore, was District Chief of the Second District from 1834 to 1838 and from 1842 to 1850, Brazil Leflore acted as his Private Secretary, Thomas Leflore being uneducated. Brazil Leflore acted as Secretary and Treasurer of Second District from 1834 to 1857. When Alfred Wade became Governor he called for a report from the District Secretary and Treasurer of each district, and Brazil Leflore was the only one who submitted his report. This report may be found in the tribal records being calendared in the Indian Office at Muskogee for the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was elected Treasurer of Choctaw Nation in 1866 and served for two years when he was reelected until in 1871. He was elected Auditor of Choctaw Nation in 1876 and served until 1885. In the latter part of his life he moved from east of Fort Towson to old Goodland in what is now Choctaw County, where he died and is buried. This is three or four miles southwest of Hugo, Oklahoma. Brazil Leflore was son of Louis Leflore, a Frenchman. Louis Leflore's brother, Michael, was father of Thomas Leflore, making the two men first cousins.

At the meeting of the Convention at Doaksville in January, 1860, George Hudson was made Chairman of the Convention, at the conclusion of which the Doaksville Constitution was adopted, and the office of District Chief of each of the three districts re-

established, the fourth chief to be chief of the Choctaw Nation. That was when the Choctaws began to use the word "Principal Chief." George Hudson was elected chief in 1860 and served until 1862 for a term of two years. He was born in Mississippi in 1808; was educated at Mayhew Missionary School in Mississippi; emigrated to this country and located on the west side of Mountain Fork River, in what is now McCurtain County, Oklahoma, where a mission school called Betha-bara, was located. He was a Council Member in 1844, 1845, 1846, 1849, 1850, and 1855; Principal Chief 1860 to 1862; District Trustee in 1864. He died in 1865 and is buried about a mile west of Mountain Fork on the right side of the highway as one approaches the Mountain Fork bridge. There is no sign to show where his grave is. His father was a white man but nothing is known of him. James Hudson, father of Peter J. Hudson, was a younger brother of George Hudson. George Hudson has grandchildren near Smithville, named Hudson and Watson. He was a lawyer by profession. He was a tall man. He was quite an orator.

In 1859 Lewis Cass was elected District Chief of the First District, Choctaw Nation, or one of the three subschiefs. He was succeeded by Reuben Perry who served from 1860 to 1862.

In the same year Hot-abi was elected District Chief of the Second District. He was a noted full-blood, uneducated, for whom the Leased District was named. He was a brother of Mitanvbbi who was called Judge Mitanvbbi and sometimes Miko Mitanvbbi. Hot-abi lived, died and is buried somewhere near Pickens, Oklahoma, in now McCurtain County. A Choctaw named Ahuklitvbbi which means "to catch him and kill him," was the successor of Hot-abi which means "to look for and kill," as District Chief, second district, from 1860 to 1862. Ahulitvbbi, uneducated, lived somewhere near Wheelock in Towson County, Choctaw Nation, now McCurtain County. He was the father of Henry Clay who was a lawyer by profession and well educated. I do not know where he was educated, however. Henry Clay was the father of Abner Clay who attended Roanoke College, Virginia. It was said that Abner was one of the brightest young

men that went to Roanoke College. After his return from school he was elected to the office of Prosecuting Attorney for Second District but was killed by some one who was afraid of him.

Isaac Achukmvtvbbi was elected District Chief of the Third District in 1859. I know nothing about him. He was succeeded by William Lucas in 1860. William Lucas lived about one mile west of what is known as Armstrong Academy and died March 11, 1875. Isaac Folsom was District Chief of Third District in 1861.

At the time of the creation of the office of District Chief in 1860, men of prominence were elected to those offices and they had considerable authority, but as time went on their power dwindled away and the Principal Chief became more powerful.

I cannot give a complete list of the District Chiefs from 1862 until the abolition of the tribal government but will list what I have:

First District: Kennedy McCurtain in 1859, Olasichvbbi in 1877, William M. Anderson from 1888 to 1890, James Bond from 1891 to 1893, Jackson Kampelvbbi from 1893 to 1896, Sam Hicks 1896.

Second District: Mitanvbbi, father of Thompson McKinney, Principal Chief, in 1886; Capt. Nanomvntvbbi, chief in 1874 to 1880, who lived, died and is buried four miles east of old Spencer Academy on the Choctaw Pushmataha County line. He was a good speaker. James Wright was District Chief in 1881; Gaines Anderson in 1877, and probably took Capt. Nanomvntvbbi's place in his absence; Thomas H. Byington, chief pro tem in 1881; Philip Noah from 1888 to 1890. He was one of the large Noah family living at Mt. Zion and died and is buried there. Mt. Zion is in now McCurtain County, Oklahoma. Felekatvbbi was District Chief from 1886 to 1888. He lived, died and is buried at his home place at what is now known as Bethel, Oklahoma, in McCurtain County. Alex H. Reid was chief from 1890 to 1894. He lived and died in Red River County, Choctaw Nation, now McCurtain County. He was slender and tall and I knew him

well but don't know anything I could say about him. Stephen Ontahyvbbi was District Chief from 1895 to 1896. Gooding Nelson, Sam Taylor, Imayvbbi and Cosum Wade were all District Chiefs but I do not have the date. I knew Sam Taylor, a Six Town Indian, who lived five miles north of Smithville and is buried there. I also knew Imayvbbi. He was a good speaker. He lived three miles north of Mt. Zion and is buried there.

Third District: George Folsom was District Chief in 1860; Harris Franklin in 1880; Stephen Hobert in 1888 to 1890; Mack McGould from 1891 to 1894; Abel Foster in 1895; William E. Cobb (no date); Simon Logan and Moses Wade (no date).

Sam Garland was electetd Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation in 1862 and served until October, 1864. He was born in Mississippi and emigrated to this country. He was a student of Choctaw Academy. It may be he is the same Sam Garland who was elected District Chief of Southwest Division in Mississippi but was not recognized as such. He lived, died, and is buried at the town of Janis, Oklahoma, in McCurtain County, Oklahoma. There is a large monument over his grave. I have a picture of it. His brothers were John, Silas, and James and his sisters were Nancy and Lucy Garland. Silas had several children, among them Israel Garland whose daughter married Mitchel Harrison and later married a man named Hall. They were parents of the late Chief William Harrison of Poteau. His mother died only recently. Sam Garland was a Council member at different times. He married Mary Pitchlynn, sister of Peter P. Pitchlynn. They had one son, Crocket Garland. Louis Ledbetter of Wewoka, Oklahoma, married a daughter of Crocket Garland. Sam Garland was a member of Peter P. Pitchlynn's delegation to Washington in 1853 in what became known as Net Proceeds Claim. He died in 1870 and was a Council member at the time of his death.

Peter P. Pitchlynn succeeded Sam Garland in 1864 and served until October, 1866. He was born in Mississippi in 1806, emigrating to this country at the time of removal and settling at Eagletown in Apuckshunvbbi District, instead of Mosholetvbbi District to which all the Pitchlynns, Hudsons and Folsoms and

others belonged. He owned a large farm on the east side of Mountain Fork River at Eagletown and had probably thirty slaves. He attended school at the University of Nashville, Tennessee. He served as Superintendent of the Choctaw Academy at one time. He was a member of the Choctaw Council in 1849, 1850, and 1861. He headed the delegation known as Peter P. Pitchlynn delegation in 1853 which served at Washington. He served as a Choctaw Delegate from 1853 all of the time until his death in 1881. He was a School Trustee from 1859 to 1862 and a member of the first Choctaw Board of Trustees in 1844. One of the buildings of Spencer Academy was named for him. The other members of this Board were Robert M. Jones, Thompson McKinney and Agent Armstrong. He served in this capacity until 1853 when he became delegate to Washington. He died on January 17, 1881 at Washington and is buried in Washington in the Congressional Cemetery and his monument bears the following inscriptions:

On the west side: "Chief and delegate of the Choctaw Nation for whose advancement many years of his life were devoted —Choctaw Brave."

On the north side: "P. P. Pitchlynn died January 17, 1881, age 75 years."

Peter P. Pitchlynn was a son of John Pitchlynn, a white man, by his second wife, Rhoda Folsom, sister of Colonel David Folsom. Major John Pitchlynn was born near St. Johns Island off Puerto Rico, on board ship. His father Isaac Pitchlynn was an officer in the British Navy. He, Isaac, was sent out among the Choctaws to treat with them. On this trip he took with him his young son John. Isaac Pitchlynn died in Mississippi and his son, John, was left among the Choctaws. Peter P. Pitchlynn married a daughter of Col. David Folsom named Rhoda. John Pitchlynn's first wife, Sophie Folsom, daughter of Ebenezer Folsom by his Choctaw wife, was mother of James, John Jr., and Kate Pitchlynn. By his second wife, Rhoda, his children were Peter P., William B., Silas, Mary (Mrs. Sam Garland) and Eliza who married Alonzo Harris, and Elizabeth who married William

H. Harris, brother of Alonzo. Peter P. Pitchlynn was active and capable and did much for the Choctaw people during his life time. After the death of his first wife he married a white widow, Mrs. Caroline Lambert of Washington, D. C. At his death he left two children, Sophia and Lee Pitchlynn, now living in Washington. Peter P. Pitchlynn's children by his first wife were Lycurgus (Posh) Pitchlynn, Melvina, Loren, Peter Pitchlynn, Jr., and Rhoda Pitchlynn. Peter P. Pitchlynn's sister, Rhoda, married a white man named Dr. Calvin Howell originally from New Orleans. Posh Pitchlynn was the grandfather of William F. Semple, an attorney, now of Tulsa, Okla. Dr. Thomas Howell of Davis, Oklahoma, is a nephew of Peter P. Pitchlynn.

According to the *Journal* of the House of Representatives of the Choctaw Nation, bound in book form, and in vault of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, the following were candidates for Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation in 1864; with the number of votes each received opposite their respective names:

P. P. Pitchlynn	294 votes
F(ranceway) Battice	284 votes
Jerry Wade	265 votes

There was a full blood Choctaw named Chafvtaya which means "running and going," who assumed the name of John Pitchlynn, emigrated from Mississippi to Indian Territory, located near Lukfata for awhile and re-emigrated up to what was known as Wade Settlement at the source of Kiamichi River and lived near a church called Lennox where Simon Hobbs was a missionary. He named his children Peter, Thomas, Davis and Alex Pitchlynn. They lived near Albion and Talihina. Sometimes people are confused about these families, but there is no relationship with Peter P. Pitchlynn, he being a half breed and they being full bloods.

According to manuscript record No. 19435 in the tribal files now in the custody of the Oklahoma Historical Society, James Thompson, Chief Justice, and I. L. Garvin, Associate Justice, Choctaw Supreme Court, rendered an opinion dated October 1867 in case of John Wilkin v. Choctaw Nation, deciding that

during P. P. Pitchlynn's absence from the Nation that John Wilkin, being President of the Senate, was fully authorized to act as Principal Chief of the Nation until P. P. Pitchlynn's return, and that inasmuch as John Wilkin did act as Principal Chief during his absence he was entitled to remuneration for services rendered.

Under date of November 7, 1884, a resolution was passed by the Choctaw Council and approved by Ed McCurtain, Principal Chief, that $1268.00, the amount of the account against the estate of the late Col. P. P. Pitchlynn, be allowed, requiring the Principal Chief to issue a certificate in favor of the late Col. Pitchlynn, and requiring National Auditor to issue his warrant on the National Treasurer for the same. This was found in a bound Choctaw volume in vault of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes.

According to the *Journal* of the House of Representatives of Choctaw Nation in the vault of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, the following parties were candidates for Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation in 1866, the votes each received being listed opposite their respective names:

Allen Wright	552 votes
Jerry Wade	367 votes
Peter Folsom	199 votes
J. P. Folsom	
Wilson Jones	1 vote
David Harkins	1 vote
Samuel Garland	80 votes
Coleman Nelson	265 votes

Allen Wright was elected Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation in 1866 and served until October 1870. He was born in Mississippi son of Ishtimahelvbbi, and emigrated to Indian Territory at the time of the removal, stopping at Lukfatah for awhile and then located west at Boggy Depot. Allen Wright was educated at Union College, Schenectedy, N. Y. He was a Presbyterian Minister and translator. He was Treasurer of Choctaw Nation from 1860 to 1861, or one term. He headed the delegation which made the Treaty of 1866 and was elected Principal Chief in 1866, serving until 1870. He also served as Superintendent of Public Schools of

Choctaw Nation. He was a Council member. He was active in public affairs and did much for the Choctaw people. He died and was buried at his home place at Boggy Depot, in now Atoka County, Oklahoma. He married a teacher from Ohio and their children were Dr. E. N., Frank, Mary, Annie, Clara, Kate, Allen, Jr., and James B. Wright.

According to the *Journal* of House of Representatives of Choctaw Nation in custody of Superintendent of Five Civilized Tribes, the following were candidates for Principal Chief in 1868, the votes each received being placed opposite their names,

Allen Wright ..... 1221 votes
F(ranceway) Battiest ..... 501 votes

William J. Bryant was elected Principal Chief in 1870, serving until 1874, two terms. I believe his father was a white man. He was a student of Choctaw Academy. He emigrated to this country about 1840 after the general removal. He was still in Mississippi in 1838. He first located in Red River County, Choctaw Nation, and from there went to Octavia and was elected chief while living at Octavia, in now McCurtain County, Okla. Then he emigrated to about where Wilburton is now and was postmaster there, the postoffice being Pleasant, now discontinued. Then he moved to Tushkahoma where he lived for several years. He died there and is buried about two miles east of Tushkahoma about 200 yards north of the Frisco Railroad and also the highway. His grave was covered with a marble slab with headstone bearing an inscription. It is all broken to pieces now. I do not know the date of his death. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge. I do not know whom he married and nothing about his children. He was a member of Choctaw Council in 1844; Supreme Judge of Second District in 1865; delegate to Creek Convention (at North Fork Town I believe) in 1861.

In August 1872 William J. Bryant was opposed by Turner B. Turnbull, a student of Choctaw Academy, District Chief of Third District in 1863, Judge of Blue County in 1853. William J. Bryant won the race with a large majority.

Coleman Cole was elected Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation in 1874. He served for two terms until October 1878. A copy of

his last message to the Senate and House of Representatives in General Council assembled, October 1878 term, may be found in the manuscript tribal records now in the custody of the Oklahoma Historical Society, No. 19437. He was educated at Elliot Mission School in Mississippi. He was son of Robert Cole, who was District Chief of Western Division, Mississippi, in 1825. Coleman Cole was still in Mississippi in 1838 so I think they emigrated about 1840. He was a member of Council in 1850, 1855, and 1871-1873. If Robert Cole was correct in saying that Greenwood Leflore was his nephew then Coleman Cole's sister, name unknown, must have married a Frenchman named Louie Cravatt. Cravatt and his wife had two daughters, Nancy and Rebecca Cravatt. Louis Leflore, Frenchman, married Nancy Cravatt and they were parents of Greenwood Leflore and others. After Nancy's death he married Rebecca and they were the parents of Forbis Leflore and others. Robert Cole was a half-breed. It is not known who his father was but he was a white man with an Indian wife of the Shvkchi Homa Tribe. In 1938 when testimony was being taken in some claim of the Choctaws against the United States, Coleman Cole testified that a massacre of the Shvkchi Homa Tribe of Choctaw Indians by Chickasaws assisted by Choctaws, just before the Revolutionary War, all of said Tribe were killed except about 200 women and children, among them being a woman with a white husband who ran away and left her with several children. This woman was Coleman Cole's grandmother. Her name was Shumaka and she was still living in 1838, age 120, when this testimony was given. Coleman Cole is a descendant of the Shvkchi Homa Tribe and Choctaw Indians. He located in Cedar County, Choctaw Nation, east of Antlers, Okla., at the time of emigration. He died and is buried about three miles south of a postoffice called Standley, in Pushmataha County, Okla. The man who owns the farms knows where the grave is and does not disturb it. It is in a field and has a pile of rocks over it. Coleman Cole had a son, Logan, whose children are all dead, but whose granddaughter lives at Wichita, Kansas. Coleman Cole was a Choctaw Delegate to the Creek Convention at North Fork Town held on July 1, 1861, when a treaty was made with the Confederacy. Green

McCurtain often said that he was related to Coleman Cole. Green McCurtain's uncle Daniel having married Robert Cole's sister. Garrett E. Nelson, white man, married another sister. Green McCurtain said that when Coleman Cole got to be chief he built a two-story log house.

At the August 2, 1876, election, William Bryant, Coleman Cole and Allen Wright were candidates, Coleman Cole being elected.

In 1878 Isaac Garvin was elected Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation but he died in February 1880. His father was Henry Garvin, white man. I do not know where Isaac Garvin was educated. He was born in Mississippi and emigrated to Indian Territory, locating in Red River County, about a mile southwest of what is now the town of Garvin, Okla. The station, Garvin, was named for him. He was County Judge of Red River County for several years; Supreme Judge for several years. He was buried at his home place and a monument is standing to mark his grave. I do not know who his first wife was but his second wife was Melvina, daughter of Capt. Miashambi, and sister of Peter J. Hudson's mother. Peter J. Hudson tells about Isaac Garvin coming to his father's house when he was just a little child. The father and mother were both out when he arrived and as the children didn't know who he was and he looked so much like a white man, one of Mr. Hudson's sisters said in Choctaw "No count white man come to our country." They felt very much ashamed when they found he was a Choctaw and knew what had been said. By his second wife, Isaac Garvin had one daughter, Francis, who married a man by name of Dr. Shi. They emigrated to Chickasaw Nation with Isaac Garvin's widow and have all died out with exception of one son, Isaac Garvin Shi now living in Chickasaw Nation.

Jack McCurtain, being President of the Senate at the time of Isaac Garvin's death, filled out his unexpired term, and was elected Principal Chief and sworn in on October 1880, serving for two terms, until October 1884. A printed copy of his Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of Choctaw Nation,

dated October 7, 1881, at Chahta Tamaha, may be found in the records of the Oklahoma Historical Society Archives, being No. 19438. He was a son of Cornelius McCurtain, and brother of Green and Edmond McCurtain, both of whom later became Principal Chief of the Nation. He was born in the State of Mississippi March 4, 1830, moved with his parents to Indian Territory in 1833, attended school at Old Spencer Academy, 9 miles north of Doaksville when about fourteen years of age but remained there only about two years. The other McCurtain boys attended Fort Coffee School so it may be that Jackson did also. He died on November 14, 1885, and is buried a half mile east of the Choctaw capitol near Tuskahoma, Okla. The following is inscribed upon his monument:

"In memory of Jackson F. McCurtain Ex. Gov. of the Choctaw Nation. Born in the State of Miss., March 4, 1830. Moved to Ind. Ty., Choctaw Nation 1833. Died Nov. 14, 1885. Age 55 years, 8 months and 10 days.

"He was placed in the old Spencer Academy when about fourteen years of age but unfortunately remained in school only about a little more than 2 years.—In 1850 he was elected Representative to the Choctaw Council of the Choctaw Nation and continued member until July 1861 when he was elected Captain of the first Choctaw regiment under Commanding General D. H. Cooper—1862.—He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Choctaw Battalion and was a faithful efficient officer knowing no fear in all his command. Was surrendered to the Federal authority in 1866. He was elected Senator by a unanimous vote of the County and continued in that capacity until the death of Gov. I. L. Garvin Feby. 1880, when in consequence of his being President of the Senate he became Governor of the Choctaw Nation. He became his successor in Oct. 1880 having been elected by an overwhelming majority.

"He became his own successor again in Oct. 1882. Consequently he served as Governor two full terms and a part of the term and what he did while exercising the duties of the Office of Governor will hold him in grateful remembrance by the Choctaw people who love their country. His heart always went out for orphans and such a man deserves well the approval of his fellow man and the smiles of Heaven.

"An honest man here lies at rest—As ere God with His image blest. The friend of man, the friend of truth, the friend of age and a guide for youth.

"Few hearts like his with virtue warmed.

"Few hearts with knowledge so informed.
"If there is another world he lives in bliss.
"If there is none he made the best of this."

His first wife was Marie Riley, sister of Judge James Riley of First District. His home for many years was at Red Oak, in now Latimer County, Oklahoma, where he lived at the time he was made Principal Chief. While still serving as Chief he moved north of Hugo about ten miles and south of Antlers, where he lived for about two years, moving later to Tuskahoma about 1883. It was during Jackson McCurtain's administration that the Council House was built at Tuskahoma, council having been held at Chahta Tamaha or Armstrong Academy from 1863 to 1884. While he was living at Red Oak, many intruders had gone into the Choctaw Nation from Arkansas, and when he became Chief he asked the United States for troops to assist the Choctaw militia to remove the intruders from the northeastern part of Choctaw Nation. They did furnish troops and the intruders were removed but it was not long until they returned and it is said that they threatened Jackson McCurtain's life and that is when he moved to Hugo.

His first wife died leaving two daughters, one of whom died young, and the other, Sophie, married Lewis Garvin. She died, leaving one son, Simpson Garvin, now living at Talihina.

His second wife was Jane Austin. Their children, numbering about ten, have all died with the exception of Lizzie, now Mrs. Aikman. One of their daughters married Lyman Moore of Spiro. She died leaving a daughter and son.

Jane Austin McCurtain was said to have been Jackson McCurtain's private secretary and adviser during his administration. She died in August 1924 at the age of 82 years.

Edmond McCurtain, brother of Jackson, succeeded him as Chief, taking office in October 1884 and serving until October 1886. His opponent was J. P. Folsom. He was a son of Cornelius McCurtain. He lived at Sans Bois, Choctaw Nation, died at Skullyville and is buried there. The following is inscribed upon his monument:

"In memory of Edmond McCurtain, born March 4, 1842, died

Nov. 11, 1890, at Skullyville. He filled every office of honor or trust in the gift of the people, from representative to Principal Chief. He was also a delegate to Washington for four years. One half of his life was spent in the service of his country and during all this time his actions were governed by pure patriotism as the Choctaws will ever know. While Superintendent of schools he sowed the seeds of education among his people that will blossom and bear fruit as long as this nation stands. He deserves above all others to be called the friend of his people. He was kind and generous as the brave only be. When the years have come and gone and the Choctaws be few, this stone shall mark the place of one purest, bravest and most patriotic sons of that nation. If there be a place where the kind, the noble and the honest can rest, when life is ended, he will enjoy its happiness because he made so many happy on this earth."

Tandy Walker was also buried in this grave yard; also Edmond McCurtain's brothers, David and Robert.

Henderson Walker, brother of Tandy Walker, murdered Robert McCurtain, after which the other McCurtain brothers went to Henderson's house and killed him. This almost started a feud between the Walkers and McCurtains but somehow it was patched up. David McCurtain was killed by a negro who was later killed by Green McCurtain, David's brother.

Edmond McCurtain was married three times. He was Superintendent of Public Schools of Choctaw Nation. In 1879 he took Peter J. Hudson to Springfield, Mo., when he entered Drury College.

Thompson McKinney succeeded Edmond McCurtain, taking office in October 1886 and serving until October 1888. He was a full blood Choctaw. I do not know where he received his education. The name Thompson McKinney of Smithville, Okla., may have been acquired from Thompson McKinney of Skullyville. He was a son of Judge Mitanvbbi which means "to kill while he is coming." Mitanvbbi lived on Eagle Fork about three miles west of the town of Smithville, Okla., where he died. Thompson McKinney was his oldest child and William McKinney who died just recently his youngest son. Thompson McKinney was a member of Council in 1877; National Secretary for several years, and chief from 1886 to 1888. He died in 1889 and is buried two or three miles west of Wilburton, Okla.

Thompson McKinney's grave is located on the tract of land near Wilburton, which is still tribal property, on which houses are being built, it being intended to colonize the Choctaws there in case it is necessary. I have heard that they are trying to fix up Thompson McKinney's grave. At one time his grave was pointed out to me and it is covered with logs.

At the time of his death he left two children. Jackson James was appointed guardian for these children and placed them in the Murrow Orphan Home at Atoka, Okla.

Many people confuse Thompson McKinney, Principal Chief with a Thompson McKinney of Skullyville. Thompson McKinney of Skullyville died in 1859 and is buried at Skullyville Burying Ground, while the Thompson McKinney who was Principal Chief lived, died and is buried near Wilburton. Thompson McKinney of Skullyville was the grandfather of Major Victor M. Locke. He was a student at Choctaw Academy, a lawyer by profession and did as much as any one toward building up the Choctaw schools but never was Chief. At one time, however, he opposed Alfred Wade for the office of Governor of Choctaw Nation, but was defeated.

Ben Smallwood succeeded Thompson McKinney, taking the oath of office in October 1888 and serving until 1890. His opponent was Wilson N. Jones. It is not known what school he attended. He was a son of William Smallwood. His grandfather was Elijah Smallwood, a white man, from South Carolina, who went to Mississippi and married Mary Leflore, sister of Thomas Leflore. Ben Smallwood's father, William Smallwood, was a student at Choctaw Academy. He was a member of Council in 1863. He married Annie Burney, a Chickasaw woman. He lived and died Dec. 15, 1891 at Lehigh and is buried there. Mrs. Lizzie Nash of Antlers is a descendent of Ben Smallwood.

Wilson N. Jones succeeded Ben Smallwood as Principal Chief. He was sworn in in October 1890 and served until October 1894, two terms. He was uneducated but was a good business man. He got rich in spite of the fact that he could hardly write his name. He talked broken English. He was Treasurer, District

Trustee and finally Principal Chief. During his administration two boarding schools were added to the four boarding schools already in existence. One of these schools was for boys and was called Jones Academy in honor of Governor Jones, while the other, for girls, was called Tuskahoma Female Institute. P. J. Hudson was the first Superintendent of Tuskahoma Female Institute.

During the election of 1892 in the race between Wilson N. Jones and Jacob Jackson for Principal Chief, a great deal of confusion was created. It was at this time that trouble started at McAlester which terminated at Antlers and became known as the Antlers or Locke War. A man by name of Joe Haklotvbbi was killed at Hartshorne by political enemies and it was this killing which started this trouble, leaders of both factions gathering at McAlester immediately after the killing to fight it out, but a fight was averted by the appearance of a man on a white horse, waving a United States flag. He called for a parley and notified the heads of each party not to fire a shot for if they did he had authority from the United States Government to abolish the tribal governments. That man was Leo Bennett, U. S. Indian Agent. The trouble later sprung up at Antlers, however. This trouble was caused by the election campaign of Wilson N. Jones and Jacob Jackson for Principal Chief.

Wilson N. Jones was a son of Nathaniel Jones of Mississippi. His mother's name is unknown but she was from the Battiest family which makes him of French descent. His first wife was Luisa Leflore and they were parents of Annie Bell and Willie Jones. Willie Jones was killed leaving one son, Nat Jones, who committed suicide at Oklahoma City by jumping from the top of a ten story building. Wilson N. Jones had a sister named Lizzie who married a white man named Thomas Griggs. They were parents of Thomas Griggs, Jr., who was father of Mrs. Lizzie Nash of Antlers, Okla., making Wilson N. Jones, Mrs. Nash's great uncle.

Wilson N. Jones' second wife was a white woman but I know nothing about her. They had no children.

During the latter part of his life he lived at Sherman, Texas. He died about 1900 but I do not know where, or where he was buried.

His home in Choctaw Nation was north of Bokchita, in now Bryan County, Oklahoma.

Jefferson Gardner succeeded Wilson N. Jones as Principal Chief, taking office in October 1894 and serving until October 1896. His opponent was J. B. Jackson. He was born near Wheelock, Choctaw Nation, son of Noel Gardner who was a student of Choctaw Academy. His brothers were James and Jerry. Jerry was father of Edmond Gardner of Valliant, who is quite a historian. Jefferson Gardner was Treasurer of Choctaw Nation, acted as Circuit Judge of Second Judicial District, and finally elected Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation. He was postmaster of Eagletown from about 1874 for many years. He ran a general store at Eagletown, another at Sulphur Springs or Alikchi, Choctaw Nation, and still another at Bon-ton, Choctaw Nation, on Red River. When he was postmaster Mr. Peter J. Hudson acted as his clerk at Eagletown and knew him very well. He was a man about 5' 6", bald headed, half-breed, a man of few words but very kind. His first wife died at Wheelock. I don't know who she was. She left one daughter named Alzira, now Mrs. Lambert. I do not know where she lives. When Jefferson Gardner moved to Eagletown he had no family, his daughter attended school at New Hope Seminary. While at Eagletown he married Lucy Christy, daughter of Joe Christy. At the death of Lucy he married her sister, Judy. He had quite a family by these wives but they are all dead with exception of Emma, now Mrs. Mills, living at Valliant, and Alzira, now Mrs. Lambert. He died about 1905 and is buried at the Joe Christy Burying Ground three miles southeast of Eagletown.

Green McCurtain succeeded Jefferson Gardner as Principal Chief, taking office in October 1896 and serving until October 1900, two terms. His opponents were Jefferson Gardner, J. B. Jackson and G. W. Dukes. He was a son of Cornelius

McCurtain and brother of Edmond and Jackson McCurtain, both former chiefs of the Choctaw Nation. He was born at Skullyville and died December 28, 1910, at his home at Kinta, Oklahoma, and was buried at his old home at Sans Bois, Oklahoma, Haskell County, about 5 miles east of Kinta. He married for his first wife a white woman, mother of D. C. McCurtain, living at Poteau. She later married Tom Ainsworth. Green McCurtain married as his second wife, Kate Spring, daughter of John Spring of now Tuskahoma, Oklahoma. Their children were Alice who married George Scott now living at Stigler and former Treasurer of Choctaw Nation, Lena who married Herbert Moore now of Muskogee, Bertha and Cora who married brothers, the Pebworth boys. Cora is now dead but Bertha is living. Mrs. Green McCurtain is still living at Stigler with her daughter, Mrs. George Scott. He was elected Principal Chief on the program of the Tuskahoma Party of which he was the head and which advocated negotiation with the Dawes Commission for the settlement of Choctaw Affairs.

Gilbert W. Dukes succeeded Green McCurtain and took office in October 1900 serving until October 1902. He was born around Wheelock. He was a son of Joseph Dukes who was interpreter and translator for early missionaries. He was with Cyrus Byington at Mayhew Mission School in Mississippi for a long time and then emigrated to Indian Territory and stayed with Alfred Wright at Wheelock Seminary for many years as translator of the New Testament. Gilbert W. Dukes' mother was Nancy Collins. When but a young man Gilbert W. Dukes moved from Wheelock to what is known as Wade Settlement about 6 miles east of Talihina, Oklahoma. He was a student of old Spencer Academy. He married Angeline Wade, daughter of Governor Alfred Wade. They had two children, Henry, now of Bokhoma, McCurtain County, Oklahoma, and the other, Joseph Dukes, Assistant Field Clerk at Talihina, Oklahoma. After the death of his first wife he married Isabel, daughter of Horace Woods, white man, father of a large family.

At their death they left, Edwin, D. Hopaiishvbbi, Josephine, Minerva and Leatta Dukes, all of whom are living around Talihina. The first office ever held by Gilbert W. Dukes was as Sheriff of Wade County, Choctaw Nation. He joined the Confederate Army when very young. He was Supreme Judge for four years, Circuit Judge for seven years, Auditor of Choctaw Nation, and Chief from 1900 to 1902. He was a delegate to Washington in 1911. He died about 1915 or 1916 and was buried at Post Oak Presbyterian Church on the south side of Kiamichi River about twelve miles southeast of Talihina, just barely inside of Pushmataha County. He was a very large man, about six feet tall and very liberal. He always had many people at his house. He was a great friend of D. Thomas, a merchant at Talihina. He was a Republican.

In October 1902 Green McCurtain again took office as Principal Chief, serving until his death December 28, 1910. In the election of 1902, Tom Hunter of Hugo, Oklahoma, was Green McCurtain's opponent. In October 1902 before the votes were canvassed the United States Government had to send soldiers to Tuskahoma to keep peace. Gilbert W. Dukes was a friend of Tom Hunter and the morning on which the votes were to be canvassed he walked into the capitol with Tom Hunter and turned everything over to him as his successor. Major Hackett, U. S. Marshal, who was a friend of Gilbert W. Dukes and Tom Hunter, took possession of the capitol and grounds, with Tom Hunter as chief, and proceeded to organize a council, the followers of McCurtain being barred from the building. Indian Agent Shoenfelt was on the ground and attempted to settle the difficulty but it was impossible because the U. S. Marshal representing the Judicial Department was in charge. Therefore, Agent Shoenfelt sent a message to the War Department at Washington for troops. The order went to Fort Sill for soldiers to go to Tuskahoma. Saturday about noon which was the last day provided by Constitution to canvass the votes the U. S. soldiers composed of 200 negroes with white officers, came in, marched to the capitol, and after the

commander consulted for one hour with U. S. Marshal and U. S. Agent, he took charge of the building, disarming all occupants of the building and instructing them to tend to any business necessary. The members of the two factions then entered into fist fights in which the command took no side, while the votes were being canvassed. It was dark when the canvassing was completed and Green McCurtain was declared elected Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation. Peter J. Hudson was an interpreter for Green McCurtain's faction and witnessed and took part in the trouble.

In 1904 another election was held with Green McCurtain and Thomas Hunter as candidates and Green McCurtain was re-elected. He served until October 1906.

In August 1906 Wesley Anderson of Tuskahoma was elected Principal Chief but was not confirmed from the fact that the tribal government was supposed to have expired March 4, 1906. He had no opponent. So Green McCurtain was the last elected chief and continued to serve until his death on December 28, 1910.[1]

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[1] This article was written in April, 1934. See R. L. Williams, "Peter James Hudson, 1861-1938," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XVII (1938), 1-4.

RECONNOISSANCE OF H. L. MARVIN
Chief Engineer for the Kansas Southern Railroad in 1884.[1]

Edited by James W. Moffitt

The first railroads were constructed across Oklahoma in order to reach Texas, which offered the prospect of good revenues in the shipment of cattle and other products.[2] In 1884 the officers and directors of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway became interested in extending a line southward. About 1878 it commenced building its first branch lines.[3] By 1879, one branch had reached Wichita, Kansas, and another Eldorado, in the same state.[4] A year later it built to the border of Indian Territory at Coffeyville, Arkansas City, and Caldwell.[5]

The detailed study which follows was prepared by H. L. Marvin, Chief Engineer of the Kansas Southern Railroad.[6] It was mailed from Chanute, Kansas, May 20, 1884, to the General Manager, A. A. Robinson. Marvin reported:

> I have completed the reconnoissance of the several routes through the Indian Territory and Northern Texas as per instructions from your office and herewith submit my report.
>
> Upon the map of the Indian Territory I have drawn three lines; one from Coffeyville, Kansas to Gainsville, Texas; one from Arkansas City, Kansas, to Gainsville, Texas and one from Arkansas City, Kansas to a point near Salt Creek or Red River

[1] At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, on October 27, 1938, the President, Judge R. L. Williams, reported that "through the kindness of Mr. A. E. Pearson, an attorney of Oklahoma City, a communication from H. L. Marvin, Chief Engineer of the Kansas Southern Railroad had been presented to our archives." See "Minutes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), XVI (1938), 498.

[2] Alpheus Caswell Bray, A Story of the Building of the Railroads in the State of Oklahoma, 1923 (Master of Arts thesis in the Library of the University of Oklahoma), 81.

[3] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History* (New York, 1929), I, 484.

[4] Letter of E. C. Boudinot, written March 31, 1879, in Jesse Lee Rader and Edward Everett Dale, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930), 444.

[5] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 484.

[6] A corporation owned by the Santa Fe.

Station, Texas.[7] These lines are drawn direct between the points without deviation and serve as base lines for the work of reconnoissance for the several routes which will be designated A-B and C, respectively. I have sought to find a practicable railroad route, which will be as near as possible to each of these base lines, upon the basis of one per cent maximum grade and without excessive work or cost.

ROUTE—A—From Coffeyville to Gainesville, Station 1 is at end of track, south of Coffeyville. From this point to the south line of Kansas, approximately 1½ miles, the grading has been done as nearly so, and a bridge built over Onion creek. The bridge will need renewing with a 100-foot truss and the grading will need to be restored from State line, Station 2 to California Creek, Station 4. The land is gently rolling and affords a good location with light work. The rough country along California Creek will force the line to the east of the base line, to a point south of Coffeyville, Possum Cr., Hickory Creek and California Creek, will each require a 60-foot truss bridge and trestle approaches. South and west of California Creek a high ridge extends for a long distance. At Station 5 there is a gap in this ridge, which admits of a location, to the head of Shoeter Creek, Station 6. On Shoeter Creek, Station 7 and Carter's Creek, Station 8, there will be heavy work for a mile at each place. The grades, however, will not be heavy. The crossing of Caney River, Station 9 should be 1½ miles southeast from what is known as the "Rocky Ford." This stream can best be bridged by a 150 foot truss and a 60 foot approach span at each end of span. It would not be desirable to locate a pier in midstream as the valley is heavily timbered and the stream is subject to excessive floods, carrying a large amount of drift. The banks of the stream are firm and rock foundations can be reached in most places. High water is not liable to overflow the banks, although the valley is level, wide and in places swampy.

The line as indicated, avoids the heavy country along the east border of the Osage reservation and the headlands overlooking the valley of the Verdigris river; Birl Creek (Station 10) will require a single span of 150-foot truss.[8] The banks are sharp, the stream deep and subject to floods and drifts. Between Stations 9 and 10 is Pumpkin Creek, requiring a 60-foot truss bridge. From Station 10 to 11 the land is low and in places swampy. At Station 11 there are indications of coal in creek

[7] Red River Station was located in Montague County, Texas, on the south bank of Red River not far from the mouth of Salt Creek. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), XIV (1936), 86.

[8] By an order of the Secretary of the Interior in 1871 the Osages were located in the Cherokee Outlet east of the Arkansas River in the present Osage County,, Oklahoma. Dora Ann Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), 19-20.

bed. Coal occurs on Coal Creek, four miles east of Station 12. It is of good quality and 28 inches thickness of vein. Station 12 is at the summit north of Tulsa. The slope from Station 11 is uniform and within the maximum grade. Tulsa (Station 3) is approximately 2 miles from the Arkansas River. As a town it is of little importance. The location is not suitable for a large town.

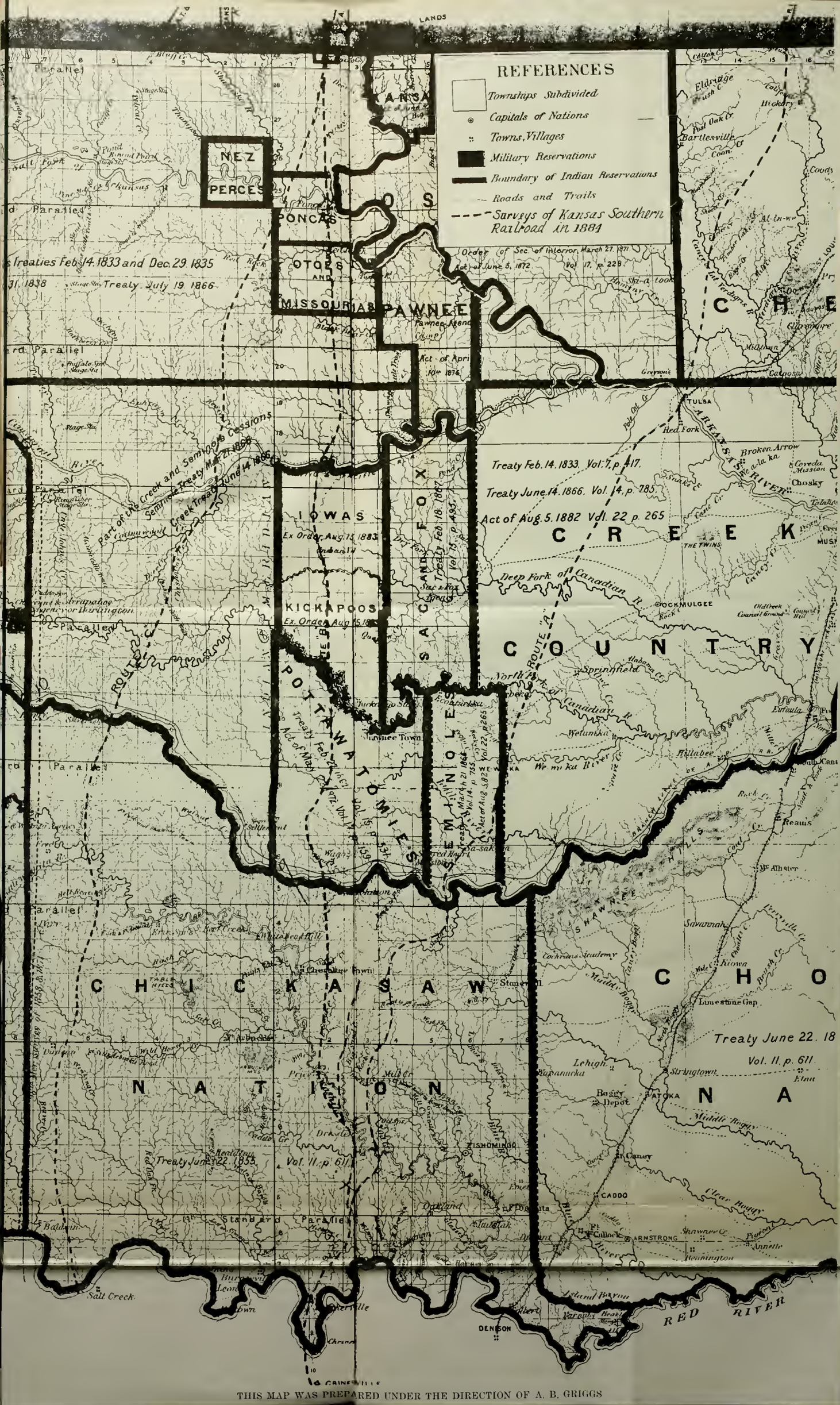
From Coffeyville to Tulsa the land is of fair quality and the valleys of the Verdigris and Caney Rivers and Bird and Homing Creeks are very fertile. The location can be made down the valley of the Verdigris river, as indicated by the dotted line, but the line would be longer and the cost of grading somewhat greater than on the line selected.

The bridging of the Arkansas River (Station 14) would require six spans of 150-foot truss bridge and a trestle approach on the right bank of 500 feet. Rock foundation can be reached within reasonable distance and along the left bank the river has rock bottom. The crossing made by the A&P is a Trestle bridge, 1400 feet long. This was in part carried away by the drift and was replaced by a system of 30′ trussed girders, which only awaits the action of another flood to be carried away. A temporary structure will not answer the purpose of bridging this river at any point east of Arkansas City and would be extremely unsafe there. Station 14 is not a very favorable point to bridge the Arkansas River. For this reason and for the better location to be secured on the south side of the river, I would recommend that upon making preliminary surveys, a line be tried as indicated by the dotted line 8-15-16-17-18-18-20. The only point of difficulty would be the summit at 17. There would be no difficulty from 8 to 16 or from 18 to 20. The advantages of this line were not apparent until the reconnoissance had progressed too far to return to it. The line from Station 14 to 20 will lay up the valley of Polecat Creek. This valley will afford a good grade with a reasonably low cost for grading. The alignment will be crooked and will not lay as near the base line as would be desirable. There may develop a compensation for the defect as coal occurs along this valley. The quality of the coal is good, depth of vein could not at the time be ascertained on account of high water. Polecat Creek will require a single span of 125-feet truss bridge.

From Station 20 to 21 the line lays at the foot of a chain of headlands which terminate the upper platteau further west.

A good location can be made between these points. The crossing of Deep Fork will require some heavy work of grading as the bottoms are subject to overflow and are swampy.[9]

[9] Deep Fork River is a tributary of the North Canadian River. It is so called as it has cut its channel to a lower channel than the major stream. Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), 39-40.



THIS MAP WAS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A. B. GRIGGS

Deep Fork river will require one span of 150-foot truss.

The height of the ridges south of Deep Fort Valley is 340-feet. At point 22 there is a low saddle at the head of the creek flowing south to 21 and the valley of the creek is smooth and of uniform slope; which will admit of a favorable location. The elevation to be overcome from 21 to 22 is 290-feet. The descent from 22 to 23 at North fork river is easy. The north fork will require for bridging one span of 150-feet truss and two 60-foot trusses for approaches. Between north fork and the Canadian river there will be heavy work for nearly the whole distance. The country is for the most part heavily timbered and broken. The extremes of elevation are not excessive and within reach of the grade. From 23 to 24 the elevation to overcome is 130 ft. Distance 7 miles. At 24 there will need to be a cut of approximately 30-feet and extreme length 800′. At 25 and 26 there will also be heavy work. The work near the Wewoka river need not be excessive. The line at 27 should cross the river very nearly on the east line of the Seminole reservation.[10] The bridge required at this point would be a 125-foot truss.

From Station 27 to 28 the line will lay up a creek valley and at 28 will be required a short heavy cut. From 28 to 29 the line will be crooked and the work heavy. At Sasakwa there occurs a sharp limestone ridge extending east and west which it is difficult to cross. This will cause a deflection in the line at Station 29 to the west up Little River for four miles to Station 30,[11]

The range of elevation to be overcome between Wewoka and Little River is 140′ and the shortest distance is 2½ miles.[12]

At Station 31 is a low summit at the head of a lateral stream flowing to Station 20, which will make the crossing of this divide comparatively easy. Elevation to overcome 30 to 31 is 150′, distance 5½ miles. Bridging of Little River will need to be a 125′ truss and trestle approaches.

The descent to the Canadian River from Station 31 to 33 will be comparatively easy as to grade. There will be several sharp cuts and fills to make, as the lateral streams trend too much to the east to be of advantage. At Station 32 will be a sharp cut. . . From this to 33 will be sharp sidehill work. The crossing of the Canadian will require 1100 lineal feet of bridging of which there should be five spans of 150′ truss and 350′ of trestle approach on the south side. This stream will require a

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[10] In 1866 the Seminoles were given a new assignment of lands bordering on the Creek reservation. The present Seminole County, Oklahoma, is practically the same as the Old Seminole reservation. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 16.

[11] This stream should not be confused with another Little River which runs farther to the southeast. Gould, *op. cit.*, 40.

[12] Wewoka was an ealry town in the Seminole Nation. See Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 258-259.

careful location for bridge, and the foundations and piers will need thorough protection. The bed of the stream is of shifting sand, and the banks very liable to wash, except where one side is a rocky bluff, as in the present location (33). The stream is very wide in proportion to the depth, the range from low to high water being about eleven feet. Rock crops out in the low bluffs on the north side of the river; a soft sand stone showing the presence of iron. I do not think it suitable for bridge masonry but will do for rip rap protection for the piers and river banks. Aside from the rock which crops out low down the bluffs, they are composed entirely of sand.

The divide between the Canadian and Washita rivers, in this locality is difficult of access, therefore it is necessary to make the location in the valley of Big Sandy Creek. This valley is broad and fertile. The elevation to overcome between Stations 33 and 36 is 345′. The valley slopes uniformly and to secure the best alignment it will be expedient to make a cut of about 20′ at the summit.

From Station 36 the line may be located down Rock Creek to the Washita or Southward keeping the divide to the head of Buckhorn Creek and to the Valley of Washita river at Station 41. The last named route would be cheaper, as the lower part of the valley of Rock Creek is rocky and crooked.

In case it might be desireable to divert the location toward Denison, Texas, it can readily be done from Station 36, thence down Mill Creek to the valley of the Washita and down this valley to the Red River near Denison. The country from 36 to 38 is a prairie divide affording good location. At 38 the line passes between two spurs of the eastern terminus of the Arbuckle Mountains. From 38 to 40 the ground is uniform slope affording a good location. From 40 to 41 the ground slopes uniformly to the Washita River.

This river resembles the Brazos of Texas, very closely. The bottom lands are broad and fertile; of red loam and well cultivated. The banks of the river are sharp, not liable to wash and the stream lays deep. The bridging required will be one span of 150′ truss and two approaches of 75′ each. The approach spans may be undergrade, if desirable. It would not be best to locate a pier in mid channel as drift is excessive and current rapid. Buckhorn Creek near Station 38 will require one span 60′ truss.

The summit at Station 42 is a sharp sandy ridge, heavily timbered and the lateral streams have cut deeply into the sand. There is no evidence of rock. Would therefore be desirable to make a deep cut at the summit to secure a better alignment and grade. The elevation to overcome from 41 to 42 is 200′. There will be six miles to make the elevation in, but the sharpest grade must be made near the summit. The slope level covers

the ground when set for maximum grade, with an 18′ cut at the summit. The line could be diverted at Station 40, thence crossing the Washita near the mouth of Caddo Creek and taking the location of Route "B" near its crossing of Caddo Creek. From 42 to 43 the line will be along a sandy ridge with but little variation in levels and but few culverts or bridges.

The descent to Hickory Creek is 135′ which can be made in four miles. The crossing of Hickory Creek will require a 100′ truss bridge.

The ground on the south side of Hickory Creck is abrupt and it will be necessary to locate the line around a point of bluff overlooking Oil Creek. By this means the ascent to Station 44 will be easy. From 44 to 45 the line lays across a gently rolling prairie with no difficult places or heavy work. From 45 to 46 is a sandy ridge covered with black oak timber, with occasional post and burr oak trees. The elevation of ridge above the surface of water in Red River is 135′ and the descent can be made in four miles.

The crossing of Red River will require 5 spans of 150′ truss. On the right bank there will be a rocky ledge and there are evidences of rock within short depth below bed of stream for foundations. The bridge should be located well above high water. The right bank of the river presents an abrupt and almost unbroken barrier of limestone that rises 280′ above the water of the river. It is only at long intervals that this barrier is broken by a ravine falling to Red River. One occurs at Station 46 and 47 and although quite crooked the work required will not be excessive or the alignment objectionable.

The elevation to overcome (as taken by level) is 160′ and distance 17500′. The top of bluff is much higher than the head of this ravine or than Gainesville. This accounts for the fact that the branches of Elm Creek from the north head within short distances of the Red River. Elevations by barometer show:

Low water in Red River	620 feet
Grade line over Red River	650 "
Head of ravine (47)	810 "
Gainesville	690 "
Top of bluff at Red River	875 "

Gainesville (Station 48) is on Elm Creek at the western terminus of a branch of the MK&T and in the center of a large cotton trade of Northern Texas. The town is building rapidly and is an important point.

The distance from Gainesville to Denton is thirty (30) miles. This line would lay over rolling prairie, well farmed and fertile. There would be comparatively little heavy and no excessive work. The bridging required would be one span of 150′ truss over main Elm Creek and two spans of 125′ each, one

over west fork and one over Cher Creek. The smaller bridging would be trestle and unimportant. The range of elevation from stream to divide is in no case over 100′ and the distances are sufficient to carry the grades out without distorting the line.

The distances in Texas are as follows:

Red River to Gainesville	6 miles
Gainesville to Denton	30 "
Denton to Junction	21 "
Junction to Dallas	18 "
Junction to Ft. Worth	16 "

. . .

The towns of Dallas and Ft. Worth are both important centers of trades and have desirable railroad connections. Both are building rapidly and well. Denton is not of much importance as a trade center. Gainesville is an important town for the trade of northern Texas.

Timber and prairie lands occur as follows:

From Station 1 to 7, there is but little timber except on the streams. Along the Verdigris river and the bluffs overlooking this stream, there will be obtained a small amount of piling and ties, but there is not enough to depend upon and it must be expected that all construction timber needed ro this point must come from the river. From Station 8 to 13, 50 p. ct. of the piling and ties needed for this part of the line can be obtained from the timber along Caney river, Bird Creek and the bluffs along the east border of the Osage reservation.

From Station 13 to 20 the line will be about half in timber and half in prairie. The timbered portions of the country adjacent will afford enough ties and piling for the construction of this part of the line, and for that portion between Stations 20 to 21, which is prairie. The Valley of Deep Fork (21) and the hills to the south have an abundance of Burr and post oak and will supply the needs of the line from 21 to 23. The line between these points, will be nearly all of it, in prairie; from 23 to 30 the line will lay through a heavy growth of timbers. There is a large extent of prairie to the east of the line but upon the location and to the west for a distance varying from three to fifteen miles the country is almost entirely covered with timber. This will furnish an abundance of timber for ties and piling.

From Station 32 to 35 the timber is of poor quality. Enough material can be secured however for this portion of the line.

From Station to 36 there is good timber.

From Station 36 to 37 there is no timber.

From Station 37 to 40 there is timber on the adjacent bluffs and mounds which will supply the needs of this part

of the road. From 40 to 41 there is Red and Spanish oak adjacent to line and Burr oak for piling; from 41 to 44 the country is timbered for the most part but with a very poor quality of timber. With care enough good timber can be obtained for the needs of this part of the line.

From Station 44 to 45 the land is prairie. From 45 to 46 the country is sandy, blackjack ridge with scattering Post oak and Burr oak of poor quality. It will furnish enough for this part of the line.

From Red River to Denton the country is prairie. At Denton the line would enter the "Middle Cross timbers" as it is called; from Denton to Dallas and Ft. Worth the line would be in timber with occasional prairie openings the entire distance. This part of the line would furnish a sufficient amount of timber for ties and piling. For the use of construction in Texas, the long leaf pine from Southeastern Texas could be obtained readily and much cheaper than southern pine.

Rock for masonry occurs as follows:

In the bluffs along Hickory Creek, Station 3—Sandstone, soft

In the bluffs on California Creek, Station 4-5 Sandstone, soft.

In Shoeter Creek, Station 6-7-8 Sandstone, soft.

In bluffs along Caney river, Sandstone, fair quality.

In bluffs south of Bird Creek, Station 10-11 Sandstone, fair quality.

Cropping out on left bank of Arkansas river, Sandstone, good quality.

In bluffs adjacent to Pole Cat Creek, Station 14 to 20 Sandstone, soft.

In bluffs along Deep Fork and from 21 to 22, Sandstone, soft.

In bluffs south of North Fork river, 24 to 26, Sandstone, soft.

In bluffs south of Little river, Limestone, hard.

In bluffs south of Canadian river, Sandstone, fair.

In ledges at Station 37-38-39, magnesian lime stone—good.

No rock from Station 41 to 43.

At Station 44, Limestone, coniferous, fair.

At Station 46, Limestone fair quality.

Between Gainesville and Denton there is limestone in all ravines and bluffs.

There is but little good rock on the whole route, suitable for bridge masonry. A careful research may discover it in some localities, but it cannot be expected, except at the Arkansas and Red Rivers and possibly Deep Fork, North Fork and

the Canadian. It can also be expected for bridge work at Hickory Creek (43) and the bridges between Gainesville and Denton.

Coal is found on Coal and Adams Creeks near Tulsa, of good quality and 28 inches thick of vein. It also occurs at the head of Snake and Cane Creeks, south of Tulsa, of good quality. It also occurs near Okmulgee where it is used for fuel. It occurs on Coal creek, southwest of Okmulgee. The coal deposits are very little developed and the croppings are usually covered.

The value of the country for agricultural purposes in about as follows: The valleys of the Verdigris and Caney rivers and Bird and Homing creeks are broad and fertile. The uplands are of fair quality and compare favorably with the uplands of Eastern Kansas. The valley of the Arkansas river is broad, the soil a sandy loam and quite productive. The valley of Pole Cat Creek is productive like that of Eastern Kansas; the uplands to the west of this Valley are only good for grazing. The valleys of Deep Fork and North Fork rivers are very fertile and the uplands adjacent are good for grazing. North Fork valley is usually from two to four miles broad. The Seminole reservation is for the most part rough and worthless, except for the timber. The valley of the Canadian is too sandy for agriculture. The valley of Sand Creek is fertile but the hills adjacent are worthless except for the timber.

From Station 36 to the Washita River the land is of fair quality and the valleys of Big Sand Creek, Rock Creek and especially Mill Creek are productive. The valley of the Washita is broad and very fertile. This is about the northern limit of successful cotton growing, although it is grown to a limited extent in the valleys of the North Fork and Deep Fork. From Washita to Hickory Creek, a small portion of the land along the streams is good for cultivation but the greater portion is worthless except for the timber.

The valley of Hickory Creek and the prairie south of it are fertile. From Station 45 to the Red River the soil is worthless. South of the Red River the country is uniformly good.

In general terms it would be safe to classify the land adjacent to Route "A" in the Indian Territory as follows: 25 per cent rich land—35 per cent fair quality for grain or grass—20 per cent good only for grazing—20 per cent worthless for any purpose.

Upon completion of the reconnoissance of Route "A," that of Route "C" was next undertaken by moving west from Gainesville to Salt Fork or Red River Station and

seeking the most practicable route from this point to Arkansas City, Kansas.

The valley of Salt Creek will afford a good location from the crossing of Red River southward in the direction of Montague. A location from this point to Fort Worth, via Decatur could be easily made; the only stream of importance to be crossed would be the Trinity River near Ft. Worth.

The crossing of Red River at Station 50 would be more difficult than near Gainesville as the stream is broader and the banks more liable to wash. The water is shallow except in the main channel and the bridging necessary would be 5 spans of 150-ft. truss and pile trestle for the remaining distance. From Station 50 to 51 the elevation to overcome is 100-feet and the distance is four miles. From Station 50 to 54 there is no heavy work. The line will lay on a divide all of the distance and could be cheaply built. At the heads of Wild Horse Creek, Rush Creek, Roaring Creek and Little Washita, there are troublesome sand hills and a line through them would be expensive to construct and maintain. It would therefore be desirable to avoid them by keeping further to the east, although the work would be heavier in places. There would be some heavy work between Station 54 and Wild Horse Creek as the lateral streams have cut deeply.

The crossing of Wild Horse Creek will require a 60' truss and trestle approaches. At Station 55 there would be a heavy cut. This would be in sand or soft sandstone. From 55 to 56 the work would be heavy but no rock is apparent. Rush Creek would require a 60' truss bridge. From 56 to 57. The descent to Roaring Creek is 235' and the distance is 6½ miles. The slope is uniform. Roaring Creek would require a 100' span. From Roaring Creek (52) to the valley of the Washita the line would be easy. The Washita River would require one span of 150' truss and two approach spans of 60' each. The elevation to overcome from 59 to 61 at the summit is 250-feet. The lateral stream affords a good location, distance 15 miles. It will require the rise of maximum grade at the head of the valley and it would be desirable to make a cut, which will be short of about 20'. The cut would exceed 600-feet in extreme length. The descent to the Canadian (Station 62) would not be difficult. The slope level at 1 per cent grade covers the ground well and the elevation to overcome is 150'. The crossing of the Canadian River will require a bridge of four spans of 150' each and trestle approach. The character of the stream is much the same as one on Route "A". The range from low to high water is about nine feet and the banks liable to wash and

will require protection. From Station 62 to 63 the elevation to overcome is 125'. From Station 63 to the North Fork (Station 64) the descent is 70'. The line should cross near Council Grove in the bend of the river. The bridging required would be one span of 150' and two 60-ft. approaches. The banks are firm timbered and not liable to wash. There is a tongue of land putting down to the river from the north and into the bend. Advantage must be taken of this to carry the grade to the divide at the head of Deep Fork Station 65. This elevation is 110'. From 65 to 67 the line would lay on a divide requiring but little work. The grade would slope gradually to the north. Chisholm Creek would require one span of 100' truss. From 67 to the Cimmaron River at 68 the line would lay down the valley of Cottonwood Creek, the grade should be carried 3 feet above the bottom lands. There would need to be crossings of the Creek that would each require a span of 125 feet truss. The crossing of the Cimarron River would require four spans of 150 truss and trestle approaches. This stream is of the same character as one on Route "B". The range of water not more than eleven feet and the banks liable to wash. Station 70 the line will cross Ephraim Creek, where a bridge of 100' span will be needed. From 70 to 72 the line will need to cross a saddle at 71 between Ephraim and Beaver Creeks. The elevation of Station 71 above the Canadian is 150 feet and the distance is 3 miles. From 71 to 72 the descent is light. From 72 to 73 the descent is light. From 72 to 73 will require careful location. The slope level at maximum grade covers the ground well but at the summit (73) the slope sharpens, requiring a cut of approximately 16' extreme depth. It will not be very easy to support the grade in the valley further down. The descent from 73 to 74 is 190 feet and the valley reasonably uniform. The distance is approximately 8 miles. From 74 to 76 the work will be light and the grades easy. Bridge required at 76 over Red Rock Creek will be a span of 100'. The same length of bridge will be required for the crossing of Blackbear Creek, Station 74. These streams lay deep. The banks are firm and timbered. From 75 to 77 the land is gently rolling prairie. The crossing of Salt Fork (77) will require one span of 150' and two 60' approaches. Salt Fork is much like the Arkansas River, only much smaller. The banks will need protection, although, at this point they are sharp, of firm clay and gravel and the bed of the stream is of gravel. The range of water is about 12-feet. From 77 to 79 a tangent could be located and but little heavy work required. Station 79 is 94' above the Arkansas River. At

Station 80. The Distance up a ravine is two miles, which will afford a uniform grade.

The Arkansas River at 80 will require four spans of 150' truss bridges. From this to end of track will be approximately one mile of work.

The timber on Route "C" is of little importance and cannot be depended upon for construction material. From Red River to Station 54 the country is prairie with timber on the adjacent hills. The timber is of poor quality. From Station 54 to 56 there is timber and a few ties might be obtained. From 56 to 59 the country is prairie. The sand hills to the west of this are timbered with Black oak and worthless. There is a little belt of timber along the Canadian, North Fork and Cimarron Rivers. Besides this there is no timber to Arkansas City. The value of the country adjacent to Route "C" for agricultural purposes is about as follows: From Arkansas City to the slope south of Black Bear Creek (Station 73) the land is good for farming or stock raising. From 70 to 73 the land is broken and good only for stock raising. The valley of Ephraim Creek is good for farming.[13] The valley of the Cimarron river is fair for farming but the soil is too sandy to be valuable. The valley of Cottonwood, Deer Creek, Chisholm Creek and Deep Fork and North Fork rivers are good for farming.[14] The divides in the northeast part of Oklahoma are worthless.

The Canadian valley has some good farming land. The slopes leading to it are best adapted for a stock raising. The Washita river, Little Washita and Rush Creek have valleys that are very good for farming. The Washita valley is particularly so. The slopes leading to these streams and the uplands between them are best for stock. The Valley of Beaver Creek (called Cow Creek) has good farming lands, but the divides between, as well as the country adjacent to the line, from Red River to Station 55 is good only for stock raising. That portion of Texas west of Montague and Wise Counties is best adapted to stock raising.

From Arkansas City to Gainesville. From Arkansas City to Station 81 the route is the same as on Route "C" and presents no difficulty. From Station 81 to Ponca (Station 84) a good line can be located with very little deviation from a tangent. The work will be comparatively light and the grade and alignment very good. The crossing of Salt

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[13] According to Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, Ephraim Creek is now called Skeleton Creek.

[14] This stream is named after Jesse Chisholm who was a well known scout, interpreter, and trader. Gould, *op. cit.*, 118.

Fork river will require one span 150' truss and two 60' approach spans. The banks do not appear liable to wash and good foundations can be secured. From 85 to 86 the grade will be a maximum with 14' cut at the summit. This can be avoided by locating one and ½ miles farther to the east, from 86, which will pass around a headland and avoid crossing the divide. From 86 to 87 the descent can be easily made.

Red Rock Creek will require one span of truss bridge of 100' with trestle approaches. From Station 87 to 88 the ascent will be 125' and the distance is 8 miles. The descent from 88 to 89 will be 100' and the distance will be 3½ miles. Black Bear Creek (Station 89) will require a 100' truss bridge. The streams drain a large area and are subject to sudden floods. From Station 89 to 90 the ascent is 155' and the available distance for grades 4 miles. At Station 90 will be needed a heavy cut of approximately 18' extreme and 600' long. From 90 to 91 the descent will be easy, although the work will be somewhat heavy in crossing lateral ravines. The crossing of Stillwater Creek will require a 60' truss and trestle approaches. From 91 to 92 the work will be heavy. There will be required one 30' fill for a short distance and a cut at the summit of 15'. The ascent to the divide will be 150'. There is ample distance but the lateral ravines will make the work heavy. From Station 92 to 93 the work will be light and the alignment good. The crossing of the creek at 93 will require a 60' truss. The Cimarron River (94) will be troublesome to bridge. The shores are low and sandy and the stream broad. There will be required four spans of 150' truss and trestle approaches. The range of water will not exceed 12'.

From the Cimarron River to the divide at Station 96 the line will bear S. 10 deg. W. and follow a ravine to its head. At Station 96 is a low summit at an elevation of 165' above the valley of the Cimarron. At this point will be needed a cut of 12' extreme, for a short distance. From 96 to 97, 98 and 99 the line will follow a narrow but straight and smooth valley, the slope of which comes within the maximum grade and the construction will be comparatively cheap. There are several shallow ponds in this valley which will need draining. The low hills bordering this and similar valleys are sandy, covered with a growth of oak and show soft sand rock cropping out at intervals. It also shows the presence of considerable iron ore. At Station 99, Deep Fork, there will be needed a 100' truss bridge. There are swamps on each side of this stream that will render a high grade necessary

and several trestle bridges will be needed for waterways. From Station 100 to 101 the line will be in a valley, very similar to the last. The only difficulty will be in the draining of several swamps that occur. The only maximum grades required will be near the summit on each side of 101. At this point a cut of 16' will be necessary, the total length of which will be approximately 1200'. The elevation to overcome is 190'. If deemed desirable the grade can be supported without injury to the alignment. From 101 to 102 at North Fork, the descent can be easily made. The elevation to overcome is 75'. The crossing of North Fork River will require one span of 150' truss bridge and two approach spans of 60' each. The banks are sharp and firm and not liable to wash. Good foundations can be reached without trouble. The valley of North Fork River is broad, high and fertile. The line will lay on this valley for eight miles. From 103 to 104 and 105 the line will lay in a narrow straight valley, giving a uniform grade below the maximum. The maximum grade will only be needed near the summit. The cut at Station 105 will be approximately 12'. The lateral valleys are destitute of timber. The slopes and ridges adjacent are timbered with oak. The ascent to overcome is 130'. From Station 105 to 106 the descent is 140'. The bridge required at Little River would be one span of 100' truss. From Station 106 to 107 the line will lay in a narrow valley, similar to the last. The ascent to overcome will be 145'. The cut at 107 will be short and 20' deep in extreme, partially in rock and will lead directly into the valley of one branch of Pond Creek, down which the line should be located to Station 108 where it will pass through a sandy and rocky ridge, into the valley of the Canadian River. At Station 109 the stream is narrow and favorable for a bridge. The bridge required at this point will be three spans of 150' truss and trestle on south side. The ascent to the divide at Station 110 can be easily made, the elevation being 90'. From the heavy country south of the Canadian Routes "A" and "C", I expected heavy country and a troublesome location on line "B". I found it entirely different and instead of the sandy broken blackjack ridges of Route "A" or the high broken prairie of Route "B" I found a gently rolling prairie country. From Station 110 to 112 there would be no trouble in locating either on the route shown by the full black line or what would probably be better the dotted line into and down the valley of the Washita River by Cherokee Town. The valley of the Washita is of good width, high and fertile.

The crossing of the Washita River as on line "A" would require one span of 150' truss and two approach spans of

75' each. The stream lays deep and the banks are firm and timbered. The line down the Washita to Station 114 could be easily built. Caddo Creek would require a span of 100'. From Caddo Creek to the summit at Station 115 the work would be heavy and a heavy sand cut would be required at the summit. From Station 115 to 116 the line would be on a sandy timbered ridge and both grades and work would be light. From Station 116 to Gainesville the line would be the same as already described in Route "A"; when surveys are made I recommend that a line be tried from Station 113 to 43 "A" as shown by the dotted line between these points. This is a heavily timbered country and I have not been over the immediate ground. The streams indicate that a line may be found on this route and a reconnoissance in connection with a survey would decide the question. Timber for construction purposes occurs as follows:

From Arkansas City to Stillwater Creek, Station 91, there is none that can be depended upon. The timbered ridges west of Station 92 and east of 93 will afford ties and piling for 25 miles of road. The ridges east and west of Station 97, 98 and 99 are heavily timbered and will furnish a large amount of post and burr oak. The timbered hill adjacent to 100 and 102 will furnish ties and piling for the line between Deep Fork and North Fork, although the quality is not as good as on the divide, south of the Cimarron. From 104 to 110 there will be an abundance of timber for ties and piling for this part of the road. From 110 to 112 there will be timber only along the Washita River. There is considerable amount of burr and White oak in the valley which is of good quality. From 112 to 114 both valley and uplands are timbered. From 114-B to 43 A, the timber is of poor quality but sufficient post oak may be obtained for construction uses.

Rock for masonry appears at the following locations:

North of Arkansas City—suitable for bridge masonry.

Chilockee Creek, Station 78—suitable for culverts.

In the bluffs west of Arkansas River and east of Station 83—for culverts.

On the N. side of Red Rock Creek, Station 87—Limestone, good.

In the bluffs west of Station 88—Sandstone, soft for culvert.

In bluffs west of Station 90—Sandstone, soft for culverts.

In bluffs west of Station 92, Sandstone soft.

Adjacent to valley from 97 to 98—Sandstone for culverts.

Near Station 101, Sandstone for culverts.

In bluffs west of 103 and adjacent to 104-105 and 106 Sandstone.

In bluffs near Station 108—Sandstone, soft.

Adjacent to 111-112 and 113, Magnesian lime stone—good.

At Red River as reported on Route "A".

The value of the country adjacent to line "B" for agricultural purposes is as follows:

From Arkansas City to and including the valley of Black Bear Creek, the soil is good for agricultural purposes. The divide and slopes east and west of Station 90 are good only for grazing. The valley and lower slopes of Stillwater Creek are good for farming. The ridges west of 92 are good only for timber. The valley of Deep Fork and the lateral valleys leading into it are good. The hills adjacent to these valleys are only good for the timber. This valley however, is unhealthy from the swamps and will not be utilized for a long time after the territory shall have been opened to settlement.

The valley of North Fork river is very productive. The average width is three miles. The valley of Little River and the lateral valleys leading into it are productive but are of limited extent. The hills adjacent are only good for the timber growing upon them. The valley of the Canadian is too sandy for agricultural purposes. From Station 109 to Cherokee Town, fully sixty per cent of the land will make good farms. The valley of the Washita is fertile and well cultivated. From Caddo Creek to Station 116, the land is only good for the timber. The value of the lands tributary to Route "B" would fairly be rated as follows:

30 per cent good farming lands
25 per cent good for grain or stock
25 per cent good only for stock
20 per cent worthless

The local carrying trade of line "A," when the country shall have become developed, would be about equal to that of line "B". Either would be in excess of that of line "C" as the country on line "C" is much less productive than that adjacent to either of the other routes. The business of line would be subject to competition from the MK&T RR. thus giving to line "B" the better value of business. The coal on line "A" gives to that route an additional interest which should be considered.

The cost of construction of line "B" would be considerably less than either of the other routes and the gradients would be much easier. The most expensive route would be "C" on account of the heavy work through the central portion of the route and from the absence of timber for construction purposes. Route "A" would also be an expensive line,

south of the North Fork River. Route "B" would only be expensive south of Caddo creek, except for short distances at four summits, Route "B" is the shortest between Kansas and Texas.

. . .

Suitable locations for water stations can be secured on each route, within twenty miles or less of each other, except on Route "C," between Red River and the Washita, where an artificial pond would be necessary. The water is good. Points particularly adapted for water stations would be:

Route "A"—California Creek, Caney river, Arkansas bottom (well), Deep Fork, North Fork, Little River, Sand Creek (well), Buckhorn Creek, Washita River, Hickory Creek and Red River.

Route "B"—Red Rock Creek, Blackbear Creek, Cimarron River, Deep Fork, North Fork, Little River, Canadian, Washita, Hickory Creek and Red River. Creek 17 miles S. of Arkansas (well), Slt Fork.

Route "C"—Cherokee Creek, Salt Fork, Blackbear Creek, Beaver Creek, Cimarron, North Fork, Canadian, Washita, Wild Horse Creek and Red River.

There are no towns or other improvements in the Indian Territory that would divert a railroad location from its proper course in any degree.

The Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad has extended its line west from Temple to Lampasas, with a view of extending it still farther northwest. From Lampasas a road could be built in connection with the GC&SF from Lampasas to Eagle Pass and thence to Dolores on the Mexican Central.[15]

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[15] In 1886 active work was commenced. One construction crew built southward from Arkansas City toward the Canadian River under the direction of a corporation known as the Kansas Southern, while another such corporation called the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe built north through the Chickasaw Nation. The two lines met at Purcell on the Canadian River early in the following year. Trains were running over the new railroad in June, 1887. Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origin and Development* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1934), 246; additional data was furnished by M. L. Lyles, assistant to the President of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System, Chicago, Illinois; A. B. Griggs, Valuation Engineer for the Santa Fe, Topeka, Kansas, and Mrs. Nina E. Wilcox, Columbus, Ohio. Griggs also provided this map, a section of which accompanies this sketch. It is based on a map published by the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior.

HISTORICAL NOTES

An historical society was formed, last year, among the student body of the Central High School at Tulsa. This organization is sponsored by Mrs. Louise M. Whitham, an instructor in history in the school. Last year this society procured and placed in the high school museum, the old wooden mail boxes which were used in the first post office which was established in Tulsa on March 25, 1879, and of which Josiah C. Perryman was the first postmaster.

In the high school auditorium on March 23, 1939 an interesting public meeting of the society was held, which was presided over by Russell W. Woods, its president. Participating in the program were Charles James, James Reed, Prentiss Owens, Robert Troutman, Bettie Major, Robert Dugger, Charles Allen, Raymond McConahy, Melvin Clark, Joseph Wright and Morris Billington. An engaging feature of this meeting was the presentation, by the society, to the high school museum, of a leather bound booklet containing one of the few remaining copies of the Treaty of 1866 between the United States and the Cherokees translated into the Cherokee language.

This High School Society embraces a membership of 80 members of the senior class and is exhibiting an active interest in the early history of Tulsa and of Oklahoma. It deservedly receives the fullest cooperation and recognition of the State Historical Society.

On March 3, 1939, Judge John B. Meserve gave the following address on Indian Territory Day, at Tulsa:

We are speaking in the past tense today. Speaking of a past to which few, if any, of us belong but of a past which belongs to each of us and in which the lengthening years must not diminish our interest. It is a factual past upon which sterling concrete forces built the splendid realizations so outstanding in Eastern Oklahoma, today. We shall be responsive in our interest to the picture which is being offered in Tulsa, imaginative and non-factual though it may be, but we must not be remiss in

thought of the men and women red and white, whose capable efforts fashioned the foundation upon which our culture and advancement rests.

The background of Eastern Oklahoma history is without a corollary in American annals. A century ago 60,000 Indians grouped as the Five Civilized Tribes became enforced emigrants to the old Indian Territory. They were not a warlike nor nomadic people. They responded to the ideals of capable leadership. The primitive impulses of these folk had been mellowed through their immediate contact with organized white society in the East and by the strain of white blood then coursing through their veins. The influence of the white Christian missionaries was highly potent and helped to chart their course in the West. In their removal to the Territory, these simple folk had reached the end of the trail. Here their caravan finally rested.

This was virtually the home of the red man and as he recovered from the sorrow and wreckage of removal, five self-chosen, semi-independent republics were formed with an administration of political affairs which met their requirements. The tribal courts were effective in the control of all tribal delinquencies but were without jurisdiction to discipline the adventurous white man who came among them. During those formative days, there were quite a few designing white renegades who made of this Indian country, a convenient rendezvous to escape punishment for offenses committed in the States. All jurisdiction over the conduct of these non-citizen whites was reposed in the United States Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. The authority so vested was exercised in a vigorous manner by the celebrated Judge Isaac C. Parker, who ascended the Ft. Smith bench in May 1875, his celebrated career being concluded by death in November, 1896. During his regime some 13,000 criminal cases were disposed of by the judge, and all for offenses committed in the old Indian Territory. In commenting upon the so-called lawless days in the Territory, the eminent jurist, in his concluding days, wrote:—

"Dont understand that what I say about these ruffians is directed against the Indians. Twenty-one years experience with them has taught me that they are religiously inclined, law abiding, authority respecting people. The Indian race is not one of criminals.

For the years I have been holding court, my judgment is that the number of Indians who have been charged with high crimes, compared with the citizens of the United States is about ten per cent. There has never been any trouble growing out of the amount of crime committed by the Indians. The vast majority of persons who commit those crimes are persons who have taken refuge in that country from some other State or Territory of the Union."

During those hectic days, the Indian population was in the vast majority in the Territory. This testimonial of the capable judge exonerates the Indians of the Five Tribes from responsibility for any so-called reign of lawlessness which may have obtained. As an evidence of the higher ideals of these simple folk, it is also interesting to observe a report of the secretary of the Cherokee Temperance Society under date of October 15, 1845, wherein is reported a membership of 3,058. This membership was solely from a tribe which at that time consisted of less than 15,000 people counting men, women and children. Of course, they had bootleggers then just as we have bootleggers today and as they have them in other states.

The inference must not be indulged that the thousands of white settlers who cast their lot among the Indians in the old Territory, were soldiers of fortune. They were pioneers of a worthy class. These courageous men and women led in the development of the country and aided the Indians in their economic and social adjustments. The white men who came to the Territory in those formative days to establish their permanent abode, were far from being of a derelict class. As communities were established by their joint venture with the red man, schools and places of spiritual worship were established, police protection provided and the orderly processes of law and order carefully recognized. It is erroneous to indulge a thought that the condition was one of border ruffianry. Life and property were as secure, if not more so, than in adjoining states. The movement of vast herds of cattle across the Territory provoked some sporadic acts of defiance of the law during the cow season. Gun toting which became too general resulted in much reckless shooting but these conditions were no worse nor alarming than those which prevailed in the adjoining states of Texas, Arkansas and Kansas

during those hectic years. The Indian Territory was not the only "hot" spot in the west during those early days.

Typical of the sterling worthwhile cattle men, who led in the higher purposes of frontier life were W. E. Halsell of Vinita, whose ranch near Collinsville is still intact; Charles Clinton of Keifer, who introduced high grade cattle, hogs and corn into the country, of which he made disposition among the Indians, thus enabling them to improve their own industry; F. B. Severs of Muskogee, N. B. Moore of Haskell, Jay Forsythe of Tulsa and W. A. Graham of Pryor, each engaged extensively in the cattle business. These outstanding pioneers among the cattle men not only carefully observed the law, but rigidly enforced such an observance by their employees. Any mention of those early days would be incomplete without a pause in regard to the memory of J. M. Hall and H. C. Hall, his brother, whose contributions to the early development of Tulsa and its environs, was of so marked a character.

The stouthearted white men who established themselves among these Indians and whose accomplishments have left a lasting impress, must not be confused with the renegades from the States who entered the Territory with the avowed purpose and intent of using this country as a safe retreat from which they might carry on their nefarious practices.

The communities established through the joint efforts of the white men and the Indian leaders flourished and grew and today, cities of metropolitan proportions have completely supplanted the old order of things. Tulsa, Muskogee, Ardmore, Vinita, Okmulgee, McAlester and other numerous thriving modern cities evidence the concrete efforts of the early pioneers who coordinated with the Indians.

The picture would be incomplete without paying homage to the patient, self-sacrificing efforts of the Christian missionaries. Many of them accompanied the Indians in their enforced trek to the West, a century ago. Mission schools were established and maintained by them as they regimented these people within the shadow of the Cross. Seminaries and academies were established by the tribal governments. Supportive of the efforts of the mis-

sionaries and the Indians in that behalf were the white pioneers. As communities were formed thought was given to the intellectual and spiritual welfare.

Such is the engaging panorama of our past, which moves like a phantom caravan across the years. As for the Indian whom we have all learned to love, he long ago abandoned his dream pipe. He left the "land of dreams" to enter the "land of promise." His traditional oddities lost their signifiance. He has become thoroughly sophisticated and his duel with the white man long has been concluded. Not unlike the ancient Briton, whose blood became intermingled with that of the successive hordes of Saxons, Danes and Normans, the Indian has fused his blood, language and culture with that of the white man. The Oklahoma Indian has risen to his full stature as an American citizen.

The Oklahoma State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, held its annual meeting at Tulsa, on February 22, 1939. The session was addressed by Judge Franklin E. Kennamer after which the following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:

Hal D. Downing, Oklahoma City, State President; Charles W. Grimes, Tulsa, Thomas R. Orr, Muskogee and John B. Whitney, Oklahoma City, Vice-Presidents; W. A. Jennings, Oklahoma City, Registrar; John S. Davenport, Tulsa, Chaplain; A. N. Leecraft, Durant, Historian; W. J. Crowe, Oklahoma City, Secretary-Treasurer; and J. Garfield Buell, Tulsa, Delegate; and H. H. Cloudman, Oklahoma City, Alternate to the National Meeting in May; and Arthur B. Honnold, Tulsa, Trustee on the National Board.

Resolutions were passed approving and endorsing the preparedness program of the General Government. The society saw much progress and growth during this year of the administration of Judge Arthur B. Honnold, the retiring State President.

Huge special editions containing thousands of columns about Oklahoma history were published by several newspapers in April in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of old Oklahoma Territory to white settlement. Among the out-

standing special editions were the 292-page issue published April 23 by the *Daily Oklahoman,* one of the largest papers ever published in the southwest; a 44-page issue of the Okemah *Daily Leader;* a 32-page edition of the Guthrie *Register-News;* a 46-page edition of the Guthrie *Daily Leader;* and a 16-page edition of the *Panhandle Herald,* Guymon. Many other state papers observed the golden anniversary with special sections and stories. Other papers planning big fiftieth anniversary editions will not publish them until later in the year. The mammoth edition of the *Daily Oklahoman* told a complete story of the development of the State in the past fifty years through articles and pictures. Special articles on the state's politics, industry, commerce, agriculture, transportation, churches, schools, and the scores of other developments in the state were published. To make its historical edition easier to preserve and read, the Kingfisher *Free Press* published a special magazine section on slick paper, with a cover of gold paper signifying that it was a golden anniversary issue. The lead article in the magazine section was a story of the run published in serial form in the *Free Press* in 1905. It was an authentic account by one of the participants in the run, J. V. Admire, original receiver of the land office and later editor of the *Free Press.* The special editions of the *Panhandle Herald,* Guthrie *Daily Leader,* Okemah *Daily Leader* and Capitol Hill *Beacon* were issued in connection with pioneer day celebrations held in Guymon, Guthrie, Okemah and Oklahoma City.[1]

Plans for additional repairs to the old Quaker church, south of Shawnee, were outlined at a recent meeting of the building committee of the Pottawatomie County Historical society. The building, the first church established in Pottawatomie county will be used as a museum for historical relics of the county. A new roof was completed on the building recently.[2]

The transfer to the National Archives of most of the records of the office of Indian affairs through 1921, with some series extending through 1936, has now been completed. Received with this material were records of the former Alaska division of the

[1] *Sooner State Press,* April 29, 1939.
[2] Oklahoma City *Times,* May 5, 1939.

office of education, 1883-1931, and of the board of Indian commissioners, 1869-1935.[3] Other records recently transferred include maps, many of which deal with the Seminole Indian wars in Florida.

Preparations have been started in Enid for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1943 with a special five-man committee to function this year, as officials make plans for the 1939 festival in Enid. Russell J. Green, president of the Cherokee Strip Association, sponsors, named Dr. Eugene S. Briggs, President of Phillips University, as chairman of the golden anniversary committee. The other members are DeWitt Waller, George Rainey, L. E. McKnight and Frank Carter, the latter being secretary. At the same time, President Green said that preliminary arrangements for the 1939 festival had been launched with budgets of the various divisions increased to nearly double what they were last year. He said committees had been instructed to start preparations now for the anniversary observance.

Plans are being worked out for the special committee to work with the general festival group, climaxing the strip celebrations in the fiftieth anniversary fete in 1943.[4]

The Meeker unit of the Lincoln County Historical society celebrated the town's 36th birthday anniversary, March 16, 1939, as it was March 16, 1903, that Meeker was formally opened after the town of Clifton was moved to the present site on the coming of the railroad. Members of the society, their families, and some invited guests had an old-fashioned dinner in the dining room of the Baptist church when the table was laid with old dishes, including butter dishes, spoonholders, and turned-down plates on knives and forks. After dinner there was an informal program following the singing of "America" and the invocation by Rev. J. G. Cansler. The first speaker was Mrs. Aletha Conner, vice-president, who told of the starting of the society and its objectives. James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society,

[3] *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (1939), 604.
[4] Oklahoma City *Times*, February 10, 1939.

addressed the group on the work of a local historical society. The meeting was then turned over to the society for a reminiscent hour during which many told of early day experiences, of traveling and plowing with ox teams, of riding mule or horseback, and of living in dug-outs. Preceding the talks there was a short musical program of old-time music. A medley of old tunes,[5] popular forty years ago, was sung. Among those taking part were the following: Rev. J. G. Cansler, President; Mrs. Milton Clark, President of the Meeker Unit; Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Hampton; Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Duke; Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Roope, Miss S. Carrie Thomson; O. S. Robinson; Woodrow Gray, Mrs. E. M. Caldwell; Mrs. J. G. Cansler; Miss Louise Thomson; Mr. and Mrs. Walter Primm, and Mrs. George Primm.[6]

Dave Vandivier, of the Chickasha *Daily Express,* was elevated from the vice presidency to the presidency of the Oklahoma Press Association at the closing business session of the spring convention May 5 and 6 at Tulsa. C. O. Doggett, publisher of the Cherokee *Messenger and Republican,* was named vice president to succeed Vandivier, and Fred E. Tarman, publisher of the Norman *Transcript,* was elected to his ninth term as treasurer. Named to the board of directors were H. Merle Woods, El Reno *American,* retiring president; W. R. Martineau, *Oklahoma Live Stock News,* Oklahoma City, re-elected; Robert V. Peterson, Wewoka *Times-Democrat;* and S. E. Lee, *Harper County Journal,* Buffalo, elected for one year, to succeed Doggett. Vernon T. Sanford, secretary-manager, was reappointed to that post by the board of directors.[7]

On May 15, 1939, at the University of Oklahoma, a dinner was given in recognition of Dr. Edward Everett Dale for his twenty-five years of service to the University of Oklahoma Department of History by his colleagues, students, and other friends. The following program, prepared under the direction of Dr. A. K. Christian, was given: Greetings from the Administration, Dr. W. B. Bizzell; Dr. Dale as a Student, Dr. Roy Gittinger; as a

[5] The Chandler *News-Publicist,* March 23, 1939.
[6] Shawnee *Morning News,* March 19, 1939.
[7] *Sooner State Press,* May 13, 1939.

Scholar, Dr. M. L. Wardell; as a Teacher, Dr. Loren N. Brown; Our Appreciation, Dr. Ralph H. Records, and Responses, Dr. E. E. Dale, Head of the Department of History. Dr. C. C. Rister served as toastmaster. A portrait of Dr. Dale was presented to him to be hung in the Frank Phillips collection in the University Library. Recognition was also given Mrs. Dale.

On October 10, Salina, Mayes County and eastern Oklahoma will hold the second annual celebration in observance of the founding of Salina. The last session of the legislature adopted a joint resolution making October 10, Oklahoma Historical Day in commemoration of the birth anniversary and deeds of Major Chouteau.

On May 21, 1939, was observed the one hundreth anniversary of the founding of the Baptist Mission Church four miles north of Westville, Oklahoma. The following program was given: Address of Welcome, T. J. Welch; songs by the Peavine Indian choir; sermon by the Reverend Sam West. After a basket dinner on the grounds, other talks were given, interspersed with singing. Old time citizens and former pupils of the Baptist Mission School enjoyed the reunion and talked over happenings of other years.[8] Not only is this one of the oldest churches in the state, but also at this place for several years was published the first periodical printed in Oklahoma. Here in 1843 was established the Baptist Mission Press.[9]

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[8] Westville *Record*, May 26, 1939.

[9] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints; 1835-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936), 29.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Apache Indians. By Frank C. Lockwood. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. xvi+348pp. Illustrations and map. $3.50.)

At the time of the Spanish conquest of the Southwest the Apache Indians were a warlike tribe living in parts of what are now the states of Arizona and New Mexico, and northern Sonora and Chihuahua.

The story of the hardy, mobile Apaches who figured so significantly in the struggle for the Southwest, has been told in interesting fashion. In an arrangement purely chronological, the author opens the narrative of the Apaches with their brief contacts with the Spanish conquistadores and missionaries. Then follow the Spanish attempts at colonization of the Apache country, a period which is replete with conflicts between the two races. The era of Mexican control of the Southwest sees little improvement in the relations with these desert Ishmaels. And the subsequent attempts of the Americans to make wards out of the Apaches is a sad story of their recurring wrath and rebellion. The outbreak of the Civil War meant the abandonment of this portion of the Indian country; and the consequence was the loss of the little gain that had been made towards a peaceful period of Indian affairs. With the inauguration of President Grant's "Peace Policy" towards the Indians conditions on the Apache frontier saw a definite improvement. And the subsequent fifty years were ones of peace. The book concludes with the author's outlook for the future of the Apaches.

Doctor Lockwood, until his death last year, was a professor and dean at the University of Arizona, in the heart of the old Apache country. The author's great interest in the social condition of the Indians led him into their native haunts and made him the friend and confidant of many of them. There is evidence of his many interviews with Apache eyewitnesses of historic encounters with the whites. Much is told of the Indians' way of

living, their food, dress, dwelling places, moral code, social customs, and tribal organization. The writer's long study of the Indian problem and his personal association with the Indians explain his sympathetic understanding of their unpredictable manner. Doctor Lockwood has not hesitated to point out examples of white greed, stupidity, and corruption among petty officials who were largely responsible for the intermittent difficulties with the Apaches. In this respect the author follows the writings of Paul I. Wellman, notably in the latter's *Death in the Desert,* which covers the same period and area but is not limited to the Apache tribe.

The book is interestingly written in an informal style. Though designed primarily for the general reader, the volume is scholarly and comprehensive. The field of printed sources seems well covered; and there are frequent referencs to unpublished accounts and official manuscript records of the government. A short bibliography appears at the end of each chapter. The book is attractively bound and printed; it is adequately illustrated with many rare photographs from the files of the United States Signal Corps. A sketch of the Apache country makes it easy to locate the scenes of the principal events. An index increases the value of the volume as a reference work.

This is a distinct contribution to the history of the American Southwest, an excellent tribal history of the Apaches.

Gaston L. Litton

The National Archives

Lord Macaulay, Victorian Liberal. By Richard Croom Beatty. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.—$3.00.)

Professor Beatty contrives to leave a pleasing impression on his reader despite some personal bias and his proneness to pass harsh judgments. His scholarship is sound; his style has clarity and distinction. There is a judicious blending of narrative and discussion, of biography and exposition, of history and literary criticism and the author's lightness of touch appeals to the general reader.

The general effect of the book is somewhat marred by the intrusion of the personal point of view which lends it at times the character of a polemic. The writer is at some pains at the outset to place Macaulay in his social and political setting and to identify him as a liberal. But since the writer apparently regards himself as a "liberal," he resents the preemption of this term by the liberal school of the nineteenth century. But after all, the English liberals were the first in the field and logically it seems sounder to apply the term to the philosophy of individual freedom and *laissez-faire* rather than to those who advocate government intervention in the economic and social life of society, no matter how high the motives that inspire this course. In such a scheme of things property naturally occupies a position of paramount importance. It is assumed to be the reward of individual effort; property carries the burden of taxation; hence political power should go with it. This was almost the inevitable accompaniment of the industrial revolution. The abandonment of this principle of the close association of power with property seems now to be equally inevitable but obviously exposes us to the risk of exploiting the propertied classes for the benefit of the unpropertied, which looks dangerously like killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

In his treatment of Macaulay as a writer Professor Beatty is on firmer ground. Without possessing great originality, Macaulay had at his command a wealth of literary allusions and a remarkable facility of expression. But as he himself admitted, he was denied the gifts of a literary critic and his reviews were marked by strong personal prejudice. But his literary fame rests largely on his *History of England*. This was essentially a picture of the revolution of 1688 as seen through the eyes of a Whig but despite its strong partisanship, it is great literature and as literature will stand the test of time.

The writer has allowed a number of slips. For instance on p. 139 he has used the word "chairman" apparently in referring to the Speaker of the House of Commons. A want of careful judgment has led him into too ready an acceptance of the long-current belief in the innocence of Queen Caroline. If he had read As-

pinall's *Letters of King George IV,* he would not have made light of the "outrageous charges of immorality against her."

University of Oklahoma S. R. Tompkins

Tarnished Warrior: Major-General James Wilkinson. By James Ripley Jacobs. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 380 pp. Maps, illustrations, and bibliography. $3.50.)

During his life General Wilkinson was usually demanding courts of inquiry. He always got them, and they always acquitted him. His death did not end his importunities. Since that time he has demanded an adequate biography. It seems that he now has one, but it does not give him the same kind treatment.

Written by a retired Major of the U. S. Army, *Tarnished Warrior* is a meticulous piece of work. It is so carefully documented by the sources that one wonders if the author is not a highly trained historian. The bibliography not only lists thirty-two libraries yielding letters or other unprinted source material on Wilkinson, but also twenty-seven contemporary newspapers, and about seven pages of printed source and secondary books. Major Jacobs seems to have used most of the material there is in the country on his subject. He tells his story with careful footnote references to the sources.

Such a careful bit of work could easily be dull. Instead Major Jacobs' style is always interesting and sometimes delightful. Adroit sentences sprinkle the pages, and the story moves with a rapidity that reminds one of a historical novel. One might fear that the author would over-emphasize the military side of Wilkinson's career. There naturally is much of battles and campaigns, since Wilkinson was a military man, but this element, in this reviewer's opinion, is not over-emphasized and is often used to reveal the character of those discussed. In addition there are numerous maps and about a dozen contemporary pictures of people or scenes.

Able, vigorous, of a good family, and very ambitious, Wil-

kinson was equipped to go to the top. The absence of a sense of true honor and the fatal desire to get things the easy way led to his ruin after he reached that top. He used everyone possible for his own advantage, played both sides against the middle, and was lucky enough never really to get caught to his ruin. "His was an artful program, altogether unhampered by any ethical idea."

Wilkinson's life was a full one. He studied medicine, served in the Revolution, moved to the West to sell calicos and cross-cut saws and speculate in land, became a Spanish pensioner and Kentucky politician, treated with and fought the Indians, became Governor of Louisiana territory, was involved with Burr, fought in the War of 1812, ran a southern plantation, and became a self-appointed delegate to Mexico, where he died in 1825. He occupies the peculiar position of a traitor who did not injure this country, except by his own incapacity.

Some points deserve detailed attention. Oklahomans will wonder if any new light is thrown upon the motives of Wilkinson's sending Pike on his tour of discovery. Major Jacobs presents no new evidence, but suggests the profit of the fur trade, the military advantage of the knowledge of a route to Santa Fe, and the stirring up of Spanish fears as motives.

One suggestion which could be further developed is that Wilkinson originated hopes of a western empire in Burr's mind, and that he used Burr as a tool, knowing that he could jump both ways and always be on the winning side.

Those interested in Indian dealings may wish that this element of Wilkinson's life were treated more fully. Some of the General's observations on Indians are quoted and make it clear that he had a sharp eye and a good head on such matters. They are as true today as they were then.

Bacone College Marc Jack Smith

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 11-12, 1939
Durant, Oklahoma.

The Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened May 11, 1939, at Durant, Oklahoma, at 2:00 P. M. with Judge R. L. Williams, President, presiding.

The invocation was given by Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkin.

Dr. W. B. Morrison introduced President H. V. Posey of the Southeastern State Teachers College, who delivered the address of welcome, which was responded to by the President, Judge R. L. Williams.

Miss Betty Jo Morgan recited the poem "Land of the Mistletoe" written by George Riley Hall, accompanied on the piano by Miss Ernestine Harr, both of Henryetta.

Dr. Grant Foreman presented to the Society an oil portrait of George Riley Hall, the gift of the Business and Professional Women's Club of Henryetta of which Miss Clarice Harriman is President.

The President presented to the Historical Society a framed photograph of Rev. Evan Dhu Cameron, the first Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oklahoma, the gift of the women of the First Baptist Church of Henryetta.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the gifts be received and that proper markers be placed on the frames. Motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting recessed at 3:00 P. M., and the ruins of old Fort Washita, at the western edge of Bryan County, were visited, where the party was greeted by Charles Colbert and his wife, the present owners of the site of the ruins. This old fort is described by Dr. W. B. Morrison in *Historic Southeastern Oklahoma* as follows:

Eighteen miles northwest of Durant, on the heights above the Washita river, are the ruins of Fort Washita. The location, chosen in 1842 by General Zachary Taylor, was ideal for the purpose, surrounded by peaceful oaks and looking out to the east over the level vista of Twelve Mile Prairie. The buildings were constructed from the abundant supplies of limestone in the neighborhood. While today all of them have been destroyed, the original plan of the fort can easily be traced from the extensive ruins. The walls of the first barracks buildings stand almost intact.

From the time of its construction until the close of the Civil War this post was of considerable importance. It became a station on one of the overland routes to California during the gold rush. After the Mexican War Braxton Bragg was stationed here with the artillery detachment that became famous in the Battle of Buena Vista. The names of many other prominent men of the Civil War period, notably Randolph B. Marcy, George B. McClellan and Douglas H. Cooper, last Confederate commander of the district of Indian Territory, are indelibly associated with the place. General Cooper spent his last days here, and is buried in an unmarked grave either in the post cemetery or at Hastboro, the little civilian town that sprang up at a point nearer the river and west of the fort. The cenotaph of General William G. Belknap, once commander of Federal forces in the Southwest, may also be seen in the old cemetery.

Preceding the evening session, an informal reception was held in the library of the college, where the visitors were met by Miss Lucy Leonard, chairman of the reception committee, President and Mrs. H. V. Posey, Dr. and Mrs. W. B. Morrison, other members of the faculty of the college, and Mr. and Mrs. Glenn McDonald, of the Chamber of Commerce.

At 8:15 P. M. the meeting was called to order in the college auditorium with the President, Judge R. L. Williams, presiding.

Mr. John B. Meserve, of Tulsa, delivered an address on "The Chickasaw Indians."

Prof. Rex A. Strickland of the Department of History, University of Texas, delivered an address on "Miller County, Arkansas Territory, (now a part of Oklahoma), The Frontier that men forgot."

A short business meeting was held as follows:

The President read his report on the activities of the Society during the past year:

At the last annual meeting, gradual progress in the work of the society during the past year was reported. Such has been the case during this preceding year.

The Works Progress Administration projects had been for two years functioning in connection with the historical society as sponsor in the cataloguing and indexing of newspapers and other periodicals, manuscripts, old letters, diaries, wills, etc.

The historical society has within its archives one of the finest newspaper collections in America, especially for such a new state as Oklahoma. This project, with the historical society as sponsor, was renewed and continued as S179 and it has again been renewed and is now being continued as S179A, and is to extend without more funds until the latter part of October, 1939.

The Indian-Pioneer project which was reported at our last annual meeting, closed in April, 1938. During the progress of the work, about 25,000 questionnaires were sent out to aged pioneers and an average of seventy field workers interviewed thousands of others. This resulted in the preservation of priceless recollections of many people some of whom have already passed away. The accumulation of valuable data from pioneers from all parts of the state has been typed and bound in 120 volumes of more than 500 pages each. This collection is known as the "Foreman Papers" on account of the great effort and attention given by Dr. Grant Foreman in their accumulation.

Project S179A as renewed is being utilized (1) for the indexing of these items, the same being done in the Muskogee branch, twenty-one of said volumes have been indexed and 13,473 cards have been typed for the files; (2) the Indian archives which have been received not only from the office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, but also from the various other Indian agencies in the state, are also being indexed.

These projects have been under the supervision of Mrs. Edith Connelly Clift-Collins, Mrs. Helen S. Carpenter and now Mrs. Helen R. Payne. The Indian-Pioneer project for a great part of the time was under the direct supervision of Dr. Grant Foreman, but on account of other pressing work he gave that up. However, he has continued to give a great part of his time toward aiding in this work.

Seven hundred and twenty-five volumes of newspapers have been indexed, and approximately 368,716 cards placed in the general file. Heretofore, during 1939, six hundred sixty-nine (669) volumes of newspapers were completely mended. With the assistance of two WPA workers in the stack room, which is in charge of Mrs. Laura M. Messenbaugh, as custodian, 5000 volumes of newspapers were made more accessible to the public for research. An itemized list of the newspapers indexed as follows:

ALVA, OKLAHOMA

The Alva *Weekly Courier*, 1908
The Free Homes, 1901
The Alva *Review*, 1894-1896, 1899-1901, 1903-1907
The Alva *Review-Courier*, 1908-1914

ARDMORE, OKLAHOMA

Ardmoreite, 1894

ATOKA, OKLAHOMA

Atoka *Champion*, 1884-1885
The Branding Iron, 1884-1895
The Indian Citizen, 1889-1909
The Independent, 1877-1878
The Atoka *Vindicator*, 1872-1873, 1875-1876

BEAVER, OKLAHOMA
Beaver County *Democrat*, 1893-1894, 1906-1912
Forgan *Enterprise*, 1912-1915
The Democrat, 1915-1923
The Beaver *Advocate*, 1893-1895, 1904
The Beaver *Herald*, 1895-1899, 1904-1915
The Beaver *Journal*, 1904-1907
The South and West, 1894-1897

BLACKWELL, OKLAHOMA
The Blackwell *Rock Record*, 1893-1894
The Times-Record (Weekly), 1895-1896, 1898-1899, 1901, 1904-1906, 1910-1911, 1914-1916, 1921-1922, 1924
Blackwell *Morning Tribune*, 1925-1930, 1931 Jan.-Feb. 1932, March-April 1932, May-June 1932, Sept.-Oct. 1932

BOISE CITY, OKLAHOMA
Cimarron News, 1911-1937

CADDO, OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma Star, 1874-1877, 1905

CHEROKEE, OKLAHOMA
Cherokee *Messenger*, 1905

CHICKASHA, OKLAHOMA
Chickasha *Daily Express*, 1900-1901

DARLINGTON, OKLAHOMA
Cheyenne Transporter, 1880-1886

EDMOND, OKLAHOMA
Edmond *Sun*, 1893-1894-1895

EL RENO, OKLAHOMA
El Reno *News*, 1896-1897-1898-1899

EUFAULA, OKLAHOMA
The Eufaula *Democrat*, 1913-1916
The Indian Journal, 1876-1892, 1894-1895, 1898, 1900, 1916, 1919-1925
Daily Indian Journal, 1903
The Eufaula *Republican*, 1906-1913
The Eufaula *Weekly Star*, 1925

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS
Fort Smith *Elevator*, 1897-1904

GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA
The Daily Oklahoma State Capital, 1893-1895, 1898, 1901-1905-1911
The Guthrie *Daily Leader*, 1893-1895, 1907-1911

GUYMON, OKLAHOMA
The Guymon *Herald*, 1904-1912, 1914-1916, 1918, 1921, 1922, 1925-1927, 1929-1930, 1932, 1934-1935

HENNESSEY, OKLAHOMA
Hennessey *Clipper*, 1893-1894

KINGFISHER, OKLAHOMA
Kingfisher *Free Press*, 1891-1907
Kingfisher *Weekly Star and Free Press*, 1908-1917

MANGUM, OKLAHOMA
The Mangum *Star*, 1898-1916

McALESTER, OKLAHOMA
Star Vindicator, 1877-1879

MEDFORD, OKLAHOMA
Medford *Journal*, 1895

MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA
The Baptist Informer, 1910
The Enterprise, 1910
Gulicks' Weekly Review, 1908-1911-12
Indian Home and Farm, 1910
The Indian Journal, 1876, 1884, 1886, 1898
The Indian Methodist, 1893
The Muskogee *Cimeter*, 1904-1905, 1909-1911-1912-1913-1915-1916
The Muskogee *Comet*, 1904
Muskogee *Press*, 1926
Muskogee *Evening Times*, 1898-1900-1904
Muskogee *Democrat*, 1904-1906
Muskogee *Times Democrat*, 1906-1910-1911-1912
Twin Territories, 1889-1901
The Unionist, 1904-1905
Legal Record, 1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938
Muskogee *Morning Times*, 1897
Indian Record, 1886-1887
Muskogee County *Republican*, 1910-1911-1912
Muskogee *Daily News*, 1925-1926
The Muskogee *Evening News*, 1909
The Muskogee *Lantern*, 1930
Our Brother In Red, 1887-1888-1893
Muskogee *Phoenix*, 1891-1894-1897-1901-1902-1904
The Muskogee *Daily Phoenix*, 1904-1905-1906-1907-1909-1910-1912-1916-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1925-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935 - 1936 - 1937-1938
The Muskogee *Star*, 1912

NEW ECHOTA, GEORGIA
Cherokee Phoenix, 1828-1834

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA
Lexington *Leader*, 1891-2, 1897-1899, 1900-1901, 1904
The Norman *Transcript*, 1889-1892-1893

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
The Press Gazette, 1893-1894
The Daily Oklahoman, 1894-1937, Jan. Feb. April, May 1938
The Daily Oklahoman (Features), 1906, 1915-1922, 1926, 1937
Oklahoma Daily Press, 1893-1894
Oklahoma City *Times* (Weekly), 1889
Oklahoma City *Times* (Daily), 1888, 1889, 1891, 1908-1910
The Oklahoma City *Times-Journal* (Daily), 1893-1896, 1899-1901, 1908
Weekly Times-Journal, 1891-1893, 1895-1899, 1901-1903, 1907-1908

PAULS VALLEY, OKLAHOMA
Chickasaw Enterprise, 1893-1895, 1901-1904
Chickasaw Enterprise and Valley News, 1905-1907-1909-1912

PURCELL, OKLAHOMA
The Purcell *Register*, 1887-1898, 1900-1912

SHAWNEE, OKLAHOMA
Shawnee *Weekly Transcript*, 1919
The Shawnee *Herald* (Daily)), 1902-1908
Shawnee *Weekly Herald*, 1920-1926

STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA
The Stillwater *Gazette*, 1893-1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1899, 1900

TAHLEQUAH, OKLAHOMA
Cherokee Advocate, 1845, 1870, 1906
The Telephone, 1888-1893

TULSA, OKLAHOMA
The Tulsa *Daily World*, 1906-1936
The Tulsa *Tribune*, (Features), 1936
The Tulsa *Daily World* (Features), 1926-1937
VINITA, OKLAHOMA
The Indian Chieftain (Weekly), 1882, 1905, 1908-1912
The Daily Chieftain, 1898-1905
The Vinita *Leader*, 1896-1897
WATONGA, OKLAHOMA
The Watonga *Republican*, 1893, 1902
WOODWARD, OKLAHOMA
Woodward *Democrat*, 1930
Woodward *Bulletin*, 1909
The Woodward *News*, 1894-1908, 1910-1933

In the archives department, eight WPA workers were assigned during the periods of the project for assistance to Mrs. Rella Watts Looney (Archivist-clerk), the head of said department. Most of the classifications have been filed chrono'ogically and at present the workers are indexing documents. An itemized list of documents so indexed follows:

Kiowa— Issues
Employees
Federal Relations
Depredations
Agents' Reports
Indian Courts
Hunting & Fishing
Military Relations
Chilocco Indian School
White's M. L. School
Carlisle Indian School
Haskell Institute
Hampton Institute
Bacone College
Phoenix Indian School

18 Kiowa Letter Press Books dating from Oct. 15, 1889 to Jul. 13, 1895;

Cheyenne & Arapaho—Agents & Agency
Per Capita
Indian Chiefs
Indian Captives
Indian Celebrations
Doctors
Indian Council
Indian Customs
Railroads
Red Moon School
Seger School
Mennonite Mission
Intruders
Foreign Relations
Cantonment School
Roe's or American Indian Institute
Hampton Institute
Carlisle Indian School
Chilocco Indian School
Bacone College
Phoenix Indian School

Genoa Indian School
Miscl. Schools
Sac & Fox—Employees
Shawnee—Employees
Sac & Fox—Doctors
Shawnee—Doctors
Sac & Fox—Ab. Shawnee School;
Chickasaw—National Council
Chickasaw—Courts, Tishomingo County
" Pontotoc County
" Pickens County
" Panola County
" Supreme
" District
Sheriffs
Constables
Cherokee—Courts
Estates
Elections
Doctors
Divorce
Female Seminary
Cherokee Bound Volume No. 251
" " " 256
" " " 258
" " " 261
" " " 223
Quapaw—Interpreter
Cayuga Indians
Peoria & Miami Indians
Peoria Indians
Modoc Indians
Quapaw—Tonkawa Indians
Nez Perce Indians
Seneca Indians
Indian Chiefs
Indian Courts
Indian Council
Indian Improvement
Agents & Agency (including 5 letter press books)
Agents' Reports
Cattle & Pastures
Churches
Census
Buildings
Pawnee—21 Ponca Letter Press Copy Books dating from 1877 to 1893
4 T. N. Athey Scrap Books.

In the library, Miss Hazel Beaty being librarian, with like assistance of WPA workers, one hundred forty-six (146) volumes have been indexed, there being 39,225 index cards in the biographical file. The result is that there is a record or biography on that many individuals who have had a part in the history of Oklahoma.

With the assistance of the workers of our WPA project, a typewritten copy of all manuscripts connected with the Judge Jesse James Dunn collection has been placed in the library, the collection indexed and 1114 cards typed.

The assistance rendered by the various supervisors, to wit, Mrs. Edith Connelly Clift-Collins, Mrs. Helen S. Carpenter, and Mrs. Helen R. Payne, has been of great benefit to the historical society. The aid and supervision rendered by Dr. Foreman

has also been of inestimable benefit. I take this occasion to make these references so that our appreciation may become a matter of record.

Under the leadership of the Secretary, with the cooperation of those already mentioned, Mrs. Czarina Conlan, Mrs. Annie R. Cubage, Mrs. Annie Canton, Mrs. Edith Cox Mitchell, Miss Martha A. Mulholland and Mrs. Mabel Fuller-Hammerly, progress has been made in the work of the Society.

Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, who has charge of the Union Soldiers room, has been disabled for months on account of an automobile accident, but we are glad to note that he is now recovering. The officers of the society together with its membership have sympathized with him.

During the past year a concerted effort has been made to increase the life and annual memberships of the Society. A form has been prepared by the Secretary and inserted in the back of the magazine for the use of members in recommending new members. Letters sent out have been accompanied by membership application blanks. An effort has been made with some success to bring about the restoration of delinquent members.

The Historical Records Survey is making inventories of the county, state and municipal records in the custody of the society, and has rendered assistance in bringing to our custody such records and archives.

The late J. H. Randell, of Denison, Texas, whose brother, the late G. G. Randell, had married a daughter of Robert M. Jones, delivered a collection of said Robert M. Jones to the president of the historical society to be placed in the archives in the historical building, which has been done.

Mr. James H. Gardner, Tulsa, Oklahoma, has presented a large aerial map of the upper sections of the Chisholm Trail made by the Aero Exploration Company of Tulsa.

Dr. Grant Foreman presented a plat of old Fort Jefferson Davis, near Muskogee, to the society.

Dr. E. C. Routh, of the Baptist Headquarters in Oklahoma City, gave to the society, for preservation, a large collection of early day Baptist correspondence and other letters.

The G. A. R. Post at Sapulpa, Oklahoma, presented its archives for our custody.

Acknowledgment of other gifts has been made by letters to donors.

Through the exchange of the *Chronicles,* valuable historical data have been added to our library.

The editorial work has been carried on by the editorial committee consisting of Dr. Grant Foreman, Judge Harry Campbell, Judge John B. Meserve, George H. Evans, and the Secretary.

The patriotic societies in the state have been requested by the committee to send to the Secretary news items to be utilized as may be appropriate.

It is desired that a genealogical section may be added to our library facilities.

The Daughters of the American Revolution and other patriotic organizations are using the auditorium.

The historical society was represented by the Secretary at the last meetings of the American Historical Association and the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies at Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30, 1938, the Southern Historical Association at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 3-5, 1938, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at Memphis, Tennessee, April 20-22, 1939.

During the past year the Oklahoma Historical Society has been represented by the Secretary at a number of meetings as follows:

Dedication of the Osage Indian Museum, May 2, 1938; the Tulsa Association of Pioneers, June 9, 1938; the Old Timers Picnic at Alluwee, Nowata County, October 28, 1938; the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko, August 24, 1938; the Old Pioneers meeting at Chickasha on September 2, 1938; the Centennial of the Cherokee removal at Chattanooga, Tennessee, September 20-22, 1938; the Third Annual Indian week program in Tulsa and the Oklahoma State Archaeological Society, at Tulsa on October 19, 1938; the State conventions of the Daughters of the

American Revolution and the Children of the American Revolution; and the Cherokee Seminaries Students Association, May 7, 1938.

The following resolution was presented: "It being essential that the entrances to the exhibit galleries on the top floor of the historical building on the capitol grounds in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, having seven openings, each of which should be fitted with a pair of doors approximately 7′ 0″ high with a transom sash over to fit the height of the opening, doors to be walnut and hardware of bronze, all to match the present building as nearly as practicable, to cost approximately $900.00, such is hereby authorized and the President further authorized to have contract entered into for the installation of same; the President of this Society is also authorized to use any of the state-appropriated funds which may be available by specific appropriation or by transfer from another state appropriation for such purpose, and as much as is necessary from the private funds of the Society needed to be expended in such installation"; and its adoption moved by Dr. Grant Foreman, which was seconded and unanimously carried.

Upon motion of John B. Meserve, which was duly seconded, the Society and visitors voted a resolution of thanks to the faculty of the two colleges, the Southeastern State Teachers College and the Presbyterian College for Girls, the Chamber of Commerce, and the city officials and citizens of the city of Durant for their hospitality and helpfulness in the success of the meeting.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership in the Society:

LIFE: Lee T. Low, Denison, Texas.

ANNUAL: Mattie M. Addison, Oklahoma City; George T. Arnett, Idabel; Lyall Barnhart, Oklahoma City; Willard S. Bulkley, Oklahoma City; James Green Campbell, Tulsa; Fred R. Caviness, Chickasha; Rev. J. M. Cockerell, Miami; Fred E. Cooper, Tulsa; Royston Campbell Crane, Sweetwater, Texas; Judson Cunningham, Cheyenne; Rev. Gustave Depreitere, Oklahoma City; Mildred Donaldson, Oklahoma City; Pearl Zoa Downing, Oklahoma City; Edgar B. Eastman, Oklahoma City; Nathan Adams Gibson, Tulsa; Mrs. S. M. Hamill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Lotus Alexander Harper, Oklahoma City; Hugh Logan Harrell, Oklahoma City; Wilbur Edgar Hightower, Oklahoma City; Claude S. Hill, Oklahoma City; Henry Vanderburg Holmes, Tulsa; Alleye Hopkins, Madill; Mrs. Peter J. Hudson, Tuskahoma; Wash E. Hudson, Tulsa; R. L. Hunter, Muskogee; Mrs. Obeira Irick, Shawnee; Bert E. Johnson, Tulsa; Jno. H. Kaiser, Sheridan, Illinois; William Patrick Katigan, Oklahoma City; Allece Locke, Oklahoma City; Judge Krit Gibson Logsdon, Tulsa; E. B. Luke, Ardmore; Mrs. Lucille V. McCracken, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Bertha O'Brien Meek, Ponca City; Herbert Nathaniel Nagle, Tulsa; William Washington Neifert, Branchville, Maryland; Dr. George H. Niemann, Ponca City; Mrs. Helen Richards Payne, Oklahoma City; Louis W. Pratt, Tulsa; Mrs. Anna Helen Ringer, Oklahoma City; John Thomas Rosser, Shawnee; Mrs. S. U. Sallee, Roff; Alma Seib, St. Louis, Missouri; Jack Stain, Toronto, Canada; Mrs. N. Bert Smith, Oklahoma City; Lon R. Stansbery, Tulsa; Kirk C. Tucker, Oklahoma City; Earl Vandale, Amarillo, Texas; H. C. Watton, Oklahoma City; Kirk Schroder White, Tulsa; Raymond Glenn Wilson, Sand Springs; Hon. E. T. Winston, Pontotoc, Mississippi; Louis W. Workman, Bokoshe.

Upon motion, duly seconded, they were elected and received as members of the Historical Society.

Judge Harry Campbell stated that the Will Rogers Statue is to be unveiled in the Hall of Fame, at Washington, D.C., June 6th, and moved that Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President of the Society, be appointed to represent this Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried. The President also named the two U. S. Senators and the other members of Congress from this state and Mrs. Blanche Lucas, a member of the Board of Directors, to participte in the ceremony as representatives of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman and Mrs. Foreman presented to the Society the Commission of James M. Shackelford as general in the Union Army, also the sword, sash

and belt he wore when he captured General John H. Morgan, the gift of his daughter Mrs. Marshall L. Bragdon.

Mr. John B. Meserve moved that these be accepted and that a vote of thanks be given Mrs. Bragdon, and that the commission be framed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the Secretary be requested to take necessary steps to arrange for the display and preservation of the other articles. Motion was seconded and carried.

John B. Mescrve, on behalf of J. B. Milam, of Chelsea, presented to the Society ten framed photographs of Cherokee Chiefs, for the Cherokee Seminary Students Association, and moved that the donors be extended a vote of thanks therefor.

Judge Harry Campbell, of Tulsa, presented to the Society an invitation from the people of Tulsa, to hold the next annual meeting of the Society in Tulsa, and moved that the invitation be accepted. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The meeting recessed subject to call.

Judge R. L. Williams, President, Presiding.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

May 12, 1939.

Under the direction of Dr. W. B. Morrison of the Southeastern State Teachers College, the following historic sites were visited. He has described them in *Historic Southeastern Oklahoma* as follows:

About five miles east of Hugo are the ruins of Rose Hill, once the splendid residence of Robert M. Jones, Choctaw planter and statesman, and member of the Congress of the Confederacy. The mansion, with its broad verandas and large white pillars, stood in a well-kept lawn of shrubs and flowers. A walk of marble slabs led down the slope to the military road that passed near by. Around the entire premises a hedge of cedars was planted. Some of these cedars, and the cemetery in which Jones and several members of his family are buried, form the chief reminders of its past.

Largely through the efforts of Judge R. L. Williams the Oklahoma Historical Society last year dedicated a handsome and substantial wall around the old cemetery, which insures that it will be preserved for the future.

This famous mission and school [Wheelock] was established in 1832 by Rev. Alfred Wright, who came from Mississippi with a band of emigrant Choctaws. It was named Wheelock after the first president of Dartsmouth College. The location is not far from the present town of Millerton. Less than a mile from the mission in the early days lived District Chief Thomas LeFlore, member of the family that furnished so many distinguished names in Choctaw history.

Alfred Wright, missionary, teacher and physician, gave the entire remainder of his life to work at Wheelock, dying here in 1853. The enduring monument to his labors is Wheelock church, erected by him in 1846. Its sturdy stone walls stand today, the oldest church building in Oklahoma. In the cemetery near the church may be seen Wright's tomb. Wheelock Seminary, a national school for Choctaw girls, maintains a very efficient educational plant, good buildings and beautiful grounds, and under the leadership of Miss Minta Foreman, is very worthily carrying on the high traditions of more than hundred years of service.

Fifteen miles east of Hugo on the bluffs above Gates Creek are to be found the ever-dwindling remains of Fort Towson. This post, founded in 1824, at its prime around 1840 covered a rectangle containing about a square mile. There were numerous well-built houses, all painted white. Gravel walks, lined by shade trees extended all around the hollow square. It was said to have been one of the best constructed and kept military posts in the West.

About a mile from the Fort across Gates Creek the town of Doaksville developed. This town, once the capital of the Choctaw Nation, remained a place of

commercial and social importance long after Fort Towson was abandoned. In its cemetery, now used by the present town of Fort Towson, may be seen the graves of a number of people prominent in early Choctaw and Chickasaw history. Doaksville had a church ministered to by the missionary, Dr. Cyrus Kingsbury, whose home and school were situated a short distance away at a point known as Pine Ridge.

Fort Towson was abandoned in the year 1851. Fire, and the ravages of time have left little to show for its former greatness.

This important mission school, [Goodland] now larger and more prosperous than at any other time in its long career, is situated about three miles southwest of Hugo, Oklahoma. The first work there dates from 1848, though a resident Presbyterian missionary was not stationed at the point until 1850. This pioneer was Rev. O. P. Stark. With practically no intermission a valuable work for the Choctaws has been carried on until today. During the latter part of the nineteenth and the early portion of this century the names of Rev. J. P. Gibbons and his wife, Bella McCallom Gibbons are indelibly associated with Goodland. Under the present able superintendent, Rev. E. D. Miller, a modern school plant has been developed though the mission emphasis remains the same as in the early years of the institution.

JOHN BELL TURNER

NECROLOGY

JOHN BELL TURNER

1860-1936

John Bell Turner was born at Springfield, Tennessee, August 13, 1860, and died at Adams, Tennessee, on July 20, 1936.

He was the son of Joshua Turner, who was born in Kentucky and died in Oklahoma City in 1914, and Martha Bell Turner, who was born near Adams, Tennessee, and died at Springfield, Tennessee, in 1863.

When about five years of age, after the death of his mother, his father having moved to Chicago, he attended the public schools of that city until about 12 years old. Then his father removed to Meadville, Missouri. When 17 years of age, he returned from Missouri to Adams, Tennessee, where he attended the Robertson county school at Adams for a year and then entered the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, completing his studies in the academic department through the junior year. Then he went to Linneus, Linn County, Missouri, where he studied law under Rowsey Stephens, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in 1883, and then returned to Tennessee, settling at Erin, Houston County, engaging in the practice of the law.

In 1884, at Adams, Tennessee, he was married to Flora Bell, the daughter of Dr. J. T. Bell.

In November, 1889, from Tennessee he removed to Fort Smith, Arkansas, there engaging in the practice of the law for more than five years. In 1895 he removed to Vinita, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, there engaging in the practice of the law until he was elected as a member of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma at the erection of the state of Oklahoma. At the organization of that court, its members drew lots as to their respective terms, which resulted as follows: John Bell Turner, five and a fractional years; Jesse James Dunn and Matthew John Kane, each three and a fractional year terms; Robert Lee Williams and Samuel Walter Hayes, each a one and a fractional year term. He served as Chief Justice during the years 1911 and 1912.

Being re-elected for a full six-year term as a member of the Supreme Court, at the expiration of that term in January, 1919, having been a diligent and faithful member of the court, he retired therefrom and engaged in the practice of the law for a year or more at Tulsa, Oklahoma, then removing to his country home at a beautiful spot on the banks of the Grand River near Chouteau in Mayes County, Oklahoma, where he resided until February 29, 1927, when he returned to Adams, Tennessee, to spend the evening of his life. Prior to that time he had purchased the interest of the other heirs in a large tract of land at Cedar Hill, Tennessee, which was nearby, and which his wife's great-grandfather, John Bell, had owned, it having been in the Bell family since 1774, the said John Bell having migrated at that time from Buncombe County, North Carolina and settled on that place.

This John Bell was related to the family of the former United States Senator, John Bell, who was a candidate for President in 1860 on the Constitutional Union Ticket, and Speaker of the United States House of Representatives in 1834.

Upon said tract of land the Bell family cemetery is located, in which John Bell Turner, who was named for his grandfather, John Bell, and whose great-grandfather was also named John Bell, was buried. He

also had an only brother, George Pierce Turner (but no sisters) who died at Oklahoma City in 1934.

In November, 1901, a convention assembled at Muskogee, Indian Territory, at which the Congress of the United States was memorialized to pass an enabling act providing that the Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory should hold a joint constitutional convention to formulate a state constitution for approval and submission to Congress for the admission of a new state into the Union to be composed of the country occupied by the people of Oklahoma and Indian Territories[1] John Bell Turner being its Secretary, and the late Robert B. Forest of El Reno, Oklahoma, its chairman.

He was associated in the practice of the law at Erin, Tennessee, with Col. Henry Buquo, and at Fort Smith, Arkansas, with the late J. F. Frederick, and at Vinita, Indian Territory, in 1895 with J. B. Burkhalter, and also with William P. Thompson.

Born just before the beginning of the Civil War, he was educated during the days of reconstruction and followed the extension of the frontier into the west, contributing his best endeavors for its advancement and upbuilding. Never a candidate for any office, other than Justice of the Supreme Court, he participated in all endeavors for community and public betterment.

Durant, Oklahoma. R. L. Williams.

CHARLES BOLIVAR BARKER

1884-1939

Charles Boliver Barker was born February 27, 1884 at Niobe, in Chautauqua County, New York. He was the son of David M. Barker (the son of Pelham Barker and Permelia Tillotson) and Rosetta Ann Trusler (the daughter of John Trusler and Harriett Ray, who were married in England and came to the United States where their children were born).

He was graduated from the High School at Lakewood, New York and received his A. B. Degree from Ewing College in Illinois, his Medical Degree from Loyola Medical College, Chicago, Illinois and interned in the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary at Chicago, Illinois in 1912. He did post-graduate work in all the medical centers in the United States and in 1927 had work in Vienna, Austria and in Cairo, Egypt in 1932.

Dr. Barker came to Guthrie, Oklahoma in 1913, where he began his practice in eye, ear, nose and throat work. In 1914 he was married to Dr. Pauline Quillin, who was also practicing in Guthrie, and who continued to practice with him in his specialty.

Dr. Barker was a pioneer in Oklahoma in the use of moving pictures in demonstration of eye, ear, nose and throat work. He showed his moving pictures, by invitation, to senior medical students of the Oklahoma University Medical School. He was the author of many scientific lectures, illustrated by moving pictures, which he delivered in Oklahoma and in many other States.

Dr. Barker made arrangements to bring Dr. Richard Waldafel of Vienna, Austria, to give a course in Oklahoma, in 1928. This was then taken over by the Extension Department of Oklahoma University, when Dr. Barker was instrumental in bringing Dr. Pillot, an eye man, Dr. Ruttin, an ear man, and Dr. Haslinger, a throat man, from Vienna, Austria to Oklahoma University to give courses.

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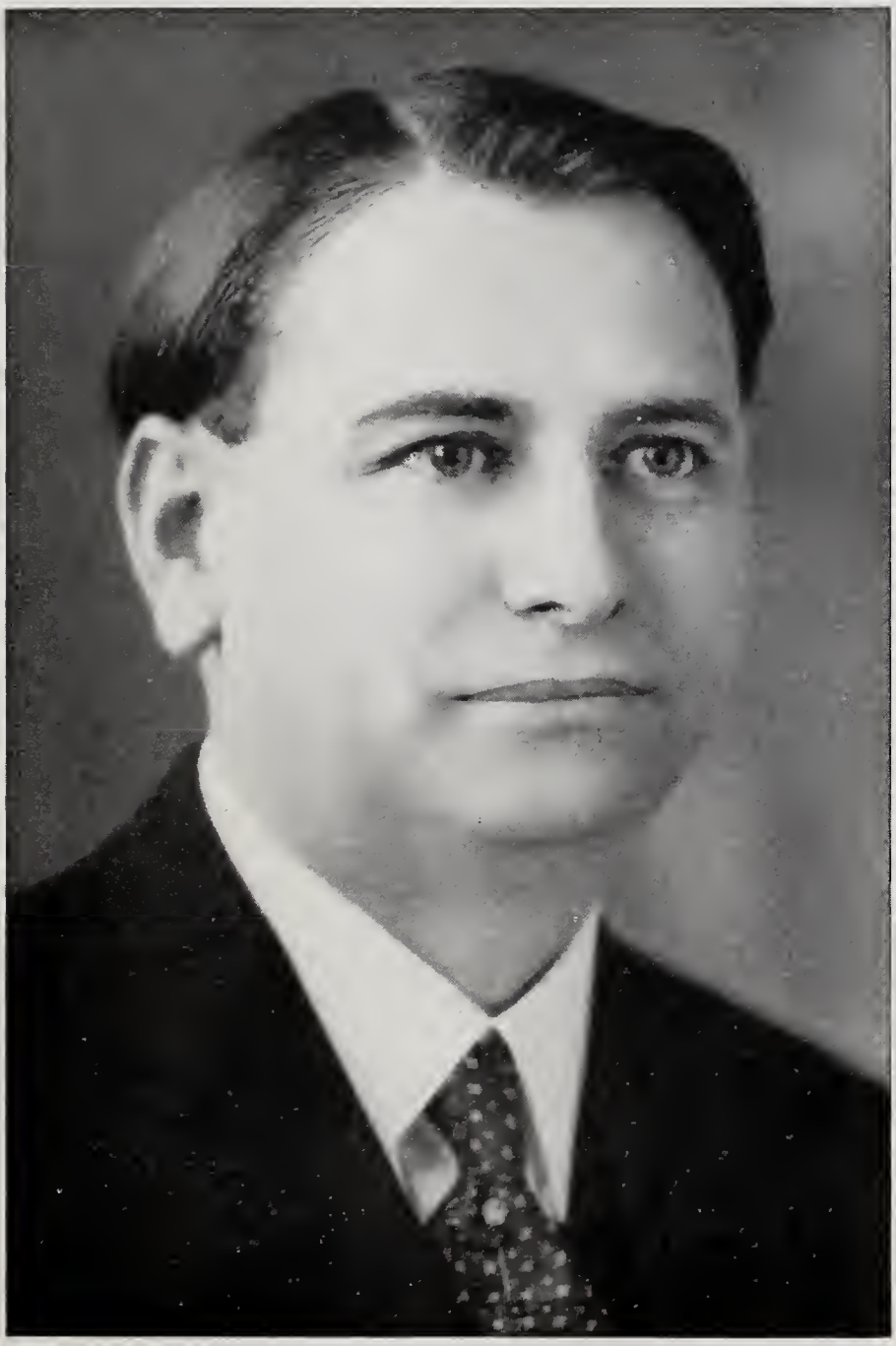
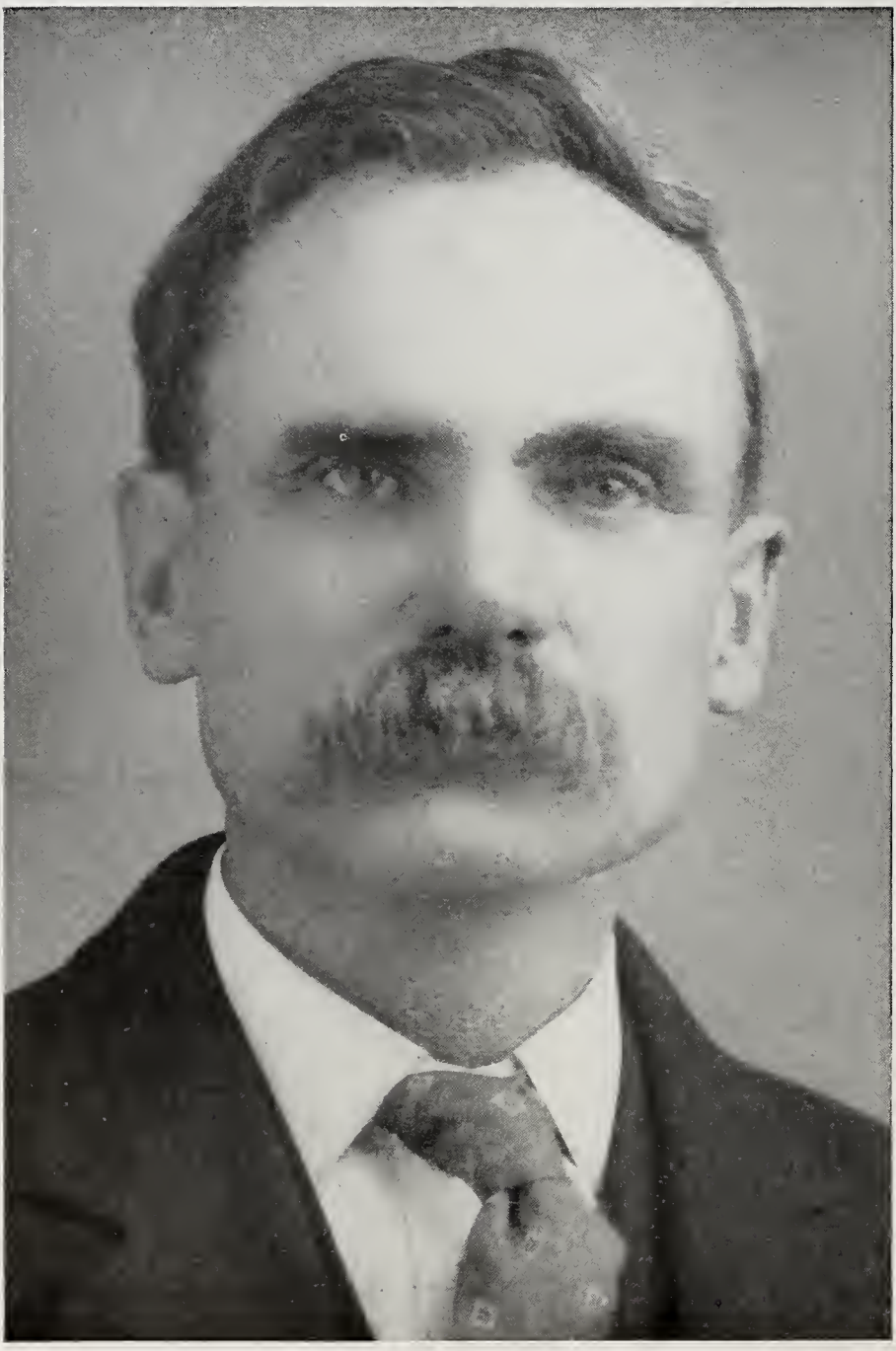
[1] *Daily Chieftain*, Vinita, Indian Territory, November 16, 1901.



CHARLES BOLIVAR BARKER



REVEREND EDWARD RUTLEDGE WILLIAMS

Because of his unusual ability in eye, ear, nose and throat practice, Dr. Barker's reputation was known throughout Oklahoma and in surrounding States.

He was a member of the Cimarron Valley Wesley Hospital Staff in Guthrie, Oklahoma, the Logan County Medical Society, Oklahoma State Medical Society, American Medical Association, American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology, the Kansas City Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Society and was made a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons in 1930. He was a Past Grand of the I. O. O. F. Lodge of Guthrie, Oklahoma and a 32nd degree Mason.

Dr. Barker passed away February 12, 1939 in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, aged 54 years, 11 months and 12 days, a result of streptococcis septicemia.

REVEREND EDWARD RUTLEDGE WILLIAMS

1857-1932

Edward Rutledge Williams was born on October 5, 1857, in Schuyler County, Illinois, and died on December 24, 1932, at Wichita, Kansas, and buried at Buffalo, Oklahoma.

He was the son of Henry Williams and his wife, Hannah Taylor Williams. The first Williams ancestor of his in this country came in 1828 from Wales.

He was educated at the University of Illinois, and at the age of 19 years received a first grade life teacher's certificate. He migrated to Kansas in 1884, and in 1885 taught school at Greensburg, Comanche County, Kansas. In 1886 he began a long itinerancy in the ministry, being a missionary in that early day in Kansas. In 1893 he made the run into the Cherokee Strip, securing a homestead near Blackwell, where he lived until his children had reached manhood and womanhood.

On July 9, 1876, he was married to Ella M. Winn, a daughter of Dr. Winn and his wife. She was born at St. Paul, Minnesota on December 28, 1859, and died at the family home near Buffalo, Oklahoma, on March 2, 1923, where she is buried.

He was a member of the Convention from District No. 3, which framed the Constitution for the state of Oklahoma, serving on the following committees: Public Institutions, Legislative Department, Primary Elections, Public Debt and Public Works (Chairman). He presented the following petitions to the convention: (1) Religious Liberty, (2) Liquor Traffic, and (3) Lobbying.

In 1918-19 he was agent for Western Oklahoma Orphanage for white children at Helena, his wife being matron thereof during that period.

His wife's father, Dr. Winn, from Mason County, Illinois, was a member of the state senate for 20 years.

The following children survived him and his said wife: Harry B., and Bayard Earl, and Charles E., all of Wichita, Kansas; James Mark, of Redlands, California; Paul Henry, of Louisiana; and Mrs. Clara Darbro, of Woodward, Oklahoma.

From his homestead in Kay County near Blackwell, he removed to Woodward, Oklahoma, and later took up his residence in what is now Harper County, being elected from District No. 3 to the Constitutional Convention, where he took an effective and active interest in the creation of Harper County principally out of Woodward County, as it existed under the Territory of Oklahoma, and the location of its county seat at

Buffalo, near which place he lived until the death of his wife, after which he was again active in the itinerancy in ministerial duties.

After a long and useful life, he laid down earthly cares.

—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

WILLIAM THOMAS DALTON

1857-1933

William Thomas Dalton was born near Girard, in Macoupin County, Illinois, on November 7, 1857, and died at Broken Arrow, Oklahoma on September 15, 1933, where he was buried in Park Grove Cemetery.

He was the son of Jesse Dalton and his wife, Christiana Dalton, nee Williams.

With his parents he migrated to Clay County, Nebraska in 1872, receiving his education in the public schools of said county. After becoming of age, he engaged in farming near Edgar, Nebraska, until 1892, when he came to Oklahoma Territory, locating at Stillwater, where he engaged in the mercantile business. In 1903, with others, he organized the Coweta State Bank of Coweta. Having located at Broken Arrow where he had been a resident at the time of his death for over 30 years, except two years spent in New Mexico, for 15 years he operated the Gin, Coal & Mill Company. He gave freely of his time, efforts and resources in the interest of the community.

On January 10, 1884, he was married to Miss Minnie Belle Rohrer of Scottsville, Illinois. To this union seven children came: Clarence G., Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lela Bailey, Salina, Kansas; Carl W. and Ralph R., of Broken Arrow; Charles J., of Los Angeles, California; Mrs. Bertha Ladd, who died in May, 1929; and James J., who died in October, 1890.

The conduct of his life was based upon the principles embodied in the Golden Rule.

In addition to the foregoing children, he is survived by his widow and a brother, Charles Dalton, both of Broken Arrow.

As a Democrat, he was nominated and elected from District 69, as a member of the convention to frame a Constitution for the state of Oklahoma, and served on the following committees: (1) Suffrage, (2) Private Corporations, (3) General Provisions, (4) Public Printing, and presented to the convention a petition relating to religious liberty. The following propositions were introduced by him: No. 112, Relating to Rights of State, No. 113, to rights of farmers, No. 173, relating to Pardons, No. 174, relating to Requisitions, No. 210, relating to Local or Special Laws, No. 248, relating to shipping dead bodies, and No. 277, relating to freedom of Speech.

He was affiliated with the Odd Fellows organization.

—R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

CASPER WISTER HEROD

1865-1938

Casper Wister Herod was born on August 5, 1865, in Smith County, Tennessee, the son of Benjamin Franklin Herod and his wife, Judith

WILLIAM THOMAS DALTON

CASPER WISTER HEROD

(Haynie) Herod, who were married in said county in 1842. The father died on September 7, 1883, and the mother in 1896. Casper Wister Herod was born in the same county as his father who was born in 1819. His mother, a daughter of John and Mary L. (Beasley) Haynie was born in 1820. His paternal grandparents were Dr. Peter Herod and his wife, Rebecca E. (Key) Herod, both natives of North Carolina, and pioneer settlers in Smith County, Tennessee.

He had the following brothers and sisters: (1) Clarkey Rebecca, born in 1847 and died in July, 1926, her husband being W. H. Halle; (2) George Washington, a retired physician residing at Pleasant Shade, Tennessee; (3) Morton P., born in 1854, died in March 1926, who was a planter at Dixon Springs, Tennessee; (4) John Franklin, born in 1854, died in June 1924, while engaged in the hotel business at Hartsville, Tennessee; (5) William E., born in 1856 and died in 1882; (6) Mary Louise, born in 1859, and died in infancy; (7) Casper Wister, the youngest child.

He was educated in the State Institute at Hartsville, Truesdale County, Tennessee, graduating in 1880. After remaining for a time on his father's plantation, he embarked in business.

In September, 1893, he came to Woodward, Oklahoma Territory, seeking opportunities afforded in a new country, arriving on September 12, four days before the opening of the Cherokee Strip on September 16. He was later appointed Chief Clerk of the United States Land Office at Woodward, filling said position for four years. Having been admitted to the bar to practice law, in 1897, he opened a law office at Woodward. He was an ethical and successful lawyer.

He was elected and filled the office of County Judge for two terms. In 1914, he was the democratic nominee for Congress. On account of the district being overwhelmingly Republican he failed by a small margin, of election. Twice he was the democratic nominee for State Senator. He was a delegate to every democratic state convention from the erection of the state until his death. In 1916 he was a delegate to the democratic national convention at St. Louis.

He took a leading part in the development and growth of Woodward and in no small degree contributed thereto, participating in every worthy civic advance. He gave his best efforts toward the extension of the Wichita Falls and Northwest railroad from Elk City north to Woodward, and held the position as local attorney of said road at the time of his death. He filled the offices of city attorney, alderman, mayor, and County Judge with fidelity, efficiency, and honor. During the World War he was chairman of the local draft board, rendering, without compensation, such patriotic service.

Judge Herod served not only as a director, but also as President of the Woodward Chamber of Commerce. He was a member of Masonic Lodge No. 113 at Hartsville, Tennessee, retaining his membership there on account of his father having been a charter member thereof.

On May 16, 1903, he married Miss Nettie Allison, daughter of Edward R. and Elizabeth Allison, of Mutual, Oklahoma, who was born April 11, 1884, in Stafford County, Kansas, and died August 4, 1906. To this union there was one child, Hollis Hayden Herod, born March 22, 1904, who now resides at El Reno.

On October 2, 1909, he was married to Pearl M. Maischel, daughter of William and Mary C. Maischel, of Harper County, Kansas. Three children came to this union, to-wit: Galen Woodrow, born October 7, 1914, of Woodward; Mary Edith, born July 8, 1917, who lives in Oklahoma City; and Florence Louise, born July 7, 1919, a student at Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater.

All enterprises of the community of Woodward were, in a measure, benefited by his sympathetic interest in directing advice. His service to the public at large was of great value.

Judge Herod had built up a good law practice and established a wide and enviable reputation. He was ever an efficient, eloquent and affective leader. As a member of the democratic party he was always in the front, his political influence being greatly felt. He and the late David P. Marum were active and effective in bringing about the location of the station in that county for the promotion of an agricultural center.

When the funeral services were conducted from the First Presbyterian Church, all business houses closed from 1:30 p. m. until 3:00 o'clock while same were in progress, to pay tribute to the man who had so much to do with the building and progress of the city.

—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

JOHN MITTEN CARR

1867-1937

John Mitten Carr, son of Daniel Mintelo Carr and his wife, Nancy Carr, nee Dobbins, was born December 31, 1867, in Sumner County, near Gallatin, Tennessee. His uncle, Richard Beard. was one of the founders of the law department of Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tennessee, and associated with it in various capacities until the time of his death.

He was educated in the rural schools of Sumner County, near Gallatin, Tennessee. In an early day he and a brother, James Carr, removed to Kansas, settling at Augusta. At the opening of the Cherokee Strip he made the run and secured a farm near Blackwell. He lived on his claim until 1902 when he removed to Frederick, Oklahoma Territory, engaging in the hardware and implement business.

In 1916 he moved to Enid, Oklahoma, where he engaged in the automobile business.

He was elected and served as mayor of Enid for two terms (1926-1930). He had also been mayor at Frederick, Oklahoma.

He was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Oklah ma, from District No. 54, and served on the following committees: Executive Department, Public Service Corporations, Homestead and Exemptions, Public Debt and Public Works, Counties and County Boundaries.

He was twice a delegate to National Democratic Conventions and attended every state convention during his residence in the state of Oklahoma.

He was a member of the Presbyterian Church and all the Masonic bodies of Enid, and a member of India Shrine and Consistory at Guthrie.

He and Miss Mina Moore of Blackwell were married in 1895, who survives him.

He died suddenly at Oklahoma City on Tuesday, September 28, 1937.[1]

A progressive and successful businessman, active for the public welfare, passed away.

[1] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 29, 1937.

JOHN MITTEN CARR

ALICE HEARRELL MURRAY

ALICE HEARRELL MURRAY

1875-1938

Mrs. Alice Hearrell Murray, wife of former Governor William H. Murray, was born near Tishomingo, the old capital of the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, January 9, 1875, and died in St. Anthony's Hospital, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 28, 1938. Her body lay in state in the State Capitol from noon until 5:00 o'clock P. M., August 29, 1938,—the first woman in Oklahoma to receive this honor, and the first wife of a Governor of Oklahoma to pass away. She was buried in the cemetery at Tishomingo, August 30, 1938.

Mrs. Murray was of Indian descent, and as the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Hearrell, as niece of the Honorable Douglas H. Johnston, Governor of the Chickasaws, and the Honorable Tandy Walker, Chief of the Choctaws, she was closely affiliated with the affairs of these two powerful Indian Nations. A graduate of Bloomfield Seminary, a Chickasaw college for young ladies, she became associated with the educational department of the Chickasaw Nation.

Alice Hearrell was married to William H. Murray, a special attorney to the Governor of the Chickasaws, at Tishomingo, July 19, 1899, and as a loyal and devoted wife and mother she sustained her noted husband in all of his varied career, and with the wisdom of her spiritual enlightenment has had a noble share in shaping the destiny of Oklahoma.

Splendid memorials, which are on file in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, have been written of this beautiful and gracious woman, but she has also left an enduring memorial in the hearts of the citizens of this State which will be handed down through the generations as long as Oklahoma has a history, for her beneficent influence has enriched and thereby left a permanent impress on the civilization of Oklahoma, and is a distinct contribution to its spiritual, intellectual, and socal life.

WINGS UNFOLDED

You walked the path of destiny
Crowned with gentleness and charity
For all mankind.

Your understanding heart and life
A willing sacrifice to all their needs.
Your essence was the stuff of which
Our pioneers were made,
And virtue flowed from your pure life
To all who touched you as you
Passed this way.
Your spirit has been poised for flight
For many years,
Your visions always swept the far horizons,
And lived in constant touch with Him
Who gave you innate sense of beauty

In all things.
A secret knowledge of His
world;
The sunsets and the starlit
nights,
The bloom of flowers and fall-
ing leaves,
The winter snows and rainswept
skies
Were witcheries to which you were
attuned.

Your soul so blended with it
all
Until at times you beat your
folded wings
In vain attempt against the
bars
Of mortal ken;
And then again you walked
In sweet serenity,
Secure in knowledge that some
day
The Call would come.

The Call has come,
The bars are down,
Your wings are now unfolded;
With swiftest flight they bore
you far,
To those bright realms
Of which you dreamed,
And there the One
Who guides your spirit's flight
Receives—your liberated soul.

Jesse E. Moore.[1]

[1] *Wings Unfolded* was written while Alice Hearrell Murray lay in state in the Capitol of Oklahoma, August 29, 1938.

HARRY LEE STUART

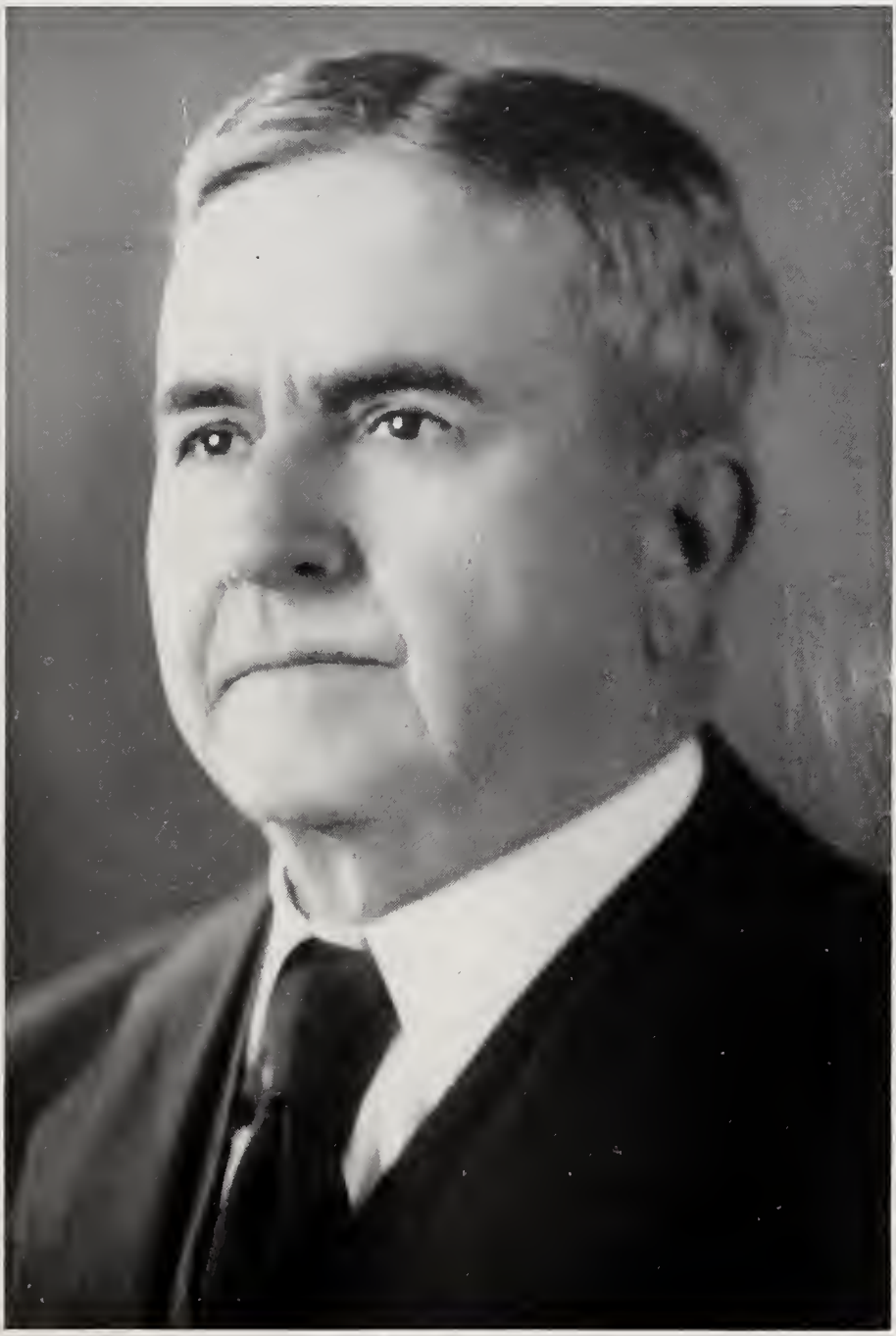
1865-1939

Harry Lee Stuart was born at Mansfield, Louisiana, on September 20, 1865. He was the son of Rev. Charles Bingley Stuart and his wife Elizabeth Lee, nee Davis.[1]

His grandfather, John Stuart, and grandmother, Lucy Stuart, nee Horne, on the paternal side, were both of Scotch descent and came from England to King William County, Virginia. His grandfather and grandmother on the maternal side were William Edwards Davis and Mary Hoomes Davis. His paternal grandparents had four sons, who, in order of their birth, were Charles Bingley, James, John William, and Ralph.

Judge Harry Lee Stuart's father (Charles Bingley Stuart, Sr.) was born and lived for many years in Virginia. In 1845 he graduated from Randolph-Macon College while it was located at Boydton, Virginia. Thereafter for

[1] *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XV (1937), 229.



HARRY LEE STUART

several years he taught chemistry in that college. Later he became president of a girls' school at Ashland, Virginia, and still later he was admitted to the bar and engaged in the practice of the law.

About the time he removed to Louisiana he became a local preacher with deacons orders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. About 1859, Charles Bingley Stuart, Sr., and his brother, John William Stuart, devoted to each other and for a while in partnership, removed to Mansfield, Louisiana, where Charles Bingley Stuart became the second president of the Mansfield Female College.

Harry Lee Stuart finished his education with a Master's degree from Randolph-Macon College after it was removed to Ashland, Virginia. His mother, Elizabeth Lee Davis Stuart, died when he was quite young and was buried at Mansfield, Louisana. His early life on account of this occasioned gloom was pervaded by sadness, but never in a long, difficult, but cultured and distinguished career did he depart from the traditions and best teaching of his day, a true gentleman of the old southern school.

His father died in 1890 and is buried at Marshall, Texas.

When he first came from Louisiana to Texas, he edited the *Hesperian*, a newspaper published at Gainesville, at the same time reading law. After being admitted to the bar he formed a partnership with Judge R. R. Bell, which continued and lasted through the last 46 years of his life. In 1910, this firm removed to Oklahoma City, the style of the firm then being Ledbetter, Stuart and Bell.

When Judge Stuart died, Judge Bell told the newspaper reporters that in that long and intimate relationship he could not remember of ever having heard his partner utter an oath, and that his language was always as chaste as that of a child.

Whilst he went through life burdened with the sorrows of others, he was ever careful to keep his own imprisoned within himself. As such a man he was outstanding as a counselor and will be remembered by those who sought his advice as one who had a generous and human kindness and a sympathizing spirit, worthy to be canonized with the saints.

He was a careful student of the Bible and a devout Christian. At the bar he was a good and honorable fighter, working long and arduously for his client. Regardless of the amount involved in a case he might accept, it rested with him as a celebrated one. The law in Oklahoma and Texas is better for his influence in having lived and practiced in said jurisdictions.

In his home he was a man of devotion, a kind husband, generous to a fault and a father indulgent of his son.

Many were the hours he spent with the classics in his own library, and often at night because he loved his fireside, his thoughts resolved themselves there to the benefit of others. He rose early and worked late, never conscious of the vast physical effort expended. Honor, loyalty, justice and devotion were pearls of great price to him. For their furtherance and fulfillment he lived and eventually died, even as he wished, on the way to try another case—a tribute to his early life and a noble prelude for a better one yet to come. What the future has lost, humanity has gained. The ideal will survive, he having lived for it and passed on, leaving it to swell deep in the hearts of those many who knew him and loved him.

He died March 16, 1939, survived by his widow and Harry Lee Stuart, Jr.

R. R. Bell.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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[2] Data for this article was furnished by Judge R. L. Williams, Durant; Judge Harry L. S. Halley, Tulsa; Will McKemmie, Wichita Falls, Texas; J. D. Stuart, St. Petersburg, Florida and other members of the Stuart family.

TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH, TULSA

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TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH, TULSA

By

John Bartlett Meserve

A history of Trinity Episcopal Church in Tulsa invites a brief resume of the interesting historic background of the Church in what is today the Diocese of Oklahoma. From 1838 to 1893, the Church in the old Indian Territory was committed to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, first of the Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, and later of the Bishop of Arkansas. The General Convention of the Church which convened at Philadelphia on August 19, 1835, created the Missionary District of the Southwest, which embraced the States of Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the Republic of Texas. The Indian Territory, embracing what is today the State of Oklahoma, save the panhandle, and which had been created by a recent Act of Congress, was also included within this district.

The Rev. Leonidas Polk,[1] the young rector of St. Peter's Church at Columbia, Tennessee, was consecrated the first Missionary Bishop of the newly created district, on December 9, 1838, at Cincinnati, and served as such until October 16, 1841, when he became the initial Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana. Bishop Polk becomes a major figure in the early history of the Church in Oklahoma. The new Bishop made his first and only venture into the Indian Territory in the latter part of January, 1841, while en route to Texas. On the oc-

[1] The Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, a son of William and Sarah (Hawkins) Polk, was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 10, 1806. He attended the University of North Carolina in 1821-23 but entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1823 graduating in June, 1827. Six months later, he resigned his military commission and entered the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria. He was ordained deacon on April 9, 1830 and in the ensuing month, married Frances Devereaux. He was priested in May, 1831 and served as assistant pastor of Monumental Episcopal Church at Richmond, Virginia. He subsequently removed to Tennessee where he served as an assistant to Bishop Otey and as rector first, of St. John's Church at Ashwood and later of St Peter's Church at Columbia. An outstanding service was his contribution to the establishing of the University of the South (Episcopalian) at Sewanee, Tennessee, the corner stone of which he laid on October 9, 1860. Came the springtime of '61, Bishop Polk enlisted with the Confederacy and, because of his training at West Point, was appointed a major-general on June 25, 1861 being promoted to lieutenant-general on October 10, 1862. He was killed by a cannon ball in the skirmish at Pine Mountain, Georgia, on June 14, 1864, closing a military service most faithfully rendered. He rests beneath the chancel window in the rear of St. Paul's Church at Augusta, Georgia. For a more extended sketch of Bishop Polk, see the December 1938 issue of the "Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church", which issue is commemorative of the centennial anniversary of his consecration to the Episcopate of the church.

casion of this visitation, he visited Chief John Ross of the Cherokees at his home at Park Hill, subsequently holding services at Ft. Gibson where he established a "Preaching Station." In pursuing his course toward the Red River, services were held at Doaksville in the Choctaw country, where the intrepid Bishop contacted the Rev. Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington, prominent Protestant Missionaries of other denominations who were maintaining schools among the Indians. He was entertained at the home of Peter P. Pitchlynn who was later to become a chieftain of the Choctaw Nation.

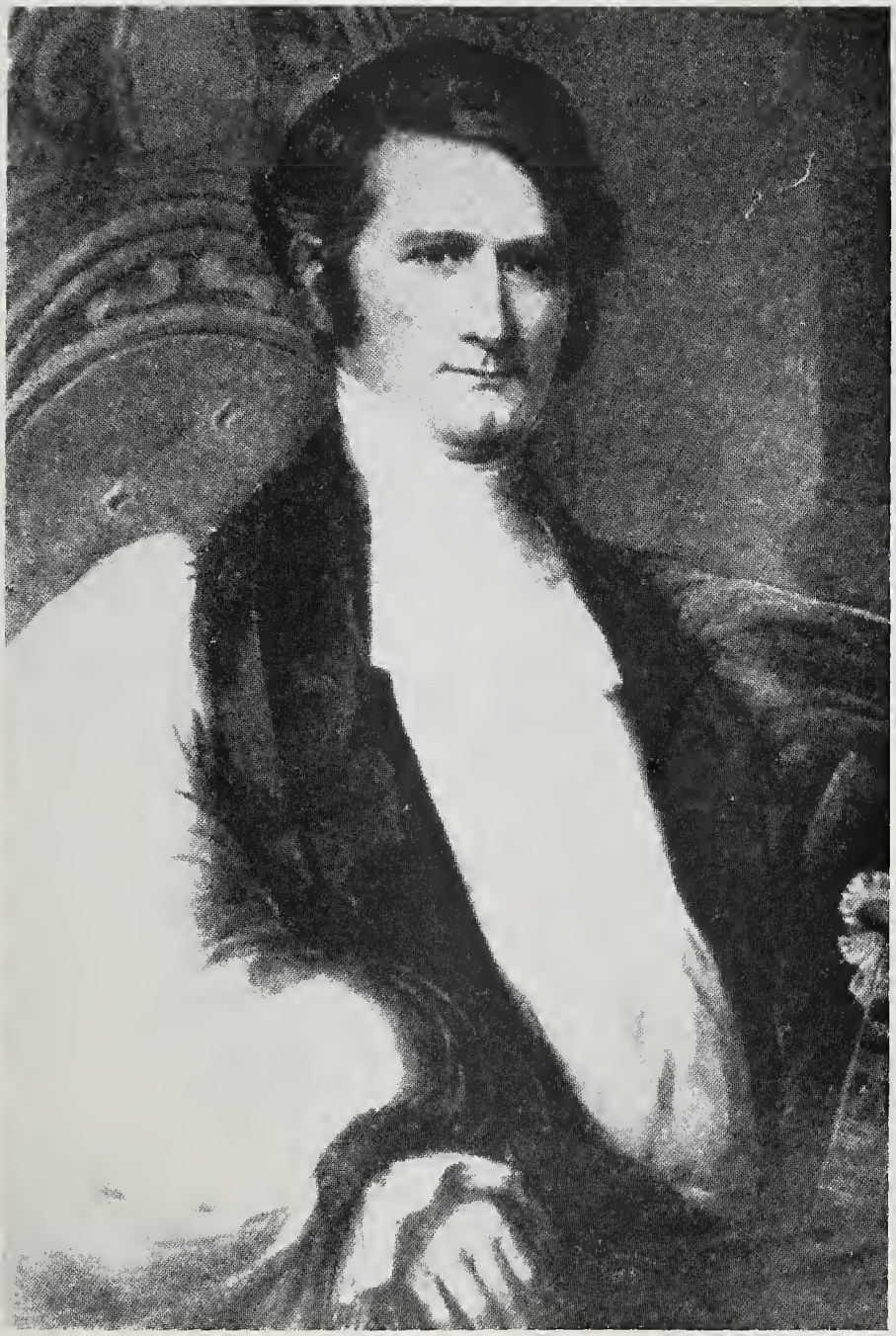
The Indian Territory was, at that time, a sequestered region and truly an Indian country. The Federal Government was concluding its removal of some 60,000 of its red proteges from the Southeastern States to the old Territory. There were few whites in this country at that time and, only in rare instances, was their presence tolerated. There were no missionaries of the Episcopal Church among the Indians of the Territory during those inceptive days, the spiritual concerns of these simple folk being influenced by missionaries of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist denominations. Among the Seneca Indians in what is today, Ottawa County, Oklahoma, it is known that lay-reading services of the Church had been maintained some years before.[2]

Upon the retirement of Bishop Polk, in the fall of 1841, the Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey,[3] Bishop of Tennessee, was assigned to the Southwest Missionary District. In touring the district, Bishop Otey reached Ft. Towson in the Choctaw country on March 23, 1844, where he conducted services. Bishop Otey was relieved of this assignment when the Rev. George Washington Freeman,[4] on October

[2] The Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, a son of Daniel Kemper was born at Pleasant Valley, Duchess County, New York, on December 24, 1789. He attended the Episcopal Aeademy at Chesire, Connecticut and in 1805 entered Columbia College in New York, graduating in 1809. He was ordained a deacon in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, Pa., on March 11, 1811 and priested on January 23, 1814 at Christ Church, in that city. While serving as rector of St. Paul's Church at Norwalk, Conn. on September 25, 1835, he was consecrated the first Missionary Bishop of the Episcopal Church in America. His diocese embraced Indiana and Missouri. Bishop Kemper visited the Seneca Indians in what is today, Ottawa County, Oklahoma, in November, 1836 where he reports that lay-reading services of the church had been maintained among these Indians. His ambitious program to establish an Indian diocese with its own Missionary Bishop to inaugurate work in the Indian Territory, came to naught. He was probably the first Episcopal Bishop to enter the old Indian Territory. Bishop Kemper passed away on May 24, 1870.

[3] The Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, was born at Liberty, Virginia on January 27, 1800, was consecrated Bishop of Tennessee in Christ Church, Philadalephia, Pa., on January 14, 1834, being the first Bishop of that Diocese. He was the first Chancellor of the University of the South, married Elizabeth D. Pennell on October 12, 1821 and died on April 23, 1863. He rests in the ancient cemetery at St. John's Church, Ashwood, Tennessee.

[4] The Rt. Rev. George Washington Freeman was born at Sandwich, Mass., on June 13, 1789. In 1818, he married Ann Yates Cholson.



RT. REV. LEONIDAS POLK

26, 1844, was consecrated Bishop of Arkansas "and the Indian Territory south of the 36½ parallel of latitude and to exercise Episcopal supervision over the Missions in the Republic of Texas." Bishop Freeman visited Ft. Gibson where he conducted services at the post. The Rev. Daniel McManuss, an Episcopal clergyman served continuously as chaplain of the military post at Ft. Gibson from September 3, 1845 to June 1, 1857 and conducted regular Sunday services. The Bishop passed away on April 29, 1858, and was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Champlain Lay who was consecrated Bishop of Arkansas,[5] the Indian Territory and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, on October 23, 1859. Bishop Lay served until 1869 when he was transferred to the new diocese of Easton, Maryland. He visited the Indian Territory in June, 1860. The Rev. Henry Niles Pierce succeeded Bishop Lay and was consecrated Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory on January 25, 1870.[6] Shortly thereafter, he established the first Episcopal church in the old Territory, at Oak Lodge, a short distance west of Ft. Smith. Facts as to the exact date of the founding of this church are still fugitive. Bishop Pierce passed away at Little Rock on September 5, 1899.

The Church in Arkansas had become an independent diocese on August 26, 1871, but it was not until 1892 that the Missionary District of the Indian Territory and the Territory of Oklahoma was created by the General Convention. The Rev. Francis Key Brooke was consecrated the first Missionary Bishop of the new district at Grace Cathedral Church,[7] at Topeka, Kansas, on January 6, 1893,

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[5] The Rt. Rev. Henry Champlain Lay was born in Richmond, Va., on December 6, 1823. During the Civil War, he functioned as Bishop of Louisiana upon the request of Bishop Polk who was absent in military service. He married Elizabeth Withers Atkinson on May 13, 1847. He passed away on September 17, 1885.

[6] The Rt. Rev. Henry Niles Pierce was born at Pawtucket, Rhode Island on October 19, 1820 and married Nannie Haywood Sheppard on April 18, 1854. On August 26, 1871, the church in Arkansas became an independent Diocese and he became the first Bishop. He made frequent visitations into the Indian Territory.

[7] The Rt. Rev. Francis Key Brooke, a son of the Rev. John Thomas and Louisa R. (Hunter) Brooke, was born at Gambier, Ohio, on November 2, 1852. He graduated from Kenyon College at Gambier in 1874 and was ordained deacon in Christ Church, at Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 21, 1875. He was priested at Christ Church, Springfield, Ohio, on May 5, 1877 and served thereafter as rector in the following churches;—Grace Church, College Hill, Ohio, in 1875-77, Christ Church, Portsmouth, Ohio, in 1877-80, St. James Church, Piqua, Ohio in 1880-84, Grace Church at Sandusky, Ohio, in 1884-86, St. Peter's Church at St. Louis, Mo., in 1886-88 and Trinity Church at Atchison, Kansas, in 1888-93. He received his M. A. degree at Kenyon in 1881 and his D. D. degree from the University of the South in 1911. He was a trustee of Kenyon College. Bishop Brooke was consecrated Missionary Bishop of the Missionary District of the Indian Territory and the Territory of Oklahoma, at Grace Cathedral Church at Topeka, on January 6, 1893 and remained in that position until October, 1910, when the district was divided and thereafter, as Bishop of the Missionary District of Oklahoma until

and the first sustained effort to promote the Church in what had hitherto been strictly an Indian country, was undertaken. The white population in the Territories now far exceeded the Indian citizenship and the days of frontier life had lapsed.

Tulsa is situated in what was then the extreme Northern part of the Creek Nation in the old Indian Territory portion of the new Missionary District. By direction of Bishop Brooke, the initial Episcopal service was held in Tulsa, in November, 1903, being conducted by the Rev. Everett E. Williams,[8] a missionary residing at Vinita. This service was held at the home of Mr. Dan Hunt, which stood at the corner of 3rd Street and Boston Avenue. The towering 25-story National Bank of Tulsa Building today adorns the site. Trinity Mission was established by Bishop Brooke and the Rev. Mr. Williams remained in charge until June, 1904, when he removed to Shawnee. In February, 1904, Bishop Brooke celebrated the first communion service of the new mission, in the home of W. B. Frederick at the corner of 3rd Street and Cincinnati Avenue, and later in the spring held communion services in the old Christian Church which stood at the corner of 2nd Street and Boulder Avenue. During those formative days of the Church in Tulsa and before the completion of the first church edifice, services were held at various places but principally in the Masonic Hall on First Street between Main Street and Boston Avenue. In the latter part of June, 1904, the Rev. Richard D. Baldwin,[9] who

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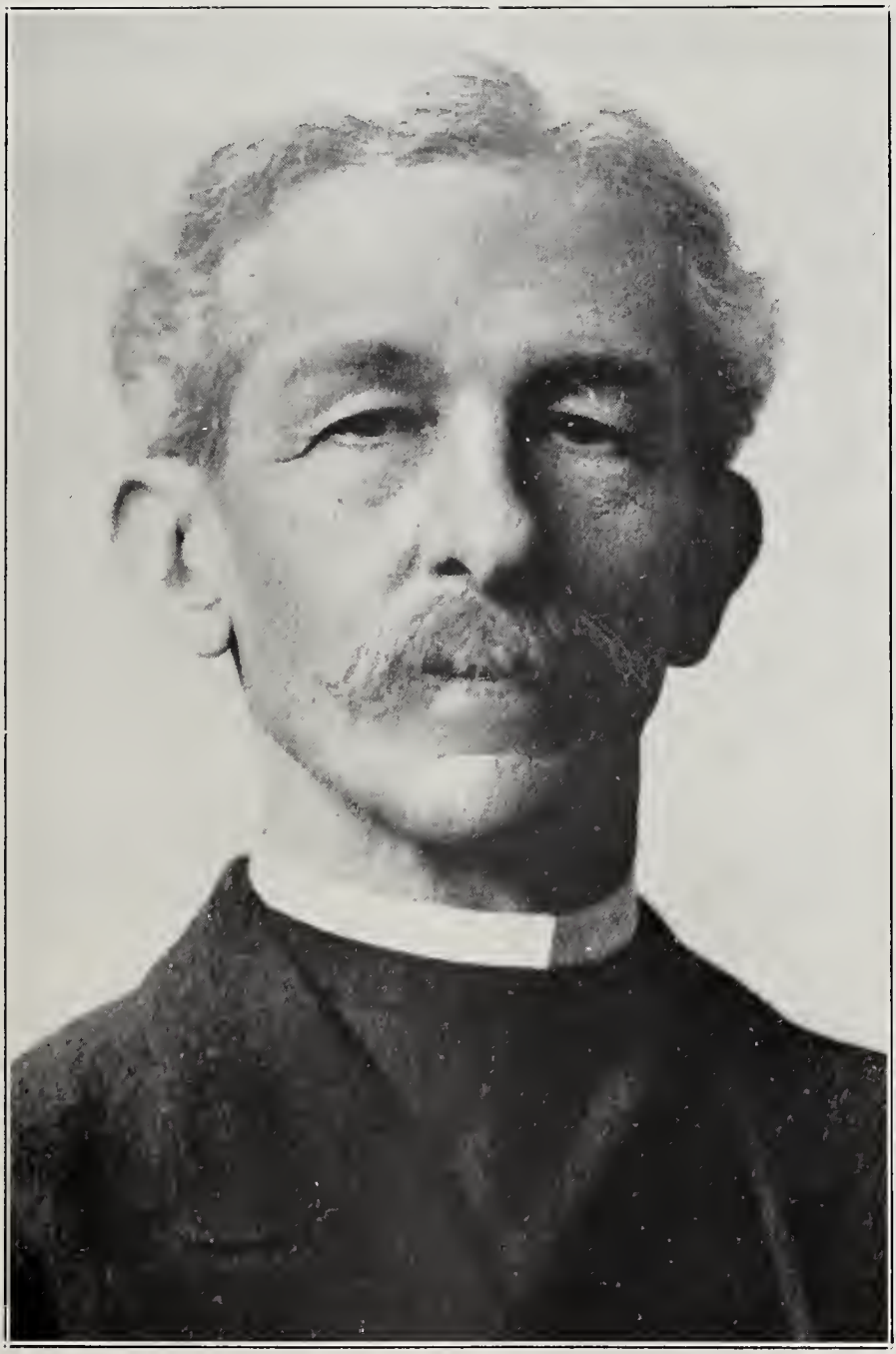
his death on October 22, 1918. He married Mildred Ruth Baldwin, at Bolivar, Tennessee, on January 5, 1881. She passed away at Chicago, on August 23, 1928. Bishop Brooke is buried at Gambier, Ohio. For a more extended sketch, see "Right Rev. Francis Key Brooke" by Rev. H. J. Llwyd, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII, 52 *et seq.*

[8] The Rev. Everett E. Williams, a son of Augustus A. and Adell (Beesler) Williams, was born at Portsmouth, Ohio on September 12, 1875. He was ordained deacon on Whitsunday in 1902 and priested on March 8, 1905. He married Bettie Griffith Clark at Shawnee, Oklahoma on May 24, 1905. After her death in 1936, he married Alice Belle Redcliffe on July 9, 1938. He has retired from the ministry and now (1939) resides at 903 3rd street, Hudson, Wisconsin.

[9] The Rev. Richard D. Baldwin was born at Springfield, Ohio on November 10, 1866. He graduated from the University of Cincinnati on May 28, 1890 with the degree of L. L. B., was admitted to the bar and practiced law at Springfield for seven or eight years. Influenced by Bishop Brooke, he abandoned his career at the law and entered Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Conn., from which he graduated on June 7, 1904. He was ordained deacon on June 26, 1904 at Guthrie and priested at Shawnee in the spring of 1905. Immediately after his graduation he came to the Indian Territory and was placed in charge of the church missions at Vinita, Tulsa and Sapulpa. On each Sunday, he held morning services at Vinita, afternoon services at Sapulpa and evening service at Tulsa. The Rev. Mr. Baldwin was influential in the construction of church buildings at Tulsa, Sapulpa, Chelsea, Durant and Lawton. He married Frances Botefuhr at Fayetteville, Arkansas on December 28, 1904. He passed away on December 3, 1934 at Fayetteville, Arkansas where his widow resides (1939) at 4 East Lafayette street.



RT. REV. FRANCIS KEY BROOKE

had recently arrived from Ohio, was placed in charge of the newly organized Trinity Mission, as deacon and later as priest-in-charge. The first Woman's Guild was formed in 1905 with Mrs. Dan Hunt as its first presiding officer. The site upon which the present church building now stands was acquired on March 11, 1905 for a consideration of $800 and the construction of the first church building was commenced. The church building was completed in the fall of 1906 at a cost of $3500 and was dedicated by Bishop Brooke, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Baldwin.

It is of interest to know that the first marriage service of the Church in Tulsa was performed by Mr. Baldwin on August 31, 1905, the contracting parties being Winford Bourland and Edithe Throop. On September 6, 1904, the first baptism was administered by Mr. Baldwin, being that of Nellie Belle and Ruth Voris Short. The Rev. Mr. Baldwin retired from his charge on July 1, 1906 and was succeeded by the Rev. James E. McGarvey, who became the deacon-in-charge until October 31, 1908. On December 2, 1906, the first confirmation class was presented by the Rev. Mr. McGarvey and confirmed by Bishop Brooke. The members of the class were, Beatrice Alexander Poindexter, Martha Belle Frederick, Lillian Bowman Butler, Sarah Elizabeth Hunt, Emma Little Neves Hammat, and Guy Winfred Johnson. Mr. McGarvey also conducted the first funeral services of the church in Tulsa, being that of Patrick Gill, on November 13, 1906. Mr. McGarvey passed away some years ago.

Trinity Mission became a self-supporting parish early in 1909 and the Rev. Gilbert A. Ottmann became its first rector on February 1, 1909. The first parish meeting was held in February, 1909,[10] at which Mr. Ottmann presided and the following were elected the first vestrymen of Trinity Parish: J. A. Steele, B. T. Hainer, F. A. Levoy, Dan Hunt, W. H. Roeser, C. W. Deming and Lewis Emery. W. Lyle Dickey became the first senior warden of Trinity Parish.

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[10] The Rev. Gilbert Almon Ottmann was born at Fulton, New York on December 7, 1856. He received his early education at the Colgate Academy and took a partial course at Hobart College. After several years in business he began his preparation for the ministry. The years 1882-3 he spent at Anadarko, Oklahoma in Indian school work. He returned to New York and entered St. Andrews Divinity School at Syracuse and was ordained deacon on February 26, 1885 and priested on October 2, 1885. He served as rector at Fayetteville, N. Y. in 1886-8; Pasadena, California in 1888-9; Sacramento, Calif., in 1891-96; St. Louis, Mo., in 1896-1901; Atlanta, Ga., in 1901-3; Savannah, Ga., in 1903-7; Newport, Ark., in 1908 and Tulsa, Okla., in 1909-12 from whence he went to Palm Beach, Fla., and later to Trinity Church at Trinidad, Colo., of which church he was rector at the time of his death. While in California he served as chaplain of the state senate and later in the Spanish-American War served as chaplain of the 2nd Missouri Volunteer Infantry. He married Minnie E. James on August 26, 1880 who passed away on October 24, 1893. On January 38, 1903, he married Florence Hardy who survives him and resides (1939) at 2127 California Street, Washington, D. C. Mr. Ottmann passed away at Denver, Colorado on March 17, 1922 and is buried at Trinidad, Colorado.

In October, 1910, the Missionary District was divided, by action of the General Convention, the two districts embracing substantially the areas which hitherto had defined the Indian Territory and the Territory of Oklahoma. The old Indian Territory section being styled the Missionary District of Eastern Oklahoma, and the Territory of Oklahoma portion being the Missionary District of Oklahoma. On January 26, 1911, the Rev. Theodore Payne Thurston was consecrated Bishop of the Eastern District and established his residence at Muskogee.[11] Bishop Brooke remained in charge of the Western District.

The Rev. Mr. Ottmann retired as rector of Trinity Church on December 15, 1912 and the Rev. James J. H. Reedy who had come to the parish in 1911,[12] served as *locum tenens* until the selection of the Rev. Chauncey V. Kling of Waterford,[13] New York as rector

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[11] Rt. Rev. Theodore Payne Thurston, a son of Benjamin Eaton and Mary Ann (Siddall) Thurston was born at Delevan, Illinois on June 30, 1867. He graduated from the public schools at Philadelphia in June, 1883 and from Shattuck School at Faribault, Minn., in 1887. He received his B. A. degree at Trinity College at Hartford, Conn., in 1891 and his D. D. degree from that institution in 1911. He attended the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass. from which he graduated in 1894 and later he received his D. D. degree from the University of the South. He was ordained deacon in 1894 and was priested in 1895. He served as rector of St. Paul's Church at Onatonna, Minn., in 1894-7, at Winona, Minn., in 1897-1903 and of St. Paul's Church at Minneapolis, Minn., in 1908-11 and on January 26, 1911 was consecrated Missionary Bishop of the Missionary District of Eastern District of Oklahoma. Upon the death of Bishop Brooke, he became Bishop of the church in the entire State of Oklahoma and served as such until his resignation on October 15, 1926. His resignation was occasioned by ill health. Bishop Thurston married Jane Mitchell at Franklyn, Pa., on September 21, 1904. She passed away on May 14, 1905 and on June 8, 1920, he married Daisy Carroll Speer. He now (1939) resides at 2808 State Street, San Diego, California.

[12] The Rev. James Jay Hamilton Reedy, a son of Rev. William Michael Reedy, a Presbyterian minister, was born at Curwensville, Pa., on May 3, 1852. His parents removed to Freeport, Ill., in 1854 where he lived until 1868 when he removed to Council Bluffs, Iowa, subsequently removing to Nebraska in 1876. He was educated at the Jefferson Normal School, at Jefferson, Iowa, taught school and later attended the Theological Seminary at Topeka, Kansas. He lived at Denver, Colo., from 1900 to 1906, when he came to Newkirk, Oklahoma. In 1907, he became identified with the Whirlwind School near Watonga, Okla., where he taught among the Cheyenne Indians. He was ordained deacon at Trinity Church, Council Bluffs, Iowa in 1889 and was priested by Bishop Brooke at St. Paul's Church, at Oklahoma City on January 25, 1908. From 1909 to 1911, he served the churches at Vinita, Chelsea, Claremore and Afton. He came to Tulsa on July 2, 1911 and served thereafter as curate of Trinity Church until May 1, 1935 upon which date he was made curate emeritus. He is a much beloved character.

[13] The Rev. Chauncey Vorhis Kling, a son of William Virgil and Amelia (Osterhout) Kling was born at Cobleskill, New York on August 10, 1873. He graduated from Hartwick College in 1896 and from Hartwick Theological Seminary in 1899 with the degree of B. D. and served in the ministry of the Lutheran church in 1899-1905. He was ordained deacon in the Episcopal Church on May 10, 1906 at St. John's Church at Ogdensburg, New York and was priested on May 9, 1907 at St. Paul's Church at Waddington, N. Y. of which church he

RT. REV. THEODORE PAYNE THURSTON

in 1913. The service of the Rev. Mr. Kling began on April 6, 1913, and was concluded on April 4, 1920. A Woman's Auxiliary Branch was formed in 1912 with Mrs. John Carson as its initial president, and the Altar Guild was created the same year with Mrs. Fred Cabel as president. On October 22, 1918, the beloved Bishop Francis Key Brooke passed away and the two missionary districts in Oklahoma again were united and Bishop Thurston became Bishop of the Church in the entire State.

The congregation of Trinity Parish had now exceeded the accommodations of the church building, and plans were already under contemplation for the construction of a new and more commodious house of worship. As early as February 21, 1919, the matter of new church construction was submitted to the annual parish meeting and highly approved. The Rev. Mr. Kling was succeeded by the Rev. Rolfe P. Crum who held his first service in Trinity Church on June 22, 1920,[14] being installed by Bishop Thurston on November 18, 1920. To him was committed the task of building the new church. The old church building was dismantled and ground broken for the construction of the new church building upon the site of the original church edifice, on December 11, 1921. The growth of the congregation and the building of the new structure, made necessary the holding of services elsewhere, and on December 12, 1920. the regular church services were held in the Majestic Theatre and continued there until June 4, 1922, when the first service was con-

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served as rector in 1907-8. He served thereafter as rector of Grace Church at Waterford, N. Y. in 1908-13 and on April 6, 1913 became rector of Trinity Church, at Tulsa, serving until April 4, 1920. He returned to New York where he served as rector of St. James Church at Ft. Edward, N. Y. from June 1, 1920 until June 1, 1922. At present (1939) he is rector of Trinity Church at Troy, N. Y. where he has been in service since 1922. He married Rosa Lee Turk on August 8, 1896 who passed away on March 19, 1933. He married Ann McManus of Troy on September 17, 1934. He received his D. D. degree at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., on June 19, 1939. The Rev. Mr. Kling resides (1939) at 585, 4th avenue, Troy, New York.

[14] The Rev. Rolfe Pomeroy Crum, a son of Xenephon Xerxes and Anna Marcia (Phelps) Crum, was born at Cleveland, Ohio, on January 5, 1889. He attended school at Bolton Grammar School at Cleveland in 1895-1902, East High School, Cleveland, 1902-06, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1906-11 where he received his A. B. degree, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1911-14 and received his M. A. degree, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., 1911-14 and received his B. D. degree. He received his D. D. degree at Western Reserve University at Cleveland in 1930. He pursued studies at Cambridge, England in 1931-2. He was ordained deacon at St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, in June 1914 and priested at Trinity Church, Boston in May 1915. He served as chaplain with the American Red Cross in France from July 1918 to January, 1919. He served as curate of Trinity Church, Buffalo, New York in 1914-16 and as rector of St. Mark's Church at Syracuse, N. Y. in 1916-20 and of Trinity Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma, from June 1, 1920 to December 31, 1925. He served thereafter as rector of St. Mark's Church, San Antonio, Texas in 1926-31 and of St. Andrews Church, Philadelphia, Pa. 1932-36. He was chaplain of a cruise around the world in 1936 and in 1938-9 president of Neff College, in Philadelphia.

ducted by Bishop Thurston in the crypt of the new church building then under construction. The Rev. Mr. Crum concluded his services in the parish on December 31, 1925, and on May 9, 1926, the new church edifice was formally dedicated with services conducted by the Rt. Rev. James Ridout Winchester, Bishop of Arkansas, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Crum who was then rector of St. Mark's Church at San Antonio, Texas. The new church building, at the corner of Fifth Street and Cincinnati Avenue and in immediate proximity to the downtown district of Tulsa, is a fine example of English Gothic architecture with inspiring stained glass windows and most beautiful wood carvings.

Bishop Thurston severed his connection with the Missionary District of Oklahoma, by his resignation on October 15, 1926. The Rt. Rev. E. Cecil Seaman, Missionary Bishop of North Texas, functioned as Bishop of the Missionary District of Oklahoma until October 2, 1927, when the Rev. Thomas Casady was consecrated Bishop of the District.[15] The Rev. A. Edward Saunders became rector of Trinity Church on November 1, 1926,[16] concluding his service by resignation on October 31, 1929, to be succeeded, on Jan-

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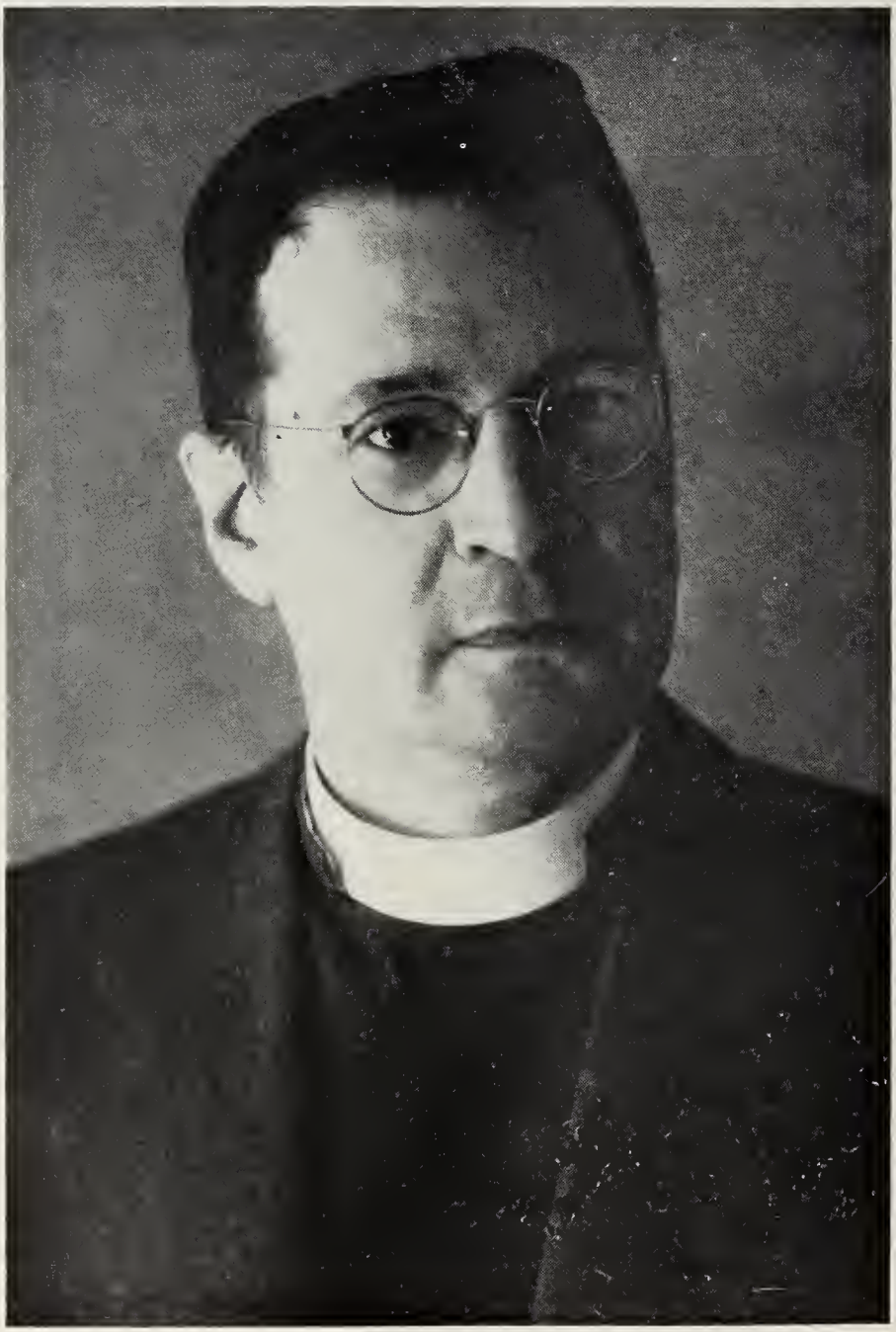
[15] The Rt. Rev. Thomas Casady, a son of Simon and Sarah Conarree, (Griffiths) Casady was born at Des Moines, Iowa on June 6, 1881. He received his B. A. degree at the University of Iowa in 1902 and was a student at the General Theological Seminary in New York City, in 1903-06. He was ordained deacon at Des Moines, on June 24, 1906, priested at Oelwein, Iowa on February 15, 1907 and served as rector of the following churches;—Oelwein, Iowa in 1907; at St. Mark's Church at Des Moines, from January 1, 1908 to November 1, 1912; Church of the Ascension, at Pueblo, Colorado from November 1, 1912 to May 1, 1920 and of All Saints Church at Omaha, Nebraska, from May 1, 1920 to October 2, 1927. He was consecrated Missionary Bishop of the Missionary District of Oklahoma, at Omaha, Neb., on October 2, 1927. He received his S. T. D. degree from the General Theological Seminary on October 27, 1927 and his D. D. degree from the University of the South, in June 1928. The Missionary District became the Diocese of Oklahoma on January 17, 1838 and Bishop Casady became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Oklahoma. He married Frances Le Baron Kasson on June 27, 1906. The much beloved Bishop resides (1939) at 603 East 18th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[16] The Rev. Albert Edward Saunders, a son of Rev. Albert E. Saunders, a Methodist clergyman and Minnie A. Shaw, his wife, was born at Downer's Grove, Illinois, on October 25, 1892. He was educated at private schools, Wheaton College, the Northwestern University and at Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Ill. In September, 1923 he was ordained deacon in the Episcopal Church. He was priested in March, 1924 and served as rector of St. James Church at Hibbing, Minnesota in 1923-26; of Trinity Church at Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1926-29; of St. Martin's Church at Providence, R. I., in 1929-33 and of Christ Church on Clinton Street at Brooklyn, N. Y. since 1933. He married Irene Lamberson on September 16, 1915. Rev. Mr. Saunders received his D. D. degree from the University of Tulsa in 1929. He resides (1939) at 326 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.



REV. EDWARD HENRY ECKEL, JR.

uary 1, 1930, by the Rev. Edward H. Eckel, Jr.,[17] who is the present (1939) rector. The Rev. John A. Gardner served as assistant rector from 1927 to 1928.[18] The Rev. James J. H. Reedy served as curate of the church from 1911 to May 1, 1935, at which time he was made curate emeritus. Other curates of the parish have been the Rev. Messrs. Quentin Ferguson, from January 1, 1933 to September 24, 1934, Judson S. Leeman, from June 1, 1935, to September 1, 1936, Paul R. Abbott from September 1, 1936 to June 1, 1937, and Robert Harold Stetler who came to the parish on September 1, 1937, and is still (1939) in service. The Order of St. Martin was formed in the church in April, 1928, and the Laymen's League in January, 1938 with Judge Louis W. Pratt as its first president. Not least among the organizations of Trinity Church is the Social Service League, formed by Mrs. John Carson on November 19, 1920. A church publication, the *Trinity Tidings,* was published first in October, 1930, and has been issued weekly since, save during the months of July and August in each year. Mrs. Marie M. Hine, the present organist and choir directress, has served since May 2, 1920.

Trinity parish has shared the rapid growth of Tulsa and its church membership today embraces some 1375 communicants.

In 1938, Oklahoma churchmen gave pause in thought of the unafraid Christian mentor whose service as the first Bishop of the old Indian Territory had its inception a century before. Most appropriate and commemorative it was, that on January 17, 1938, the last fragment of the extensive Missionary District over which the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk had presided, became the Diocese of

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[17] The Rev. Edward Henry Eckel Jr., a son of the Rev. Edward Henry and Anna Todd (Reynolds) Eckel, was born at Newport, Delaware on April 23, 1890. He attended the public schools, graduating from the High School at St. Joseph, Missouri in 1907. He entered the University of Missouri in the following year, but became a Rhodes scholar from Missouri shortly thereafter. He went to England and entered Wadham College in 1910 at Oxford and received his B. A. degree with honors in theology, in 1913. Upon his return to the United States, he entered the senior class at the General Theological Seminary at New York City and graduated in 1914. He was ordained deacon on June 7, 1914 at Christ Church in St. Joseph, Mo. and placed in charge of Christ Church at Warrensburg, Mo. He was ordained to the priesthood on December 20, 1914. The Bachelor of Divinity degree was conferred upon him by the General Theological Seminary in 1915. Rev. Mr. Eckel Jr. became curate of the Church of St. John the Evangelist at St. Paul, Minnesota, in November, 1916. In February, 1918, he became rector of St. Paul's-on-the-Hill, at St. Paul, Minn. and a year later assumed additional charge of the Church of the Epiphany. He married Emily Hewson Pope at St. Paul on April 30, 1927 and on January 1, 1930 became rector of Trinity Church at Tulsa which position, he today (1939) most capably honors.

[18] The Rev. John A. Gardner is at present (1939) rector of St. Andrews Church at Providence, Rhode Island and resides at 302 Academy Avenue in that city.

Oklahoma. The Rt. Rev. Thomas Casady became the first Bishop of the new Diocese.[19]

[19] The writer acknowledges indebtedness for data furnished, to the Rt. Rev. Richard Bland Mitchell, Bishop of Arkansas, the Rt. Rev. James Craig Morris, Bishop of Louisiana, the Rev. Alvin Scollay Hock of Stillwater, Oklahoma and to Miss Lucile Mary McCoy of Oklahoma City who has made available to the writer her splendid thesis, "The History of the Episcopal Church in Oklahoma."

RT. REV. THOMAS CASADY

LETTERS REGARDING CHOCTAW MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

Edited by Anna Lewis[1]

Miss Sue McBeth came to the Choctaw Nation as a missionary in the Spring of 1860. She was sent to the Goodwater mission and here she worked almost a year and a half until the Civil War forced her to leave the Indian territory.[2] She never lost interest in the Choctaws. While she was in Goodwater she kept a diary or a journal as she called it. Parts of her journal have survived.

The following letters are from various missionaries who were either workers in the Choctaw Nation with Miss McBeth or who had labored in the Nation before they came. They were written as answers to her questions. She decided to write a history of the Choctaw missions and missionaries. To do this she started gathering material from various sources: letters, manuscripts and pictures. Some of the letters and a few manuscripts have been kept all these years and were sent recently by Miss McBeth's niece, Miss Mary Crawford of Lapawai, Idaho, to the Presbyterian Synodical of Oklahoma and it was through the interest of Mrs. Thomas B. Losey of Chickasha that they were brought to my attention.[3]

Vinita Cherokee Nation
Jan. 26, 1872

Miss S. L. McBeth
Dear friend,

I have yours of Dec. 27 and am happy to tell you that I remember the writer much better than you think. On my return from Presbytery in the spring of 1860, I met my much loved friend Mr. John C. McCarter at Boggy Depot; on his way to Goodwater, and having in charge the lady who now writes to me for information and whose acquaintance I there made.

In 1850—I think in January, Mr. James S. Allen and his wife, Mrs. June Allen reached Wapanucka, and were very quietly received by the quiet prairie, the quiet teacher and the quiet rocks. They came directly from Pontiac, Michigan. Mr. A. (llen) a Scotchman and Mrs. A. (llen) of English birth and one of the most energetic persons I ever knew. Their

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[1] Dr. Anna Lewis is Head of the History Department at Oklahoma College for Women.

[2] This mission was located six or seven miles from the mouth of the Kiamichi River near the present town of Ervin.

[3] Miss Crawford is a retired missionary, having worked for forty-three years among the Nez Perce. After Miss McBeth left the Choctaw Mission she went to the north-west and worked with the Nez Perce Indians until her death. There is still in existence the McBeth Mission among these Indians. Miss Crawford says of herself and her work: "I am a retired Missionary, having succeeded my Aunt Sue and Kate McBeth in their work. . . They, with my younger sister are all buried in a little Indian cemetery just back of the First Church of Kamish."

special mission was the erection of the buildings, under the direction of the Presbyterian Board. The work was begun at once and prosecuted with energy, including some toil; but such was the state of the country then that everything went on slowly. I think it was January 1852 when Rev. A. M. Watson from S. C. was sent out to put in operation and superintend the school. With him and wife came Mr. McCarter and Mr. Davis—the latter remained until about 1856 or 7.

Br. (other) Watson, after some time decided to decline the school, and give his time to preaching, and accordingly obtained a house and removed to Boggy Depot. The two young men above mentioned at once joined Mr. Allen in the work of putting up the buildings. The funds in Mr. Allen's hands came directly from the Presbyterian Board; but a part came indirectly from the Chickasaw School fund, and was paid to the Board on Mr. Allen's vouchers—After one or two changes in the agreement it was settled that the Chickasaws should pay $12000, towards the erection of the buildings. This was all paid to the Board by the Department in Washington. Before the buildings were fit for use $10,000 more had been expended. Mr. Allen had hoped that the Chickasaws would pay this ten thousand also and made several efforts to get them to do so but failed; and others afterwards failed in similar attempts to get this ten thousand dollars. In May 1852 Hon. Walter Lourice visited our missions in the territory; and while at Wapanucka wrote back to me, at Spencer where I had met him, to prepare to go up to W. (apanucka) as soon as the term closed; and get things ready to open the school in October following. It was August before we got up to Wapanucka, having both (wife and self) been quite sick in the meantime. Miss Hannah M. Green had just arrived from the Creek Mission as a teacher for the new school. Miss K. F. Thompson (afterward, Mrs. Reid and now with the Saviour) came up from Spencer where she had taught the previous term.

In October we four began school with forty scholars. We really had but little to begin with—not one bedstead for the girls, no tables in the dining room, clothing and food of a plain kind in abundance. I drew all funds from the Board though a part was paid the Board by the Department at Washington on my vouchus Viz. $75. per scholar annually—this was the agreement. What ever we expended more the Board had to furnish. Before spring we increased the number of pupils to fifty. During the next two years that we remained at Wapanucka we had one hundred girls. During the most of the time I had the valuable assistance of my friend McCarter. In the meantime these had joined the mission, Messes Mary J. Burns, Marie Shelleeburger, Anna T. Turner, and Clara M. Eddy. In July 1855 we left and Br. (other) and Sister Wilson took the places—Miss Bachon from New York came with them. They being both from S. C. Brs. (others) Wilson remained until 1859 when at his urgent request we went back from the Creek country to supply his place for one year. Mrs. Wilson was then at home and Br. (other) W. (ilson) left July 1859. He had not been back long when you saw him in the spring of 1860. During that stay he endeavored to get the Chickasaws to carry into effect a new contract which he had made with them and which included the payment of that "old" ten thousand dollars which dated back to Mr. Allen's times. This had been agreed to by a committee of Indians on condition that he should put a piazza in front of the main building, and finish the house with Belfry. But he found that they had declined to appropriate the money as agreed by their committee, and after conferences with the Board he notified the Chickasaws, through the agent, that the school would be discontinued. Bro. (ther) W. (ilson) left that spring and I closed the school at the regular time; and in accordance with instructions from the Board proceeded to sell off the property and to turn over the proceeds to the treasurers of the Chickasaws Mission. After we closed the school the Chickasaws in Council, voted the buildings under my care until they

should need them for school purposes; and we remained in the large house until the Chickasaw army needed. After that the refugees from the other nations during the war occupied the building. During the last part of the war time it was used as a hospital, and after the war it was again used by refugees who could not get back home. Putting together all the use and abuse of the house it was in a pretty bad condition when I saw it last but it was then in 1868 and I believe is now used as a school house for a day school; and one or two families of Chickasaws lived in it. The Chickasaws have now no Mission Schools; but a system of day schools.

Brother Wilson died in 1864 in Richmond while engaged as a chaplain in the Southern Army. Mr. McCarter has entirely escaped me. They went home to S. C. in 1860 to live with Mrs. McCarter's father. They were lovely people who feared and loved God. I should have mentioned the Mr. Mc C. (arter) went home for his wife during the second years they were together at Wapanucka. Mr. and Mrs. Allen left in the spring of 1855. The young ladies who were at W. (apanucka) during the last years you know—Miss Culbertson married and went to China—Miss Downing with her in China. Miss McLeod has been in the Choctaw Nation as a teacher since the war. I know not how long she remained. Miss Eddy came back in 1866 and has at times since that time taught a school at Boggy Depot. I know not that I have come near your expectations now that you can read what I have written; but I have done what little I have done, with the greatest cheerfulness.

In regard to the use of my name in a book, I need say but little. The real connection I have had with the humble work of Mission among the Indians will never raise me very high nor sink me very low whoever may know thereof.

In October 1862 Father Kingsbury was married to Miss Child a former teacher of his school (married at Boggy Depot, by Rev. H. Balentine). That fall Bro. (ther) Hotchkin died in the East where he had gone in pursuit of health. The letter telling of this reached his daughter Mrs. John Kingsbury at Boggy Depot about the last of November. She left her feeble husband in my care and went to comfort her mother—found her on her death bed. Stayed to see her die and followed her to her grave and then returned in time to spend a few days with her husband and to see him die also and go to the house appointed for all. Mrs. Father Kingsbury died before he died—These are all now in the Promised Land.

Yours truly
H. Balentine

Rochester, Minn. April 9,/72

Itibapishi holitopa fehma ma

Your letter came more than a week ago. . . . .

I went to Spencer Academy as a teacher in 1852, arriving April 8, I went in company with Father Lourice who visited the Indians, Miss. at that time. Mary Jane Hayaman arrived Jan. 7, following and we were married at Wheelock, Jan. 18, 1853, by Rev. A. Wright. Please mention her name kindly as one of the Choctaw Miss. (ionaries) as she loved the work and gave her life for it. I spent four years at Wheelock, when health giving way, I went North for a rest. Found an opportunity to enter Princeton Seminary. I studied two years and upon the request of the board left the Seminary to take charge of Goodwater, entering that charge in May 1858. Jannice left Goodwater in May 1860 and died Feb. 14, 1861.

I have not the date of my return to Goodwater. I left home the 4th of March—the day after Lincoln's innauguration, and reached Goodwater the second Monday afterwards—probably the 17:

Taking Goodwater as the center, describe a circle embrassing all that probably belonged to the Parrish, I do not remember the number of Communicates. There were not over 40 outside the school.

There were really no towns or villages, belonging to the Choctaws. Doaksville was the only approach to a village, and that you know was not Indian. Their law gave every man a title to one square mile of land, of which his house was the middle point. This induced them to locate widely apart from each other. They were strictly farmers and stock raisers. Capt. Jones branded over 600 calfs every summer, making his stock of cattle, perhaps over 3000, and bringing in an annual income of more than 8000. There are however many Indian merchants, blacksmith and carpenters. Cotton was the chief article of barter. Merchants took their unclean cotton to exchange for goods.

Missionaries repeatedly applied to the Texas Governor to redress the Red River evils but the Governor made feeble efforts to enforce the law, and the only result was the deep hatred and ill will of these Red River devils.

To me Goodwater is a pitiful place to describe. It is so utterly destitute of remenant parts.

It was situated on the not very elevated water shed dividing the Red River from the Kiamish, and equidistant from the two streams, and nine mile from their confluence. The scenery around it is exceedingly dull and uninteresting. Being wholly thin forest of not heavy growth, composed chiefly of the varieties of the oak, common to that region. The place is a misnomer, for the water supplied by well is slightly brackish, though not unwholesome, and becomes palitable by continued use..

The buildings were: 1. The Mission house—a long low tin roofed frame building with capacious rear projection, or ell, for kitchen, dining rooms, pantry, etc. The main dining room would accommodate over fifty at meals. Under this was a good large cellar with brick walls. The main building had a large veranda in front, a hall through the middle opened to this veranda, and on each side a good size room, one a reception room and the other the home of the superintendent. Over these and under the tin roof were sleeping rooms, mostly used for strangers. A little South of the Mission house was a log building. The lower part divided into two rooms. One a teachers room, the other a girls sitting room. The attic was used for scholars sleeping. Some rods further south stood the Seminary, a two story frame building. The first floor contained two large schools rooms. The second floor was divided into three rooms a teachers room and work room for the scholars. The one rear room was used as a dormitory for scholars. Back of this building was another log building containing two rooms for teachers. This is the only building now standing—all the rest were destroyed by fire. The whole station with ample wooded play ground was enclosed with a strong picket fence. And to the North separate enclosures, for garden and orchards, afording ampple supplies of apples, peaches, plums, pears and apricots in their seasons.

Outside this enclosure to the west on a gentle rise of ground stood the church of plain frame structure, 30 by 40 not plastered but nicely lined with boards and whitewash. Near this is the Mission Cemetery where lies the precious dust of some who left home and friends to toil for the red man. This sacred place is no doubt now, desolate, and the graves trodden under foot.. But God watches the sleeping dust and will keep it safe:

Yours, George Ainslie

Boggy Depot,
April 16, 1872

Dear Friend

Your several letters have come to find me very unwell. For the last four weeks with a severe cold and neuralgia in my face, which has unfitted me for this kind of business. And I studied some time on the expediency of sending the manuscript without copying. And while waiting

so Mr. Wright comes in and says we had better not send them without copying, for fear of their getting lost. So I resorted to the last remedy of getting my little son 13 years old the 7 of next May to undertake and I send you today the 19 pages of foolscap of his copying. I think you can read it. He has done this much in 10 days, out of school hours, and if he continues diligently he will copy the rest in about three weeks if he does not get sick. I also send you this day in another envelope 12 pages of the revival history of the Mission—Before the removal, which is between that which I have sent and which Cyrus has written.

I send you a sermon prepared by Mr. Byington, 2 months after the death of the second Mrs. Kingsbury, of which you might take a few extras, leaving out some of the trials. And a sermon preached by Mr. Kingsbury at Jonathan Dwight's funeral. And also an address delivered by him which is quite interesting. You will see that it is written in a simple child-like style. One reason for that is that it might be easily understood, and interpreted, as they call it in Choctaw idiom. In think you lived here long enough to understand why it was written so; as you see more of the manuscript there will more be said about Jonathan Dwight; just as fast as Syrus can copy it I will send it to you. You asked me to forgive you for being so troublesome. I have needed to be forgiven by you, for my delinquency. But while I cannot very well help on account of being unwell, truly God has been good to us in prospering our labors, thus far. And I hope and pray that he will continue, and crown our labors with success. And that this work may yet prove a rich blessing to the church, and to the world. And there may yet be a remnant saved among the Choctaw people. I send you with this letter, a front view of Mrs. Wright. Some day when my head does not pain me I will look over your letters, and see what questions to answer, but for the present this must do,

Yours with much love,
H. N. Kingsbury

Bristol, Kenosha Co., Wisc.
April 13/72

Dear Miss Mc Beth

I hasten to answer your questions. My parents William Austin Thayer, and Susan Whitney were both natives of Conn. though residents of N. Y. City at the time of their appointments in 1822 as Missionaries to the Senacas. I was born among the Senacas in Erie County, N. Y. Sept. 20, 1824. In 1832 my parents left service. Voting to return, if it pleased the Lord as a teacher to the Indians, thence forward, I regarded them as my pupils, in pursuing my studies, I kept the end in view. When I was 12 years old, I united with the Pres. Church at Lancaster, N. Y. By the death of my mother in 1839, my studies were interrupted. Being the oldest daughter, the care of my fathers family resolved on me until his second marriage, from which time I was an invalid for three years. In 1844 I entered the senior class at LeRoy Female Seminary. In 1846 I commenced teaching among the Senacs. In 1849 I was called to the Tesuorars in Niagara County, N. Y. with whom I remained until 1854, in the service of the ABCFM though not under appointment. In 1854 I applied for and received an appointment from the PBFM as missionary teacher to the South Western Indians for Wapanucka among the Chickasaws. I arrived on Nov. 1854 and in Sept. 1855. I was married to Theodore Jones, who was then in the service of the Mission at that station. In 1858 we were transferred to Tallahapee among the Creeks, and in Oct. 1859 in obedience to the instruction to the PBFM we were stationed at Goodwater among the Choctaws where we remained until Sept. 1865, having been nearly 11 years among the Southwestern Indians. Father

Kingsbury was slightly lame, having one club foot,[4] and used a cane. A kind hearted well preserved elderly gentleman. With benignant countenance and manners; hair dark, I think black, intermingled with gray at 78 years of age, he seemed to be in full possession of all his faculties, and used to ride on horseback unattended from Pine Ridge to Goodwater a distance of 14 miles, once in four weeks, to spend the Sabbath and to preach for us. This he kept up during the war, failing in his appointment only once, when he was sick. I saw him last the Sabbath before we left the Choctaws. He was then rather feeble and he had been sick . . . . .

I am sorry the information that I have to give is so meager. I would gladly help you. In his last letter, Rev. Reid writes, "have you heard from Miss McBeth. I mean to help her all I can." I wish you much success with your book. Rev. Stark of Paris, Texas might help you. If I can be of any service to you let me know,

J. F. Jones

Gibralter,
Lake Erie, Ohio
August 16, 1872

Dear Sister,

From one of the guests enjoying the hospitalities of this place, I learned a very pleasant incident of the early life of Father Kingsbury.

There were three; Allen, Hawes, and Kingsbury were companions. On Sab. Allen, on way to church would first call for Hawes and they two for Kingsbury. (H. (awes) was a Universalist, and K. (ingsbury) even then an earnest Christian. Every Sab. these two had warm disputes from their special standpoints. It happened on a day that Father K. (ingsbury) was in the hay field. A rabbit started before, the mowers, who threw down their sythes and gave chase. K. (ingsbury) joined in the chase but accidentally stepped on a sythe receiving a terrible wound. A surgeon was called who took up the severed arteries, but had no hope of recovery. Hawes, as soon as he heard of the accident, came to see his dying friend. When he saw the calmness and confidence of one so near eternity he became convinced that there was a reality in religion and became himself a Christian. K. (ingsbury) as we know, did not die, but being lame now for life left the work he had been pursuing i. e. Cabinent Making and began studying which prepared him for his life's work. Hawes became the celebrated Joel Hawes D. D.

Now so in the wonderful leading of Providence. So small in matter as the running of that rabbit changed the destinies of these two wonderful men.

Also I never knew before the origin of Father K.'s (ingsbury) lameness.

I am here on invitation of Jay Cooke resting for awhile. Will, if no providence calls me away, be here all of the next week. I will then make a hurried visit to N. Y. and return home. This opportunity to rest is very opportune, for I have since last writing to you had another severe attack of congestion of the lungs. I left my family well.

I am not sure of the spelling of "Hawes."

Yours truly,
George Ainsley

Rochester, Minn.
Dec. 30, 1871

Dear Sister,

Your of the 20th I have had for some day's waiting, hoping to find time to correct the MSS.[5] I suppose I would never have found time to

[5] This MSS. was not with the other letters.

[4] The next letter from George Ainsley explains this handicap.

write even as brief a history as that, if sickness had not laid me aside from duty. So, being well, I wait in vain for time to revise or correct. You can however learn from it some information. You will bear in mind that it was written from memory—going back eight busy and eventful years. I think however that all the statements are correct. I wrote it thinking that my children might some day take interest in reading the narrative for this reason I will trouble you to return it when you no longer need it.

Your first two questions—I think you did not enter the Cherokee Ter. (ritory) after leaving Ft. Smith. The Canadian R. (iver) is the N. (orth) boundary of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Ter. (ritory) which you would not likely cross on your way. "Skullyville" is a Choctaw name. It may however be a Chickasaw town for I think most of your road from Ft. S. (mith) was through Chickasaw Ter. (ritory).

2. Goodland was not any farther from evil influences than Goodwater or other stations. If any difference—it was perhaps the most exposed of all, as the mouth of Boggy—not very far away, was a stronghold of the most wicked of the Texan ill-doers. Bennington[6] was very slightly if any better off. My impression is that they had more drunkenness and ruffianism in that vicinity than in any other place. Lenox was the only station far enough from the Red R. (iver) to be free from those vile influences. Spencer was also measurably free. Goodland and Bennington had only day schools.

Wapanucka was first occupied by Rev. H. Balentine in 1852, although I think, not opened as a school until 1853. Miss F. K. Thompson was the first teacher sent and was in 1853 joined by Miss May J. Burns and Miss Schelerboyer. (I am not sure of spelling) Mr. Turner was also one of the first corps of teachers. Wapanucka was the most beautiful of all the stations of the Indian Missions. It stood on an elevated wooded plateau, one side sloping down on the open prairie—the other side terminating in an abrupt precipice of nearly 100 ft. perpendicular—its base washed by a beautiful stream; beyond which the country was broken into woodland and prairie, hill and valley, diversified and mixed in endless variety and beauty. On one hill side was a spring wonderful for the volume, purity, and coolness of its water. On another hill side not far distant a very strong white sulphur spring bubbled from the rock and from the same rock only a few feet distant a small spring of pure sweet water—like Mary and Martha, of the same Mother but of different tempers.

I do not remember size of building. It was built of a soft white stone technically known as Eurrinital marble. The rocks all around were exceedingly ruff in Fossils. Bennington was formerly Mt. Pleasant which was however a few miles N. (orth) of B. (ennington) and was for many years Mr. Copeland's station. Mt. P. (leasant) was near Boggy bottom and was not considered healthy—one reason for the change. B. (ennington) was also more directly the center of the field. It was built in 1853 and first occupied by Rev. A. G. Lansing, now in Iowa (Reformed Ch.) My first visit to it was in company with Br. (other) L. (ansing) and our wives. The building had just been laid up of logs with no door or window yet cut. Our only way of entrance was crawling under the sill to accomplish which we had to lie down full length on the ground and make ourselves thin as possible. Mr. L. (ansing) being somewhat stout was in danger of being permanent underpinning. Once in, we arranged to spend the night. The only chance of a bed was a few boards in a corner on the upper joints affording barely room for the four. This place of rest we reached by a rude ladder and arranged ourselves quite modestly by placing the ladies in the middle and Bro. (ther) L. (ansing) and myself at each outside. As we had only one blanket under us we were, you can guess,

[6] Bennington Church recently celebrated her hundredth anniversary.

doing severe penance before morning. Br. (other) Lansing left the Mission in 1855. Mt. P. (leasant) then became deserted and B. (ennington) occupied by Br. (other) C. C. Copeland. It is now occupied by Rev. Mr. Lloyd under the Southern Board.

Of the early history of Goodland I know but little. It was about 12 miles S. W. of Goodwater and 18 miles from Doaksville. Its Church was a colony from Goodwater Ch. (urch). When I first saw it in '52 it was a pretty and pleasant station composed of the Mission house and church which last answered also for school. It was surrounded by forest with no prairie near. Miss Arms who was teacher there in '52-4 said a pretty thing of it and the first Mrs. Stark, "When I first saw it, it seemed as if it must have dropped from the clouds into the heart of the forest and that Mrs. S. (tark) had dropped down with it"—she was a heavenly woman (Mrs. Stark) Of the early history of our dear Goodwater my memory retains nothing reliable. It was a small, girls boarding school under care of Rev. (Ebenezer) Hotchkins up to 1853. At that time Bro. (ther) H. (otchkins) had the station enlarged and with consent of Choctaw Council arranged to make it a High School or "Young Ladies Seminary." His dreams you know were never fully realized. When in 54—I think or 55, it was with the other schools transferred from the A. B. C. F. M. to our B. F. M. Rev. James Eells was appointed superintendent—First teachers Miss Harriet Mitchell (now Mrs. Wright) Miss Jennie Hollingsworth, Miss Clara Stanislaus and Miss M. E. Denny. Bro. (ther) Eells was succeeded by Mr. Balentine and he in the Spring of 1858 by me.

You are wise to seek relief in toil. Hard earnest work for the Master will help us to forget our griefs without making us hard hearted. Peters, "I go a fishing" has a deeper significance than most readers perceive. In that way, too he most surely found the Saviour and received from his lips those beautiful lessons of love and faith. I am glad that like Peter you took your net and went a "fishing" in the dark pools of a wicked city. Did not Jesus show himself to you and say "Lovest thou me more than these." In the Morning may you find your net full of great fishes.

If I can render you any farther help be assured that I shall give it willingly.

Very truly yours
Geo. Ainslie

Ursalia, Cal.
Feb. 20, 1872

Miss S. L. McBeth,

Dear Friend,

You were right in presuming that I am Mr. E. (dwards) of the Choctaw Mission. Your most welcome letter was longer than usual in coming here, owing to delays by snow in the Rocky Mountains, and floods in our valleys, nearly cutting us off from communication with San Francisco. It found me very busy with the erection of church building, in which we have been engaged for several months past. It is now nearly completed, but is at a stand still, till the improved roads shall enable us to get out seats, lamps, etc. freighted from San Francisco. My labors are thus remitting little, though the providing of the where with to pay for it is now giving exercise to our wits, and work for our hands.

We live in one of the richest parts of the state ie. richest in its capacities, but isolated. Till the present month, we have had 160 miles of staging to reach the rest of the world. Now it is reduced to 115, and we hope before the summer is through to hear the locomotive whistle among us. Well developed, our valley, can support millions. But the church, like almost everything else, is in its infancy here. It is as completely missionary ground as was the Choctaw country, if not more so. I have preached in several settlements where no one else had ever preached.

But to your letter. We have by no means forgotten you. The journey northward, the camping places on our way to Fort Smith, as well as our trip thence by steamboat and rail are vividly in our recollection. Mrs. E. (dwards) has often told of her visit with you on Friday night before we reached Fort Smith, and the scene under the stars and stripes in Louisville as you and she were out shopping. We herd again of you from Rev. W. Compton, now of Watsonville, Ga. I have somewhere seen your book, and read with interest some of its sketches, but have as yet failed to possess a copy.

I am pleased with the idea of your preparing a history of the Choctaw Mission. I will most cheerfully help you as far as time, and circumstances, and my native inert disposition will permit. You must not expect very much, but I would gladly render such assistance as I can. I will endeavor soon to prepare a brief history of Wheelock Station, though probably I will be deficient in dates. So also in regard to the life of Mr. Wright. I lack the materials necessary to enable me to enter into particulars. Perhaps, however, I can put you in the way of getting such materials as may be very useful to you. Mrs. Wright had gathered much material for a life of Mr. Wright, and, in connection with that, I think, a history of the Mission. She is dead. She spent her last days at Manetta, Georgia. Rev. John F. Sanneau was pastor there—a nephew of Mrs. W. (right). Miss Sarah Ker, who had for many years the care of the girls out of school at Wheelock was Mrs. W's. (right) most devoted friend. She may be at Manetta or at Charleston, if still living. I have an indefinite impression that she is dead, though Mrs. E. (dwards) thinks we have had no such information. Rev. Dr. Palmer of New Orleans is a nephew of Mrs. W. (right) You might possibly, reach the manuscripts through him. The old *Panoplist.* (I believe that is the name) and after that the successive volumes of the *Missionary Herald* will furnish you with much matter.

Mr. Wright was the principal translator of the Mission. I succeeded him, and spent a considerable part of the eight years I lived at Wheelock, in the study of the language and in translating, though alas; I accomplished very little of the latter. Mr. Byington and I assisted each other particularly in the study of the language. He had prepared the Acts, and perhaps some other portions of the New Testament. During, and since the war, he prepared the Pentateuch. I prepared and printed II Kings, and have worked some on the Psalms. I hope yet to complete the latter. Mr. Wright did the rest. I know more of Father Byington's life than of Father Kingsbury's or Hotchkin's. I will give you some facts in regard to him. Mr. Copeland and Mr. Fisk I know something of, particularly the latter. I will try to do something for you in reference to him. I know but little of Wheelock since I left it.

You are welcome to use my full name—As I have intimated, the material for the history of the mission in the old Nation can be found in the old periodicals, and documents. Some of them might have been useful to you. We will be glad to hear from you again. Mrs. E. (dwards) sends much love—Yours truly,

John Edwards

Belpre
1872

Dear Daughter "Sue"

I wrote you a hasty letter the next morning after I received yours, Dec. 27. I was then about leaving for a visit to my daughter at my old home. I returned ten days ago and not feeling well, and the weather being cold, I have put off writing to you as I promised. I sent you one of Mr. Byington's grammars. In that you will find some of your questions answered. I do not feel competent to give a concise history of

our Stockbridge home.[7] It has seemed to me that history was being made every day by Mr. Byington labors among these people, where our lot was cast. You can know that my husband's missionary labors commenced among the Choctaws in 1820 while they were living in Miss. After he had acquired the language and prepared some books in the spring of '27, he came to Cincinnatti to have them printed. While on a visit to Marietta in Oct. my home place, we became acquainted and were married Dec. 17, 1827. We soon left for his Missionary field in Miss. where we labored until the country was sold, and the Choctaws had migrated. In the spring of 1832 we came to Ohio with the children. Soon Mr. Byington left me to visit some of the tribe west of the Miss. Mr. Kingsbury went with him. In the fall he went to find his old people at their new home west of the Ark. (ansas) He was absent a year and when he returned, we prepared to go and commence our labors over again among our dear people. At that time there was no steamboat on the Ark. (ansas) and to avoid the Miss. swamps we were obliged to travel in wagons 500 miles over terrible roads, and in cold storms, camping out every night. That was a terrible journey, but the Blessed Lord carried us safely through. He had a cabin prepared for us and there we lived until my oldest son died and a sister of Mr. Byington's. We felt the place was sickly one and in '34 we moved a mile and a half north and there was the Stockbridge where you found us. That year Iyanabi Seminary was built under Mr. Byington's supervision.[8] In the winter a Steward and two teachers were sent out by the Ed Board and the school commenced Mr. B. (yington) had the superintendence of it until fifty two when Mr. Chamberlain came. In '60 the Presbyterian Board had charge of it and Miss Downing and Miss Culbertson were sent there as teachers. You must have known too well how we missionaries had to suffer at that time. Iyanabi has never been reopened. Col. Pitchlynn moved his family into the buildings as soon as they were vacated. He is now living in Washington City and his daughter, Rhodia is living there still. In the spring of '67 Mr. B. (yington) was sick, nigh until death. The physician thought he could not live many days, but he said if the Lord had anything more for him to do he would raise him up. He was raised up and was thought best for him to leave for he was so feeble and his labors so ardious. He came to Ohio in July and stayed at the dear home until the spring. . . . In Sept. I went with him to New York. The Bible Society were willing to print the pentateuchs in Choctaw. After the arrangement was made we went to Stockbridge. Manuscripts and the proof sheets were sent to him there. He also printed the book, "Come to Jesus." We returned to this place the last of May and early in Sept. he was taken sick. His book was done, and the Saviour took him home.— The last day of the year in '67 . . . . I fear I shall not answer all your questions satisfactorily. Mr. Byington never labored among any other tribe. The New Testament was printed 26 years ago. The Pentateuts were printed in '48 and '69. The first book of the Kings were printed and some translations that are not printed. Rev. Alfred Wright and Mr. Byington gave the written language to the people. Mr. Wright had feeble health and was not able to ride among the people as much as Mr. Byington, so he devoted more time translating the Bible with the help of a very able interpreter. . . One of Mr. Byington's elders occupied our house. The Church still stands, but they have little preaching. . . The dwelling house at Goodwater burned several years ago, that was to have been reopened. The Spencer School with 50 scholars has been in operation since last summer. But for the want of teachers, it has not been doing well. Rev. A. Reid of Spencer memory is now in Princeton, N. J. His son John is in the college there. You can get much information about the Choctaws

[7] Stockbridge, Massachusetts was the birth-place of Mr. Byington—hence the name in this new country.

[8] Iyanabi, or as Peter Hudson called this Mission, Iyanvbbi, was a boarding school for girls.

through the Southern Board—Dr. Hobbs, you know. He would have returned to them if the Southern Board of Foreign Missions had not objected, on the grounds that we did not remain with them through the war. I don't like that,—they need just such missionaries as he.

I shall not be able to write any more. I have a lame hand . . . I will send some papers from which you may gather more facts how Mr. Byington had to close his pioneer history before he extended his missionary work.[9]

Your wilderness mother,

S. H. Byington

[9] Only a few personal details have been eliminated, otherwise the letters are as they were written, in answer to Miss McBeth's questions, concerning the mission work among the Choctaws.

THE HOMESTEADER AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOODWARD COUNTY[1]

By Ralph E. Randels

The number of immigrants into Woodward County at the time of the opening in 1893 was small compared with the other counties of the Cherokee Outlet.[2] The choice quarter sections along the streams in the southern part of the county and along the railroad were taken, but the northern part was occupied by ranchmen.

At the time of the opening there was only one method by which a homesteader could secure land. He made entry at the United States land office, paying a fee of fourteen dollars. Six months was given to take up residence which was maintained for a period of five years when final proof was made. In 1894 a bill was passed extending to settlers the right to commute in fourteen months upon payment of the stipulated price of one dollar per acre.[3] There was also an extension of two years' time after the necessary five years' occupation in which to make final proof.[4] Later there was other legislation which extended the time for final payment on ceded Indian lands. " . . . The act of July 29, 1894 (Stat. 123) extended the time for one year on all entries existing at the time of the act. The acts of June 10, 1896 (29 Stat. 342) and June 7, 1897 (30 Stat. 87) each extended the time for one year in which to make final payment. The extension for making final payments involved a corresponding allowance of time for making final proof."[5] Therefore, on all lands entered before July 29, 1894, ten years from the time of entry was allowed in which to submit proof on a homestead.

Even though there was considerable ill-feeling between the cattlemen and the settlers, there was an element of common interest between the two groups. The farmers joined the small ranchers in pro-

[1] This paper deals with the development of Woodward County in so far as it is related to agriculture, though ranching was the principal industry for ten years after the opening of the Cherokee Outlet. The writer, Mr. Ralph E. Randels, is superintendent of the Mooreland, Oklahoma, public schools. This article is based on a section of his Master of Arts thesis. at Oklahoma University, Norman. The following archives were consulted: Assessors Records, 1894-1907; Proceedings of the Board of County Commissioners, Woodward County, Woodward, Oklahoma, 1893-1897.

[2] That part of the Cherokee Outlet lying west of Range 16 was designated as County "N" at the time of the opening. It was named Woodward County in 1894 and remained undivided until statehood.

[3] *The Livestock Inspector* (Woodward, Oklahoma), October 15, 1904. 14; The Woodward *News*, September 21, 1894.

[4] *The Livestock Inspector*, November 1, 1899. 8.

[5] *Ibid.*

testing again the fencing in of large enclosures to be leased to non-resident capitalists.[6] In 1895 they protested against the leasing of all the school land in the county by W. G. Waggoner.[7] The farmers were not present when a meeting was called to discuss the matter with Waggoner and the cattlemen, but they had registered their protest and were as much pleased as the cattlemen when he withdrew from the county.

Many of the first settlers became discouraged and left. Evidence of this is shown by the marked decrease in the population between 1896 and 1898. Some were able to stay on their claims by going to the states to work in wheat harvests, and others cut fence posts in the canyons and hauled them to market in the territory farther east and in Kansas.[8] Soon experiments were made with different kinds of grain to see what was the best suited to this region. Seed wheat was transported by the railroad free of charge in the fall of 1894.[9] Those who took advantage of this and sowed had a good crop the following summer. However, wheat did not prove to be a good money crop and was not grown in any great amount until eight or ten years later. Milo maize made an excellent growth and was found to be well adapted.[10] Almost immediately cattlemen began using it for winter feed. Experiments had been made, testing the quality of maize as a feed for fattening cattle, and its was reported as good as corn or cottonseed meal. Steers fed on maize made a satisfactory gain and the meat was more firm than those fattened on cottonseed meal.[11] Maize and kaffir corn both proved to be good drouth resisting crops and by 1898-1899 there was a large acreage of these grains.

During the dry weather of the latter part of July or August these crops would remain green and at a "stand still" until the fall rains came. The rains usually came early enough to allow the crops to mature before frost. Sometimes the grain was damaged, but there was usually plenty of forage. There were no county reports made of the acreage planted during the fall and spring of 1896-1897 and likewise no report of agricultural products sold in 1897-1898. Many believed the population had reached the point most satisfactory to all. The rancher secured feed for his cattle at reasonable prices and the farmer had a local market for all his surplus. The coming of more settlers would upset this balance of trade.[12]

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[6] The following article appeared in the Woodward *News*, April 7, 1899.
[7] *The Livestock Inspector*, April 15, 1895 9.
[8] Personal interview, Ed Nash, Cedarvale, Oklahoma, March 1, 1938.
[9] The Woodward *News*, September 24, 1894.
[10] *The Livestock Inspector*, February 1, 1900.
[11] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1895, p. 2; *Ibid.*, December 15, 1898, p. 9. Other experiments were made testing the value of kaffir corn.
[12] *Ibid.*, November 1, 1900, p. 9.

In the fall of 1898 reports were published in the local papers of the successes of the homesteaders. Reports from the communities of May, Laverne, and Moscow indicated there were better grain crops and more feed than had been grown since the opening.[13] One man in the county had three hundred acres of kaffir that was estimated to yield 10,000 bushels.[14] These reports encouraged the settlers to stay on their claims and farm instead of leaving for months at a time to work elsewhere. The newspapers also boasted constantly of the most healthful region in Oklahoma and advised those seeking a location to come to Woodward County where the best of land could be found. This publicity soon attracted many homeseekers.

In 1898 the legislative assembly passed a bill that was decidedly in the interest of the farmers. It provided that livestock, brought into Oklahoma Territory after the first of November and kept until the following April for the express purpose of being grain fed and prepared for market, would be tax exempt.[15] This winter the farmers reaped a profitable harvest for there was an abundance of feed. They were quick to see their opportunity and all prepared to increase their acreage the following year. Market prospects were good for all that could be raised from now on.

The immigrant rush into Woodward County came in the next four years. During the quarter ending June 30, 1899, there were two hundred fifty-five homestead entries, aggregating 40,800 acres, at the district land office in Woodward. About two hundred of these were in Woodward County.[16] Ninety-three entries were made during the month of June. During the quarter there were fifty-five final homestead entry proofs and thirty-six cash entry proofs. The record from the land office department showed the following business transacted during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899:[17]

Homestead entries	90,408 acres
Applications pending	6,080 acres
Forest reserve	3,000 acres
Total	99,488 acres

The status of lands at the close of the same period was:

Reserved	40,320 acres
Appropriated	663,570 acres
Subject to entry	1,420,110 acres

In terms of quarter sections these figures show that there were 4,148 quarter sections filed on and 8,875 quarters that remained.

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[13] The Woodward *News*, August 19, 1898.

[14] *The Livestock Inspector*, September 1, 1899, p. 8.

[15] Governor's Report, 1898, p. 45.

[16] *The Livestock Inspector*, July 15, 1899, p. 8. Soon after the Cherokee Outlet was opened to settlement the land office at Beaver City was transferred to Woodward.

[17] *Ibid.*

Much of this unoccupied land was unfit for agricultural purposes and was still pasture lands in 1907.[18]

During 1900 there were one hundred sixty-two entries most of which were near the established communities in the south portion of the county.[19] A great many of the settlers who came in 1901 were those who had been unsuccessful in the drawing for lands in the Kiowa-Comanche opening of August 6, 1901.[20] There was less rainfall this year than in any year from the opening to statehood, and during the summer the crops were seriously damaged, but this did not discourage the homeseekers. They settled the southwestern part of the county and then the higher and less watered section in the northwest. The big wave of immigration came in 1901 and 1902. Several thousand quarter sections were taken these two years.[21] Many of them were in the part formerly considered totally unfit for farming. The number of filings in 1902 at the federal land office had been running one hundred fifty to four hundred each month.[22] The community of Yelton in the extreme northwest was settled during the summer of 1902, as was Charleston and Brule, later known as Buffalo, in the northern part of the county.[23] Enterprising business men in every community helped locate settlers and the county became dotted with country stores and accompanying post-offices. By the close of the year 1903, just ten years after the opening, there was not much more to be said about the coming of settlers. Practically all the land had been taken and the travelers on the road were on their way to the vacant lands in Beaver County.[24]

The census for 1900 showed the population to be 17,000 for the county, but in two years time it had doubled.[25] With the coming of the settlers there was a considerable change in the amount and kind of livestock in the county. The chart compiled from the governor's reports shows that they had brought quite a number of horses, mules, and swine. Cattle still headed the list but a marked decline had set in.

By 1900 the homes of the earliest settlers were becoming improved and here and there over the county were fine examples

[18] "Types of Farming in Oklahoma," Experiment Station *Bulletin*, No. 181, June 1929 (Stillwater, Oklahoma), 20.

[19] In one community across the river north from Moscow there were three hundred acres in cultivation in 1899 and the following year there were nine hundred acres.

[20] More than 150,000 persons registered for these lands, but the number successful in getting a homestead was limited to 13,000.

[21] *Senate Executive Document*, No. 36, 57 Cong. 2 Sess., V. 187; Personal interview, Edwin Word, Higgins, Texas, April 2, 1938; J. O. Selman, Woodward, Oklahoma, July 3, 1938.

[22] *Senate Executive Document*, No. 36, 57 Cong. 2 Sess., V. 187

[23] *The Woodward News*, September 5, 19, 21, 1902.

[24] *The Livestock Inspector*, May 15, 1903, p. 16.

[25] *Senate Executive Document*, No. 36, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., V. 187.

of what labor and determination would accomplish in a new country. One farmer had three hundred twenty-two acres of alfalfa which, during the growing season, grew on an average of one inch a day after the first cutting.[26] Another settler who had homesteaded in 1894 owned three hundred sixty acres of land and one hundred forty head of cattle. He had one hundred fifty acres under cultivation and his building site was surrounded by four hundred three-year-old walnut trees, two hundred bearing peach trees, ninety apple trees, fifty mulberry trees, and a quantity of grapes and berries. He had built a house valued at $1,800 and furnished it well. Among other furnishings he had a good piano and a well selected library.[27]

The community around Gage was an excellent agricultural section. Wheat southwest of the town averaged thirty-eight bushels per acre, and milo maize grown southeast of town averaged seventy bushels. Displayed in the real estate offices and at the bank were fine bunches of broom corn brush three feet long, also large red onions weighing one and one-fourth pounds each. Fruit trees and alfalfa were grown in great amounts as well as in other parts of the county.[28]

One money crop which soon gave way to broom corn was castor beans. These were raised for a few years in the southern part of the county. At one time seven carloads were shipped from Woodward. They were usually sold for over one dollar per bushel.

A few farmers along streams became interested in irrigation, so much so that a geological survey was made in 1903 under the supervision of Charles N. Gould. As a result of the survey, it was advised that it would not be practical nor profitable to build dams for irrigation projects, however where possible individuals irrigated small fields from streams nearby. In the extreme northwest there had been an irrigation system in operation since 1893.[29] The water was taken out of the Cimarron River in "No Man's Land." Wheat produced forty bushels per acre with one flooding. There were other projects along the Beaver River and on Indian and Persimmon Creeks.

Each year more sod was plowed up and put into cultivation and, since the best land had been taken first, the late comers sought out the best locations in the few remaining pastures. Some idea of the transformation in the county is revealed in an account of an investigation conducted by the United States government to determine whether the people desired statehood. On November 22, 1903 the committee arrived at Woodward and questioned persons at random about the conditions of the county. It was reported that one buyer

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[26] *The Livestock Inspector*, June 15, 1900, p. 9.
[27] *Ibid.*, October 1, 1900, p. 6.
[28] *Ibid.*, October 1, 1903, p. 7.
[29] *House Executive Document*, No. 44, 58 Cong., 2 Sess. LVII, 424.

had shipped as many as eighteen carloads of broom corn during one week and that during the season he had averaged from three to seven cars weekly. Three-fourths of the county was in cultivation and at least 5,000 acres had been in broom corn the past summer. Broom corn had become the chief money crop and the acreage was constantly increased. At Woodward the deposits had reached $70,000 at the Gerlach Bank and $80,000 at the First National Bank.[30]

One member of the Committee, David P. Mennon, stated that the public lands in Oklahoma set aside by the Organic Act or in the pending statehood bills were worth $7,000,000 at twenty dollars an acre. He said that this amount would be sufficient for all purposes and advised that the land be sold for not less than twenty dollars an acre for it was worth twice that amount.

The settlers knew when they came that all the land lying west of Range Fourteen had been designated as free range territory.[31] This did not keep many of them from locating on a quarter section within the boundaries of a well established ranch.[32] The ranchmen complained that the settlers fenced in watering places thus making certain pastures worthless. The question of local action regarding the free range condition first came up in January, 1894. The settlers from Shattuck, Judkins township, sent the following petition to the board of county commissioners:[33]

> We the undersigned residents of County N, Oklahoma Territory do respectfully protest against the establishment of free range in County N, Oklahoma Territory. We are all bona fide settlers of the county and expect to have small herds of stock. But if free range is once allowed in this part of the Territory we are afraid the large stock outfits, men who own thousands of cattle will run them in and will not only eat up and tramp out our grass so that in the end we will have no pasture or hay land, and furthermore a great many of us are unable to fence our land and the interests of the settlers and the stockmen are so much at variance that we would much rather not have them for neighbors for various reasons.[34]

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[30] *Senate Executive Document*, No. 36, 57 Cong. 2 Sess., V. 190.

[31] *The Livestock Inspector*, May 15, 1902, p. 13; John H. Burford, Presiding Judge of the First Judicial District of Oklahoma and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, stated in an opinion that an unfortunate condition was existing which was leading to violations of the herd law. He said the conditions had arisen from a misunderstanding of the law passed by the legislature which divided Oklahoma into two districts, herd law, and free range. The law provided for an election to decide on the range issue. Burford made it plain that settlers who came to Woodward County knew when they settled they were in a free range district and that they were without protection in the courts.

[32] *The Livestock Inspector*, June 28, 1901, p. 1; Early in June, 1901, F. R. Parks, who had a claim on A. O. Kincaid's pasture was seriously stabbed by the latter. Ill feeling had existed between the two men for some time.

[33] Soon after the appointment of the first board of county commissioners the county was divided into four townships for election and assessment purposes. The northwest township was called Marum, the northeast O'Bryan, the southeast Webster, and the southwest Judkins.

[34] Commissioners' Proceedings, 1894, I. 26.

Similar petitions were sent in by the residents of Webster township, however no action was taken and the matter did not come before the board of county commissioners again until their meeting of July 13, 1899. At this time the citizens of Webster township presented a petition requesting the commissioners to call an election to vote on the herd law question. This petition was laid aside for the reason that the county had not been divided into herd law districts. Four days later they presented another petition asking that this division be made. It was granted and twenty-six districts were established. The vote was taken August 19 in district twenty-six, one hundred seven votes being cast for restricting stock from running at large and thirty-seven against. Other petitions were presented to the commissioners during the following spring, so May 15, 1900 was set for the elections in all districts which had made petitions. The result was supposed to fix the status of the herd law situation for five years. At the elections held in 1900 and 1901 four districts voted to establish a herd law, eighteen voted against it and four did not make petitions for an election.[35] The herd law question did not come up again for the number of settlers had increased so much that the ranchmen saw it was useless to resist further and they either fenced their land or left the county.

By 1903 Woodward County was quite a different country from what it was ten years earlier. When the settlers came they were poor and in most cases had brought all their possessions with them in the covered wagon. Some had brought a few farm implements, dairy cows, and one or two extra work horses. Now the old sod house and shack was replaced by a better dwelling and a suitable place had been provided for the livestock. Various kinds of farm machinery were in the barn yards and the water was pumped by windmills. There was also a better quality of livestock in well fenced enclosures.

Buggies and carriages had replaced the "lumber wagon" as a means of travel.[36] These new vehicles caused a demand for better roads so the old trails were abandoned and section lines were opened and used for highways. There were seventy-two post-offices in the county in 1903 and thirteen more a year later.[37] Church buildings had been erected and there was a school house within reach of every child. In 1901 there were one hundred nineteen organized school districts with seventy-three schools taught and 2,107 pupils enrolled. The following year the number had increased to one hundred eighty-two organized districts and one hundred thirteen open for instruction with an enrollment of 3,748 pupils.[38] In the years following, the

[35] *Ibid.*, 101-117.

[36] Assessor's Records, 1903. During this year there were 1,244 carriages listed on the tax rolls.

[37] *The Livestock Inspector*, June 1, 1903, p. 6; April 1, 1904, p. 9.

[38] *Governor's Report*, 1902, pp. 16, 17.

educational facilities developed in proportion to the other interests of the county. In 1903 there were thirteen county newspapers, published at Curtis, Mooreland, Mutual, Oleta, Quinlan, Shattuck, Supply, and Woodward. Woodward published six. By 1907 the towns of Buffalo, Fargo, Freedom, Gage, May, Persimmon, Speermore, Tangier, and Woodward brought the list of newspapers up to twenty-five.[39]

In 1903 the chief towns were Woodward, Gage, Curtis, Mooreland, Shattuck, Oleta, Supply, Richmond, Quinlan, and Persimmon. May, Laverne, Buffalo, and Freedom developed later.

Woodward had had a steady growth since the opening and had never known "boom days." There was a population of 1,500 in 1903 and during the next two years it almost doubled. It remained the leading shipping point although every other town on the railroad was an important trade center. On December 10, 1906, it assumed the title of city of the first class.[40]

The first landmark in Woodward County was Fort Supply. It was established as a supply base for other camps and forts in the West in 1868 but the last troops were removed and it was abandoned as a military post in 1894. One and one-fourth million dollars had been spent in building the fort. It contained 40,320 acres of land, nearly one hundred buildings with complete water works, sewage system, and electric light and ice plants. The ice and electric plants were sold when the fort was abandoned. The guard house was the only building constructed of brick, the others were of heavy lumber. The commander's house contained twelve rooms, including a bath. There were nine double houses of sixteen rooms each, seven barracks with floor space of four hundred fifty feet each and an entertainment hall thirty by eighty feet, with a twenty foot stage, dressing rooms, and four front rooms used for an officer's library. All floors were of oak. The hospital building was forty-six by one hundred fifty feet and had been reroofed in 1891. There were twenty-five cottages with six rooms each and fifty houses constructed of hewn cedar posts all ceiled and floored with heavy lumber. It was hard to estimate the stable and storage room.[41] The water supply came from springs two miles away, but the water pressure was good on the second story of every building. The fort was said to have the prettiest location of any in the West. After it was abandoned many families moved into the cottages, paid no rent and let their small herds of twenty-five or less range on the grass land of the reservation. Because of its delightful location on the shady banks of the Beaver River, people from the East

[39] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints: 1835-1907* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1936), *passim;* The Livestock Inspector, June 1, 1903.

[40] *The Livestock Inspector*, November 15, 1906, p. 8.

[41] The Woodward *News*, February 27, 1903.

came out during the summers for vacations, boarding with the families at the fort.[42] All the reservation lands except 1,760 acres were sold in 1900 to W. E. Halsell.[43] In August 1901 it was again sold. P. H. Fitzgerald, an Indianapolis speculator, purchased the land for the purpose of selling it to a colony. Soon the little town of Fitzgerald was built about two or three miles west of the fort. In September, 1902 the present townsite of Supply was platted and the town of Fitzgerald was moved to Supply which is one-fourth mile south of the Beaver River and one mile west of the fort. In 1903 the territorial legislature accepted the offer of the United States Government and decided to use the fort as a territorial insane asylum.[44]

During the four years before statehood there were many real estate transfers. Those who did not want to stay on their claims or who wanted money to invest in some other line of business sold their relinquishments. Others sold farms that were already proved up. Quarter sections that had not been claimed three years after the opening sold at $3,500 or more. The abundant crops and high prices had enabled many to add to their acreage and go into farming on a larger scale. This was not general over the county but in some places it was quite noticeable.

S. T. Philips on Indian creek raised 4,200 bushels of wheat in 1906 besides a considerable amount of corn and broom corn.[45] C. R. Mallory of Charleston in the northern part of the county was known as the "broom corn prince." In the spring of 1907 he delivered one hundred sixteen bales to Woodward. To haul this amount required fifteen wagons and drivers, forty-eight horses and mules and made a wagon train one-third of a mile in length.[46] Good broom corn frequently sold for seventy dollars per ton, and it was not at all uncommon for a farmer to sell his crop at harvest time for more than he had paid for the land.[47] Some found truck gardens to be very profitable where some sort of irrigation was provided. One farmer within three miles of Woodward sold one hundred dollars' worth of vegetables, besides what was used on his farm, from a little plot of ground eighty by one hundred feet.[48]

Farm machinery was shipped in carload lots to all the towns on the railroad. Each farm was being equipped with the best of machinery, thus making it possible to raise more and better crops.

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[42] *Ibid.*, October 15, 1902, p. 13.
[43] *Ibid.*, November 1, 1900, p. 8; *Governor's Report, 1901*, p. 9.
[44] The Woodward *News*, June 1, 1903, p. 3; February 27, 1903.
[45] *Ibid.*, November 15, 1906, p. 8.
[46] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1907, p. 9.
[47] Correspondence, J. A. Gardner, Quinlan, Oklahoma, February 1, 1938. " . . I bought broom corn for several years in the early days and sod crops were good. I paid lots of farmers more money for one crop of broom corn raised on sod than they could have sold their entire place for. . . "
[48] *The Livestock Inspector*, November 15, 1906, p. 8.

The farm homes were improved with good houses, barns, and fences. Transportation had been speeded up through the construction of better roads, and communication by telephone was already established between the towns.

The four townships of Marum, O'Bryan, Webster, and Judkins that were established in 1893 for election and assessment purposes remained unchanged until 1902. In 1902 the township of Union was added, and the town of Woodward was assessed separately. The next year the county was divided into fifteen townships and later to twenty at which number it remained until statehood.[49] The county had never lacked for funds. The thousands of cattle were assessed until the land was proved up and taxable.

At statehood in 1907 Woodward County with a population of 31,116 had personal property to the amount of $1,546,863, real estate at $1,463,539, and a total evaluation of $3,010,402.[50]

[49] Assessor's Records, Woodward County, Woodward, Oklahoma, 1902-1907.
[50] *Governor's Report,* 1906, p. 376.

PROBLEMS OF A CHEROKEE PRINCIPAL CHIEF

By Harold Keith

The tradition that an Indian chief should be a father to his people must have been taken literally by the Cherokees during the eight years from 1879 to 1887 that Dennis Wolf Bushyhead[1] was principal chief of that prominent eastern Indian Territory tribe. At least a study of the slightly bleached and faded correspondence directed to Chief Bushyhead more than fifty years ago and now carefully preserved in the Frank Phillips collection in the University of Oklahoma library reveals that he got letters from all kinds of people asking for nearly everything from pardons for criminals to permits for cutting cedar in the far-off Cherokee Outlet.

There are hundreds of these letters, most of them scribbled dimly in ink of various hues and degrees of paleness, or laboriously worked out in lead pencil. Not until February 18, 1882 does the first typewritten one appear, it being from C. W. Rogers of St. Louis, second vice-president and general manager of the St. Louis and San Francisco railway. Later Robert L. Owen, Indian agent located at Muskogee, began to dictate his correspondence to Bushyhead on an old-style typewriter that made large vertical letters and was spooled with purple ribbon but apparantly Owen didn't cotton to this new-fangled device, for his later letters were nearly all written in his own excellent longhand which was so legible anyhow that it almost looked like print.

Bushyhead filed his correspondence carefully in white abstract envelopes and in his own bold masculine scrawl, patiently wrote on the front of the envelope the writer's name and address, a brief summary of the letter's contents, and what disposition he made of the problem it contained.

The delivery of a letter in the times Bushyhead lived was terribly slow since railroads had just entered the territory and most Cherokee nation towns were served by stage. Also an answer might be delayed still longer by the fact that the principal chief, traveling by horse-drawn stage or in a special hack, might be out of the capital at Tahlequah for several days with no means of communication with his office save by mail. It was a common thing for an important letter that required a quick reply to be labeled, "written July 29, received August 30, answered September 2" which meant that the anxious sender might fidget and squirm almost two months before

[1] For biographical sketch of Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead see John Bartlett Meserve's "Chief Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV, 349, *et seq.*

he got his reply from the chief. The telegraph, in towns it was available, was used in cases of extreme emergency and later the telephone was resorted to as it was built and developed in Indian territory, but letters continued to be the chief source of communication and Bushyhead received hundreds of them right up to the time of his retirement.

One of the first letters he got was a protest fifty-eight years ago against the school system of the nation from J. W. Scroggs[2] who was then a teacher at Vinita, Cherokee nation, and later would become associated with the extension department at the University of Oklahoma, shows that on the contrary there might have been much mismanagement of Cherokee schools. Mr. Scroggs' protest was based on a clipping from an eastern newspaper (unidentified) which said:

"It costs $35.76 a year to educate each child in the public schools of the Cherokee nation, and only $1.39 for a North Carolina pupil. Whether the little Indians are twenty-five times as well educated as the little tarheels or twenty-five times as hard to teach, or whether it is that the aboriginal school director steals twenty-five times as much as the N. C. officials. General Eaton's valuable report does not explain. Statistics are very valuable if you only have the key."[3]

Mr. Scroggs' letter to Chief Bushyhead follows:

"Vinita, I. T., Nov. 24, 1879.

Dear Sir—As the session of council is far advanced, I desire to urge upon you the absolute indispensable necessity of making some provision before its close for the superintendency of your public schools. At present there is no supervision in the strict sense of the term. Every state in the U. S. has a superintendent of instruction. The necessity of supervision is universally admitted.

Now wouldn't it be better to stop following the hobbies and theories of visionaries and adopt the experience of centuries as embodied in several of the school laws of the U. S? I have taught in the states and have taught here. I find the children here just as bright, intelligent and teachable as in the states, and on the whole far more manageable. You have the means and opportunities of having the grandest school system in the world and yet your schools are almost a byword throughout the U. S. . . .

We have in Vinita perhaps as good a public school as there is in the nation, yet we have not received this year a single book of any description that we needed, or a single slate, or in short anything except one ream of paper, three boxes of crayon and two of slate pencils, and yet we have on our roll over 100 children who have under your laws full rights to all the privileges of education which your nation affords. But this is not all. The books we have been compelled to buy, the teachers have been compelled to buy out of their own pocket, and I am paying 20 per cent interest on the money I had to borrow to help buy them with. Now in the name of all that's fair and decent, with the school funds you have, why can't the National council supply ways and means to buy books enough for the schools instead of compelling teachers, who if they taught

[2] Mr. Scroggs, now nearly ninety years old, still lives at 412 College street, Norman, Okla., at this writing.

[3] This newspaper clipping is attached to Mr. Scroggs' letter.

til doomsday could never save a dollar for a rainy day, to buy books, or to submit to failure and loss of reputation or employment. Is it just? Is it honest?

The cause of this (and we are by no means the only ones who are thus suffering) is simply the want of proper supervision. Mr. Bell told me that Mr. Stephens brought from Tahlequah last summer, 85 books of one description to supply a school of 16 scholars! I am told that books are frequently shipped out into the states and sold, while the mass of schools must do without. Anybody can go to Tahlequah and get books while they last.

Now I suggest that you adopt a plan similar to that of Massachusetts; have a board of education as now and a national superintendent of education who shall have one clerk and who shall be required to keep an office in Tahlequah open every working day in the year. Under him let there be nine district superintendents whose duty shall be to visit each school in his district at least once a month and make full reports to the national superintendent. This is in brief the system of supervision in every state of the Union. . . .

It may be objected that this system would be expensive. What if it is? What you need is good schools. You have now the costliest system on the face of the earth. The probability is that a system in which it was the interest of the officials to ferret out fraud would be cheaper than the present one.

I have written strongly and boldly but I do not belong to anybody and am interested in no click or party. But my Dear Sir I do desire the prosperity and success of your schools. Do not think anything I have said is satirical. It is sometimes necessary to speak earnestly in order to be heard. Hoping that you will not think of closing the present session without some change in the school laws, I remain,

Your obd't serv't,

J. W. Scroggs."[4]

Also he occasionally got straight from the pen of some anxious mother a request to use his influence to have a student who had been expelled returned to good standing in the school,, as for instance this letter—

"Flint District, January 28, 1880.

Mr. Bushyhead. Dear sir I thought I would write you a few lines in regard to my son he has been going to school at the male seminary and they turned him off and he says he is not guilty of all they accused him of he is a poor boy and has no father and anxious to go back to try and get a education and he wants your assistance your friends told him they thought you would fix a way for him to go back if you possible can help him please do so please write and let me know what you can as soon as possible.

Very respectfully,

Peggy Dick."[5]

Many letters similar to the following came to his desk—

"Camp Creek, C. N. Aug. 6, 1880

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead. Pr. Chief of the Cherokees. Dear sir: I write to inform you that Lewis Coody, "my husband" drew my money and my two children's also. Now the circumstances are. Lewis Coody and myself have not been living together as man and wife for the last two years

[4] J. W. Scroggs to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, November 24, 1879.
[5] Peggy Dick to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, January 28, 1880.

and I have the two children living with me and am their sole support we were not registered together and further more Mr. Coody has married again in the Choctaw nation and only lived together after the 2nd marriage three or four weeks. We lived together about two years but he became so worthless that I was compelled to leave and what time we lived together my father kep us up.

Under the circumstances I do not think that he has a right to draw me and my children's money . . . . please to see to this business for me as I need it very much. I have never been married since I left him and have lived with my father every since. Mr. Coody has never given my children but one suit of clothes since we parted and that only to the amt. of about two dollars. Anything that you can do for me will be appreciated very much as I have been imposed on and have no other recourse but through you as the chief magistrate of our country. . . . I remain very respectfully,

Mrs. Bettie Coody.

Witnesses: Gideon Morgan, James Simco, Charles Fargo, Calvin Fargo."[6]

The nation was a harbor for outlaws, thieves and desperadoes and since it was so large and so much of its country timbered, was difficult to police in those days of slow travel and communication. Occasionally a bad man would run amuck in a community far removed from a sheriff or any authority, and about the only recourse a citizen had, unless he wanted to try and take the outlaw himself, was to write to the chief as this man did—

"4 miles S. E. Peru, Chautauqua Co. Kansas.
August 29, 1880.

To the Honorable Chief of the Cherokee Nation, I. T. Kind and honorable sir: We regret that stern necessity requires us to apply to the good people of the nation to rid us of one of the worst men at large. L. Allen Bivin of your national prison is here.

He did as we think set fire to a house of mine and burn it to the ground.

A Cherokee boy of eleven years who for months bore his cruel and brute like treatment is mysteriously missing for the last ten months. Our people feel that he has been laid away.

One of our finest young men, Elias Boothe was murdered just in the border of the Osage country and robbed of his money. Bivin has money and all circumstances lead to him as the murderer.

Now kind sir we must earnestly desire that your people feel the importance of ridding us of an escaped convict as we fail to have full and explicit proof of his crimes against the life and property of our people.

Robt. M. French (sheriff) writes me that he will lay the matter before you also.

Trusting that you will take prompt action and send to my place 6 miles west and 2 miles north of Canaville, or 4 miles southeast of Peru, Chautauqua Co. Kansas and relieve us of a bad rogue.

Respectfully,
James Tourtilott.[7]"

What would you have done if you had been a principal chief, and just as you came to your office in the morning eager to attack

[6] Mrs. Bettie Coody to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, August 6, 1880.
[7] James Tourtilott to Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead, August 29, 1880.

a three-day accumulation of back work, the following telegram would be handed you—

"Muskogee, June 4, 1881.

D. W. Bushyhead, Fort Gibson. Seventy North Carolina Cherokees will arrive at Muskogee Monday evening at nine p. m. Am ordered to Vinita to meet them. Will go on morning train. Better go with me.

Tufts.[8] [9]"

The North Carolina Cherokees were the ones whom General Winfield Scott's troops hadn't been able to chase out of their lands east of the Mississippi river back in the 1830s when the government-enforced removals were on. Small groups of them later migrated to the Indian Territory where the Cherokee nation welcomed and cared for them.

Among the many laws of the nation that might seem unnecessary to us now was one forbidding a person to disturb a public assembly under penalty of being fined as much as $100 or being imprisoned for as many as ninety days, or if the disturber was intoxicated or armed with a dangerous weapon, the term of imprisonment could be raised to not less than one year.[10] That the law was sometimes needed is seen from this letter to Chief Bushyhead from the solicitor of the Illinois district—

"Office Pros. atty.
In and for Illinois dist. C. N.
September 9, 1881.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead
Principal Chief, C. N.

Dear sir: This will respectfully inform you that Joseph Welch, Amos Aldridge Et al-all col'd, have been reported to this office for prosecution for disturbing a religious assembly of col'd persons by being in a state of intoxication, and by discharging their revolvers in and about the church house, thereby completely breaking up the service of the same and violating some of our most stringent laws.

The first two offenders—Welch and Aldridge, are both non-citizens of the Cherokee nation and over whom I exercise no jurisdiction. And I therefore "report" them to you under XXV Art., Sec. 127 and 128, Revised Code, as "Intruders," and ask that they be speedily removed beyond the limits of this nation.

All of the other offenders are citizens, and should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the violated laws.

Very respectfully submitted
by yours and c
L. R. Thornton,
Illinois Dist. solicitor.[11]"

Very often the chief would be faced with problems the solution of which could not be found directly in the Nation's statutes, as for instance the following—

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[8] John T. Tufts was the United States Indian agent at Muskogee.

[9] John T. Tufts to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, June 4, 1881.

[10] *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, Ch. 3, Art. 22, Sec. 332, 188 in Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma Library.

[11] L. R. Thornton to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, September 9, 1881.

"Lawrence, Kans. June 8, 1882

Dennis Bushyhead, chief,

Dear sir: For the Kansas City, Lawrence and Southern Kansas Railroad company I desire to ask you whether you can help the company in these circumstances.

The company had a bridge in Kansas over the Memphis river which washed away and portions of it were caught about 18 miles below Coffeyville by some colored men. The value of the portions is about $100. These men demand of the company some $80 which of course is out of the question. Have you any power to help the company? There must be the power somewhere to remedy such a wrong.

The company is willing to pay what is **right** but such a charge is simply out of the question.

S. C. Thatcher.[12]"

Swindlers were thick in the old nation as the Indian agent at the Quapaw agency found out in the spring of 1882. In a letter to Chief Bushyhead, this agent describes the culprit and also the fleecing that was administered to him—

"Quapaw agency, I. T.
June 20, 1882.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Tahlequah, C. N.

Sir: On the evening of the 22nd day of May a gentleman called at my house and representing himself as W. H. Taylor Dept. Sheriff Canadian Dist. C. N. and stated that he was without means and that his horse had given out and that he had left the animal somewhere south of here, and as he stated he was in pursuit of horsethieves and presented a general letter signed by yourself with your national seal attached, I concluded to aid him by the loan of a horse, saddle and bridle and five dollars in money—the same to be returned here in the course of three or four days.

As a month has passed and I have no word from him, I wish to know if he is an imposter. I enclose the receipt he gave me so that you can examine the handwriting. . . . He spoke the Cherokee language and although I only saw him for a few minutes, I would describe him as follows, viz., 5 ft. 8 to 9 in. high, light complexion, light brown hair, blue eyes, thin mustache and I think a little whisker on his chin. Smooth cheeks, medium light colored clothes. He had the appearance of an educated young gentleman, 22 to 25 years of age. Spoke good English in a decidedly Southern style. He said that Judge or Doctor (can't say which) Taylor of the Canadian district was his father.

I will thank you for any information you may be able to give in regard to this matter.

I am Respectfully,
D. B. Dyer,
U. S. Indian Agent.[13]"

There was a Cherokee law that prohibited the burning, breaking or destroying of any railing, enclosure or monument erected in memory of the dead and for violation of which a citizen could be imprisoned for a year or forced to pay double the amount of the damages done for the benefit of the injured person[14] and yet the chief was probably puzzled over what course to pursue or how to pro-

[12] S. C. Thatcher to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, June 8, 1882.
[13] D. B. Dyer to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, June 20, 1882.
[14] *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, Ch. 4, Art. 23, Sec. 334, 190.

cure complete satisfaction for the bereaved party when he got the following letter—

"Pawpaw creek, Croneus Roomer
District, July 6th, 1882.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Prin. Chief,

Dear Sir: Permit me to call your attention for your action and advise to an occurence on the line of the A. and P. St. Louis and San Francisco railway, the railroad now being constructed from Vinita, in this district.

At a point a short distance west of Pawpaw creek . . . . were the graves of my father Dr. Henseley, sr., my aunt Chu-ga-too-whis-tah and a number of other Cherokees. The graves were torn to pieces in a most brutal manner by plow and scraper and hauled into the grade for the road bed. They were not necessarily in the track of the road but a curve in the excavation appears to have been made to reach their graves for grading back when earth just as well could have been taken from either side of the road for that purpose without disturbing the resting place of the dead.

The above statement can be proven by any amount of evidence you may require. It is a matter of great affliction to me and to others of our friends. Will you be kind enough to advise me what we can do . . . . . The bones and dust of our kindred have been brutally and unnecessarily dragged into the bed of the railroad and their graves hopelessly desecrated.

Please address any communication with which you may favor me to Vinita, I. T. and greatly oblige.

Your fellow citizen
Jno. Henseley.[15]"

Plagues of one kind or another sometimes broke out in different parts of the nation and had to be put down quickly before they could spread on a wide scale. Usually the chief would first be notified of the pestilence by a letter such as this one—

"Vinita, I. T. Oct. 29, 1882.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Prin. Chief, C. N.

Dear Sir: We have reliable information that smallpox is raging among the darkies in the Deleware district about 15 miles southeast of this place, and that four deaths have occured from the same in the last week. Could any steps be taken by the officers of Deleware dist. to keep it from spreading through the country? An answer from you giving any suggestions would be appreciated as our people along Grand river in this section are becoming alarmed.

Resp'y
Sut Beck, solicitor Deleware dist.[16]"

If the disease originated in a far-off spot of the Nation where medicine and doctors were scarce and where the report of it was slow reaching Cherokee authorities, it very probably would result in heavy fatality before it could be curbed, as a later letter from another doctor concerning the same plague, discloses—

"Ft. Spunky, C. N. Dec. 16, 1882.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Prin. Chief. Cherokee Nation.

Dr. Sir—After farther investigation I find that the fatality of the

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[15] John Henseley to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, July 6, 1882.
[16] Sut Beck to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, October 29, 1882.

smallpox in this section is much greater than I had considered. Since the epidemic there has been forty-five cases to date, and twenty-seven deaths.

Nine patients under treatment and nine recoveries. And five more cases reported to be at Charlie Hendricks up Bird Creek fifteen miles above this place. I will visit them tomorrow. I have all in this vicinity under good control. In the quarantine, I have eight persons who are liable to take the disease. I think it will be at least six weeks before I can get entirely rid of this malady. I am determined to do the best I can for the sick community at large. Nels Foreman and I selected and appointed Wm. Cochran instead of Geo. Pimphins, who failed to come.

We have burned up four places. The value of which we placed at $261.00. there will be five more to destroy after while. If there be any vaccine at your command please forward me ten dollars ($10.) worth because I find it very scarce and difficult to get at this place. I wrote you in regard to pay for nurses. Please let me hear from you.

Yours respectfully,

A. L. Lane[17]"

Quacks who were eager to come to the nation and prey on the Indian flooded Bushyhead's office with requests like this one—

Salt Lake City, Dec. 8, 1882

D. W. Bushyhead. Dear sir:

I got your name through reading the papers which contained your proclamation calling the attention of your people to the day set apart for thanksgiving, fully believing that you take great interest in the welfare of your people, I thought I would write to you. I do not know but little about the moral status of your people but I have reason to believe that intoxicating liquors are used in your country as well as in all other countries and if so there will bee some that will contract the habit to that extent that they can't control themselves. Now I wish to say to you that I have discovered a medicine that will positively distroy the appetite for drinking intoxicating liquors so that they will not have any more appetite for drinking liquor than they would to drink soap suds the medicine that I use is composed of four different articles and one of the principle articles I discovered through a Ute Indian that medicine grows in this territory but I don't suppose it grows anywhere else on the earth. I am at this time the sanatary and quarentine physician of Salt Lake city but I am thinking of traveling through the United States for the purpose of lecturing on temperance and introducing this medicine as well as many other medicines and to imploy agents to sell the same. Now if there is anything in this that you feel interested in you will please write and let me know. I hope the time will soon come that we will have the privilege of talking with each other face to face on this subject.

I am yours respectfully,

J. Clinton, M. D.[18]"

However the chief was ordinarily a pretty hard man to fool as his reply, briefed on the abstract containing the above letter, shows. He wrote: "He can sell it better where they sell the stuff it cures the appetite for."

Lobbyists at Washington occasionally found fault with the slowness with which they were paid for their services, notwithstanding

[17] Dr A. L. Lane to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, December 16, 1882.
[18] J. Clinton to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, December 8, 1882.

the fact that all payments were often delayed in the nation through some cause or other. Or maybe the lobbyist didn't understand the procedure that Cherokee law compelled him to follow before his claim was considered valid, as was probably the case in the following letter—

"Washington D. C., July 7, 1884

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Washington, D. C.

My dear sir: Will you please inform me when the Cherokee delegation will return to the nation and what action do they propose to take in my claim for money advanced and services under my contract. I am anxious to get some action taken in this matter and hope that you will see that it is done before you return to the nation. I wish you would consult Mr. Bell and others including Col. Phillips. You know I ought to be paid. I have been badly treated by your people. It is a shame. Several years hard work and money advanced and legislation obtained which has been of great benefit to your people. All this you want of me without any return. This is not equity. Now give my case your attention at once and oblige.

Very Truly Yours Fraternally,

S. S. Smoot[19]"

In reply Chief Bushyhead instructed the lobbyist to make his statement in full and support it by evidence.

Because it was located so far from the nation and was rich and unpopulated, the Cherokee outlet owned by the tribe and which was later known as the Cherokee Outlet tempted intruders and boomers of every sort and description. An excellent account of the land and the depredations practiced upon it was given Chief Bushyhead in the following letter from John W. Jordan, a special commissioner the Cherokees sent to the strip to guard their interests—

Cedar Bend, Cherokee Strip,
July 29, 1884.

D. W. Bushyhead.

Friend. Allow me to trouble you with a few lines from our monopolized lands west i am here yet and do not know what is best to do . . . there is no better country in the west than this, you can picture any kind of land and location for homes and find it here rich loamy prairie or timbered bottoms and black limestone valleys and uplands all underlaid with fine clay subsoil well wattered and timbered it is a shame that our wealth should be held here as it is only to enrich speculating and land-stealing whites, i favored the Leese thinking it was to rid this land of intruders but it only increases them the best parts are dotted over Kansas J hawkers that hold coloney certificates under Payne they do not recognize any authority or Cherokee title here you ought to demand a complete list of all unlicensed white men here of the strip association and have them moved there is no better time than now and it cannot be done too soon for our own good they are cutting and hawling out all the timber for 30 miles into the strip all border towns and settlers of kansas are building up and becoming wealthy at our expense while the mass of our people are porre and do not know what comfort and luxurys are, this is our last inheritance and now is the time we need to turn it to our use by adding one or two districts to our homestead and selling the remainder for cash, the land east of the Pawnees and between the

[19] S. S. Smoot to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, July 7, 1884.

river is just the kind of country to suite our fullbloods and the land between the Ponco reserve and kansas is just the country for our most enterprising farmers homes. . . . I will be in this fall to consult you and to make arrangements to school my boys, if you wish a choice claim here for stock farm let me know and i will secure it for you then if part is added to our home you will be first in choice or if all is sold you can secure a reserve. yours as ever.

J. W. Jordan[20]"

Having been treasurer of the Nation himself the eight years preceding his first election to the principal chieftainacy, Bushyhead probably got a chuckle out of the following letter—

"Treasury department, Tahlequah C. N.
December 5, 1884.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead,
Principal Chief, C. N.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that owing to circumstances over which I had no control, the combination lock over the vault door of the safe in my office has become seriously disarranged. The vault contains $100,000 first and second semi-annual payments of Cherokee Strip Livestock association per act of May 19, 1883, $404.90 received from Cherokee Advocate, and some per capita funds, payments of 1883 . . . and though I have industriously used every effort to open the vault, all efforts so far have failed. This being the condition of things I am unable to fully settle with the committee whose duty is to make annual settlement with the treasurer. . . . . I respectfully ask that the completion of the full settlement being at this time a matter of impossibility; that time be allowed me to open or have opened the vault. . . . . I have the honor to be

Respectfully your obt svt.
Henry Chambers
Treas. C. N.[21]"

Perhaps the most desperate criminal at large in the nation in those days was Dick Glass, a halfbreed of Creek and Negro blood upon whose head Chief Bushyhead had placed a reward of $500, the limit allowed by Cherokee law.[22] Fully a dozen letters in the Bushyhead collection were addressed to the chief from deputies or marshals inquiring about the reward and requesting a warrant, and occasionally the chief would even receive such a request from a citizen, as the following letter shows—

"Osmit, I. T., 1-23-85.

D. W. Bushyhead,
Tahlequah.

Dear sir your favor December 22 at hand and contents noted, would say in reply that I have been with **Dick Glass** many times and he is not afraid of me. his range is mostly in the **Creek** and **Seminole** country. I am a practicing fychian and Dick and others are not afraid of me. I can lead officers on him almost **any time.** But wheather I would have A wright to arrest him without A warrant from the U. S. government is A question with me. Dick and myself often talk about his troubles and I told him that if he wanted I would go and see you and try and get

[20] J. W. Jordan to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, July 29, 1884.
[21] Henry Chambers to Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead December 5, 1884.
[22] *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation,* Ch. 1, Art. 1, Sec. 19, 47.

him **pardoned.** I think I can persaude him into the Cherokee country for the above purpose. then your **officers** can **arest** him. he is **wild** and if he is caught we must take the drop on him, I saw **George Mack** today another **desperado** full as bad as **Dick** they go together most of the time. I will feel of Dick and let you know the **result.** I know that I can trap him soon and I only want one or two good men that will **stand fire.** Please let me hear from you soon and I will keep you posted. I live at Osmit, I. T. am at Shawneetown, Johnsville Wewoka Sasacwa and other points can give you the best of **refference** if you want **Dick** I can get him for you hoping our correspondence will be confidential I remain yours respect

J. A. Smith M. D.
Osmit I. T.[23]"

Cherokee law gave a sheriff power to levy upon all machinery used by non-citizens who illegally cut prairie hay off the Cherokee public domain[24] and if this machinery wasn't paid for, it often went hard with the man who had sold it on credit to the offending non-citizen. This letter illustrates such a case—

"Chelsea, 8-5-1885.

Mr. D. W. Bushyhead

Dear sir the sheriff has got a Hay bailor that he tuck from Dr. Gartson and the Bailor was not paid for as I sold him the Bailor and tuck his note for it and a bill of sale of the Bailor for my pay and before he was to pay me the sheriff tuck it and I have not got anything and he says if he loses it I will have to lose it too and as it does not belong to him he is not losing anything and i am losing all and as i am a poor man and work for all i get it is very hard for me to lose it i can send you the names of the Best men in the country that are in favor of your turning the Bailor over to me as i have not got anything for it i will ask you to notify the sheriff to give it to me gain and if you want me to send you the names of men that thinks that i ought to have it back will send such men as george green Thomis McSpadden L. W. Byrd and all the men in the country. Please give this your attention and oblige me.

Yours very rep't.

Watson Lawther

Please answer soon as you get this.[25]"

The man didn't get his bailer. Chief Bushyhead wrote across the bottom of the abstract containing this letter: "Oh no. The law does not so provide."

The Cherokees did a good business licensing ferries since few of the streams were bridged. Licenses were sold for $25 annually, always payable in advance, to those who wished to establish a ferry across the Canadian or Arkansas river, and for $10 to those who wished to operate across the Illinois, Grand, Verdigris or Neosho rivers.[26] However, now and then there would be complications such as the following—

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[23] J A. Smith to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, January 23, 1885.
[24] *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, ch. 1, Sec. 69, 67.
[25] Watson Lawther to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, August 5, 1885.
[26] *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, Ch. 12, Art. 32, Sec. 739, 365.

"Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief.

Sir: Under date of on or about February 5, 1884 I was granted by the treasurer of the Cherokee nation a license to operate a ferry on the Arkansas river. At tbe time the license was granted I had a free and unmolested right-of-way through the public domain which I could connect with the public highways or ordinarily used thoroughfares of the country. After I obtained my license, the original of which I herewith enclose, a certain Frank Colbert, a non-citizen of the Cherokee nation, erected or caused through one John Newberry, a probabal adopted citizen, a fence or obstruction to my right of egress, as guaranteed. I as a citizen of this nation and by authority of my license removed the obstructions but at this writing the said Colbert, non-citizen, and Newberry, a pretended citizen, hold my right-of-way by and through the persausive power of double-barreled shotguns and declare to me that they care not what rights I have by virtue of my license they will not allow me to operate the ferry. . . . I respectfuly ask that I be by your department protected in my rights of a Cherokee citizen against unlawful acts of a non-citizen of this nation. . . . .

Respectfully,

Andrew L. Rogers[27]"

One of the frankest and most outspoken men in the entire nation was Clem Rogers,[28] father of the late American humorist Will Rogers, who lived on a big stock farm near the little settlement of Oowala in the large Cooweescoowee district. In the following letter to Chief Bushyhead, written when the boy Will Rogers was five years old, Clem Rogers spoke his mind plainly and fearlessly—

"Oo-wa-la, August 11, 1885.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead.

Sir: Today old man Curry, Joe Burns and Curry's wife went down to see the clerk in regard to a lot of hogs killed by Gilbert and one of his white renters. (the hogs) belonged to Mrs. Curry. She is a Cherokee by blood. . . . .

Dennis, some action **should** and **ought** to be taken in this matter, for there will surely be trouble if the officers don't take some steps to protect the citizens from such trippages as are going on by Gilbert and his dam gang. . . . .

C. V. Rogers.

. . . . . are we powerless to enforce our own laws. Are we to submit to such great rongs by white men not citizens. Whare is our great solicitor Jim Keys why not send him up and have the matter investigated, and force Gilbert to get permits for his hands . . . . Dennis Bushyhead, there is not a single law in this country enforced. Men are hauling cattle in this country in open violation of law and the sheriff and solicitor both know it. White men are putting up hay all along the line in the nation and a few days ago the sheriff went up and collected a tax on the hay. Where is the law authorizing such act. Timber, plank and logs are conveyed across the line all the while to which the sheriff and solicitor well know. How in the world can we hold up as a nation when our officers don't respect the law and the oath they have taken

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[27] Andrew L. Rogers to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, March 30, 1885.

[28] Judge Clem Rogers was five times elected Cherokee senator from the Cooweescoowee district (1879, 81, 83, 99 and 1903) and later a member of the Oklahoma Constitutional convention. Rogers county, Oklahoma, was named for him. Starr, *op. cit.*, 642.

. . . . . we are fast fast drifting into the hands of white men. Bob Owens (Robert L. Owen) of coal oil fame is now Indian agent. Hoping you will not get offended at this letter will now close. Give my respects to your wife. My wife is sick.

From your personal friend but not Political.

C. V. Rogers[29]"

Outlawry in the Indian Territory was not only hard on the people robbed and killed, but also upon the family of the outlaw himself. In the following letter an outlaw's wife wrote a pathetic appeal to the principal chief that very touchingly described her poverty and misery and her fear for her husband's life—

"Spring Place, Jan. 18, 1887.

Hon. D. W. Bushyhead—: As a friend and chief and protector of the Cherokee people, I appeal to you. You have heard of the deplored circumstances that lead me to address you and how my loved ones are hunted down by United States marshals who have no right to interfere in their case if it was proven they are guilty—it is said Judge Parker has had issued writs according to a treaty made for this district in 1866. You know and understand our treaties better than he does and does it not hold the United States has no jurisdiction unless an order is given by our district judge signed by the chief and nothing can ever make me believe you will ever sign such an order—but I feel sure you will do what is in your power to protect their lives from such vagrants as these United States marshals who only want the slightest excuse to kill them, knowing they are upheld by such men as hold the agent's and commissioner's office in Muskogee. Please write to me one word of comfort if it is within your power to do so for in my sore distress I know of none more able to help and protect than our honored chief and I am sure you will be a friend to my dear brother and husband, pardon this letter written and composed so wretchedly to one whom I desire to honor but with my ruined home and distressed mind and helpless little ones looking altogether to me now and alone in the world, with my dear ones' lives in constant danger, I am almost crazed. Have patience and be kind and answer me a few words of hope is my prayer to you.

Your humble servant

Minnie R. Vann.[30]"

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[29] Clem Rogers to Dennis Wolf Bushyhead, August 11, 1885.

[30] Mr. Harold Keith is a member of the staff of the University of Oklahoma, Norman. He is the author of *A Boy's Life of Will Rogers.*

DIARY OF JOSEPH A. EDMONDS[1]

Edited by

James W. Moffitt

This diary relates the experiences of a gentleman who travelled from Missouri into Texas through what was then known as Indian Territory, in 1870. The route of this interesting group of travellers paralleled closely that followed by the modern highway known as United States Highway Sixty-nine, and by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. Much of the journey lay along the historic old Texas Road.[2] Beginning as early as 1822, this great thoroughfare helped to populate Texas and served as the route of pioneering traffic north and south through eastern Oklahoma.[3] Only a part of this graphic diary is presented in these pages—the section dealing with the Oklahoma of sixty-nine years ago. After describing an uneventful journey from Lexington, Missouri, to Baxter Springs, Kansas, the diarist tells of his arrival in the latter place:

Thursday, Nov. 3d, 1870. Noon finds us at Baxter Springs and a note from Mr. McDonald telling me he is ahead and waiting on Rock Creek for me. At Baxter Springs we got bread, bacon and some other articles. We started on and just before leaving town came across A. W. Rucker —had a talk with him and rolled on six miles which brought us up with Crocket McDonald who had waited for me three days. At Baxter Springs, two Missouri boys from Mexico, Audrain County, who had passed us and stayed all night with us the Sunday before, came to us and wanted to go through with us and pay half the expenses of the trip; they had their own horses. I agreed to haul their luggage and provisions. From McDonald's camp we drove on to the Neosho River in the Indian Territory and camped. Hall, McDonald's brother-in-law, gave us some fine music on the banjo. Several Texas men were at our camp tonight, some of them formerly from Missouri—all think it (Texas) a great country.

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[1] The diary of Joseph A. Edmonds was lent to Judge Robert L. Williams, by his nephew, Albert S. Edmonds of Kansas City, Kansas, so that a copy could be made and placed in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The author of this interesting diary was born in 1837 in Saint Louis County, Missouri; he died in 1913 at Lexington in the same state.

[2] One branch of the Texas Road came from Baxter Springs, Kansas, and traversed the divide between the Grand and Verdigris rivers to Fort Gibson, Another branch came from Saint Louis through Springfield, Missouri, and Maysville, Arkansas on past Fort Wayne on upper Spavinaw Creek to Salina where it joined the other. This road proceeded southwest from Fort Gibson past Honey Springs and crossed the Canadian River just below the present day Eufaula. At Boggy Depot the Texas Road forked and one branch went on south to Warren's on Red River and the other reached this river at Preston by way of Fort Washita. Grant Foreman, "Early Trails Through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, III (1925), 117.

[3] Foreman, *Down the Texas Road: Historic Places Along Highway 69 Through Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 8-9.

Friday morning, Nov. 4th, 1870. Up and breakfast over. All ready and we are off to the banks of the Neosho River.[4] It is very high and we have to ferry. One wagon was ahead of us, McDonald was next, and I was third. We waited about one hour for the ferryman who is a half breed Indian, for we are now in their country. Well, the ferry is ready and one wagon goes over and brings the stage, then McDonald goes over and some of our boys, but before the ferry gets back the wind blows like a hurricane and when Mose, the ferryman, gets on this shore, and I go to drive on, he tells me he won't cross until the wind lays. So here we wait, part on our side and part on the other, for over two hours and whilst waiting to get over, I accidentally, or Providentially, found out that it was against the laws of the U. S. Government for anyone to take a drop of spirituous liquors in to the Indian nation and that there were two marshals on the same side of the river with me and that they paid the Indian ferryman so much to report on any one passing through the Nation. The ferryman came round my wagon and looked under the wagon sheet and looked as if he were hunting something, but a fire breaking out where the campers had camped, took the whole crew of the ferry off up the hill in a hurry. A Texas man asked me if I had any liquor, I told him I had a little for our own use. He told me they would confiscate my wagon and team for a half pint the same as if it were a barrel. I got a stranger to hold my team and I took out the demijohn and wrapped it up in Walter's old overcoat and slipped off and emptied it and threw the demijohn in to the bayou. Soon after I crossed and rolled on. Noon: We halted for lunch. Rolled on through a very pretty country. Halted at night on a rocky branch here. Will Hall and I went out to kill some birds but failed to find anything but a bluejay. Will killed it, dressed and ate it. Supper over and all around the camp fire to hear Will play the banjo. Saturday, Nov. 5th, 1870. Breakfast and off. Pass through a very pretty country and halted on a rocky branch for lunch. Here an old Indian had half a beef dressed and hung up on some saplings. The boys were afraid to buy any of his beef for fear it was a diseased Texas beef out of some of the droves passing. Up to this time we have passed over one hundred thousand head of cattle on their way to the states north. Many of them fat and fine. Passed over some very fine country this evening and across some fine streams, Cabin Creek and others. Stopped and had some shoes fixed on my big horse. Speaking of my big horse, he is very large and well made and in fine fix. Camped tonight on Small Prairie Creek.

Sunday morning, Nov. 6th, 1870. Up, breakfast and off to a better camp ground. Traveled about three hours and came to the very best camp ground we have ever had for wood and water. Took our teams out about eleven o'clock and fed some. I forgot to say that, yesterday, Will Hall and I killed 69 blackbirds to make a pot pie. Today Will Hall and Branch made the pot pie and it was very good. It was the first I ever ate. Wrote home today. This evening four of us went down to Price Creek to bathe. We camped on its banks; had a fine bath.

Monday, Nov. 7th, 1870. Left Price Creek before sunrise. Saw beautiful sunrise on the prairie. The scenery is beautiful and varied for a prairie country. Traveled fifteen miles to noon. Halted on beautiful Flat Rock Creek. Our stock travels well after resting Sabbath afternoon. My big black horse is quite lame this evening. Saw some beautiful scenery, mountains and valleys. Halted tonight on pretty Rock Creek on the edge of the timber and prairie. The bed of this creek is all rock, some of them twenty feet long by forty feet wide, in all. It is a good

[4] On government maps this river is called Neosho. Grand River is formed by the union of two streams, Neosho and Spring, which unite in Ottawa County. Below this junction the river is Grand. Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), 28.

camp ground. Tuesday, Nov. 8th, 1870. Breakfast and off by sunrise. My horse not so lame this morning. After three and a half miles' travel, we are at the ferry across the Arkansas River just two miles below Fort Gibson. The Grand River, Verdigris and main Arkansas River all come in close together. The ferry came a half mile up Grand River for us and took us down to the mouth and across the main Arkansas. The water of the Arkansas is of a clay color whilst those of the Verdigris and Grand rivers are muddy and where they join the line is as plain as if one were white and the other black. The land here looks very much like Missouri, also the timber. We are safe across the river and all right again. It commenced to rain whilst we were crossing the river and it came down in torrents until one o'clock p. m. from 9 a. m. We paid one dollar per bushel for corn this morning and fifty cents per dozen for little mouldy bundles of fodder. After crossing the Arkansas River and two miles beyond, we left the Cherokee Nation and came into the Creek Nation. This nation has large iron posts placed one mile distant from each other to mark their boundary line. Halted at noon for lunch on a small creek. It was raining very hard. Drove on until four o'clock. Halted to dry out. Just before stopping we, that is Hall and myself, killed a fine lot of blackbirds. Bob cooked the biscuit and they were very good. We have tolerable good grub. We are now three hundred and twenty miles from home and one hundred and seventy from Sherman. The Lord has been merciful and good to me. My horse is not at all lame today. I feel very thankful.

Wednesday, Nov. 9th, 1870. Up and breakfast over by daylight. Last night the boys nearly all drank half a gallon of coffee apiece. I drank 2½ pints. Early start again. Drove through a very pretty country. The creeks and branches are all rock and gravel bottom. Halted at noon for lunch. This afternoon passed some fine country. Saw three fine deer but did not get a shot at them. Afternoon we passed a village Fishertown in the Creek Nation. Crossed North Fork of Canadian River at four o'clock on a flat boat, full-blood Indian ferryman. Couldn't talke English at all. One mile farther on we came to a store kept by an old Negro, called Nero's store. He owns the ferry, store and blacksmith shop. We laid in our supplies of potatoes and corn to do us several days. Just a few hundred yards above Nero's store is the little town of Northfork Town,[5] several stores and a postoffice. Here in this little town of log and poor frame buildings I saw, to me, a new feature in carpentering. Two men laying a floor with clapboards, the edge of one on the other. The population consists of whites, Indians and Negroes. Halted about one and a half miles beyond this town. Rather poor camp ground.

Thursday, Nov. 10th, 1870. Very cold this morning from heavy frost. I think the first frost in this section. Breakfast over and off again, five miles brings us to the Canadian River which we ford without any trouble. We are now in the Choctaw Nation, the Canadian River being the line between this and the Creek Nation. Just after crossing the Canadian River this morning we were greeted by some sweet music made by about fifty field larks. It was cheering, away out here. Their songs are as sweet as those made in the meadows at home, reminding us of the fact that God is the same everywhere and His creatures are the same to Him. The mistletoe is very much heavier and more luxuriant here than any I saw in Missouri. Lunch at noon and off again. After leaving the swamp we came to very beautiful scenery. We crossed the Soukey Mountain today. Have to pay toll over it for the natives have taken out all of the rock in the road down the mountain. This mountain

[5] North Fork Town was named for the north branch of the Canadian River on the east. It was situated about two miles northeast of the present town of Eufaula. Foreman, *Down the Texas Road*, 41.

is the highest elevation we have yet seen. It encircles one of the prettiest prairie valleys I have ever seen. Today we crossed some very pretty streams of water, all rock bottom. At 4 o'clock we came to an ugly stream called Coal Creek. Here some twenty-five teams were halted and all fearful to try the ford, but after the first wagon passed there was a general rush to get over as it was getting late. I got my team ahead of some of them and rolled through all safe. McDonald did likewise and all were safe across another stream. We drove about three miles and halted for the night on high, dry, rocky ground with plenty of wood and water to make us comfortable.

Friday, Nov. 11th, 1870. Up about 4 o'clock. Made a fire and got a bucket of water to make coffee. Breakfast over and off earlier this morning than any time yet. Last night the wolves howled all 'round us and this morning, whilst at breakfast, they set up their howling again. This morning we have passed some beautiful country, high elevations covered with timber, all green, entirely encircling beautiful prairie valleys covered with its brown grass. Sometimes we could see way beyond the green forest a fine prairie glade. It looked like fields of ripe grain. Today we have passed over some very rough rocky ground and roads. At 9 o'clock we came to a store sitting by itself way out on the prairie. The streams passed in the last day are not as good fording and the water not so clear as those passed before. At 11 o'clock we came to a pretty little village for this country, by the name of Perryville.[6] Here I saw a doctor's sign. At the bottom was Perryville, C. N. Now the question was what was C. N. Some of the boys could not tell me, finally I cleared it up. Choctaw Nation. One mile farther on we halted for lunch. My black horse has been very lame all day. I think his lameness comes from the rocky roads. He is large and heavy, he continues lame. I believe my horse will be spared to me and that we will have a safe journey. I have not felt seriously alarmed about him. The scenery continues varied from mountains and prairie valleys. There is very much more timber on our road for the last two days than before, yet, this evening, it seems very difficult to find water and a good camping ground. We drove until dark and then found very poor water. My horse is very lame yet. There is a great deal more timber in the Choctaw Nation than in the Creek and Cherokee Nations. These people all make their own laws and they are very strict, especially with emigrants. They dare not use a stick of standing timber. A Texas man who had been to Kansas and Missouri and was returning—we passed him—and that night he burned a rail and it cost him $7.50. This was in the Cherokee Nation. We overtook the same man again as he traveled on the Sabbath and got ahead of us. We overtook him at Northfork Town. The next morning one of his horses bit a pig and it cost him one dollar. There are 35 U. S. Marshals on the road from Baxter Springs to the Texas line and these marshals employ the natives to spy out and report travelers who trade with them. These marshals get, I am told, fifty dollars for every man they catch in this way. There are a great many white men who have married amongst the Indians and some have brought their families by getting permits to stay during good behavior. Halted late tonight. Supper over and bed ready. Good night.

Saturday, Nov. 12th, 1870. Breakfast over and we are off rather late on account of my black horse being very lame. I had to put one of the other boys horses in to day and drove my horse loose. We only drove 18 or 20 miles today. My horse is very lame. We halted a few moments only for lunch and went on. I went on to find a stopping

[6] Perryville at this time was an important center. It was located about five miles south of the present day McAlester. J. Y. Bryce, "Perryville at One Time Regular Military Post," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IV (1926), 184.

place for tonight and Sunday both. Passed a little village called Stringtown.[7] Paid $1.50 a bushel for corn today. This morning we passed through Limestone Gap. It is a gap in a solid stone mountain. Have to pay toll over a small bridge in the gap. We followed this stone mountain for several miles up this mountain. We saw some lovely scenery. Beautiful evergreen trees and trees of green, yellow and brown surround beautiful open glades that look like fields of grain surrounded with Osage orange fence. Here we saw trees full of mistletoe and mountains were covered with green trees, some ranges of hills and some higher that reach to the calling of mountains all beautifully arranged. This is by far the most lovely scenery I have ever seen. Some of these valleys between these mountains are very rich and productive. I found a beautiful camping place on a clear running creek by name of North Boggy. Our camping ground is high and dry. The creek running by is within twenty steps of our wagons. We camped on the south side which just is across. This we do for fear of a raise in the water. We always cross over and camp on the Texas side when we can. There is, just opposite our wagon, a mountain some three hundred feet high. We went into camp about three o'clock. This gives us time to fix for Sunday. Will Hall and I went hunting and killed six squirrels and one rabbit. This is more game than we have had before in the Indian Nations. There are thousands of wolves, deer, wild cats and some panthers here in these mountains. This is the most picturesque camping place we ever had. My black horse is still very lame and we are seventy-two miles from Sherman. I fear he is foundered.

C. N. Sunday, Nov. 13th, 1870. Warm and looks like rain. Breakfast over, my horse still very lame, turned our stock out to graze. I took my Bible out in the timber and read and guarded our horses while they grazed. Took up our horses. With Will Hall and Young Bates we go on top of the mountain and well it paid us to go; the grandest view I bave ever seen. It is impossible to picture it with pen and ink. Mountain scenery, woodland valley and prairie glade all in one view. It is glorious to behold. I don't know what it would be in the sunshine, trees of every hue, size and color. The beautiful clear stream far below glides sweetly past with a gentle murmur. These are some of the glories of our God. These are some of His designs and handiwork. Whilst laying over today, some forty wagons passed us to and fro. All has gone well enough except my horse is still very lame.

Monday morning, Nov. 14th, 1870. Left camp early. Just after leaving we passed a range of round mountains looking as if arranged by art and looking very much like hills of sweet potatoes, so regular and even. They are very pretty. Late in the morning we came to a village and toll bridge. Bridge over the Middle Boggy. The village is called Atoka. Lunch on the prairie. We passed some good country today. This evening we crossed the South Boggy on a bridge without toll, the only one in the Indian Territories. One mile farther on and we are at the Old Boggy Depot,[8] an old government station, but now a tolerable village for the Nation. About five miles farther on we halted for the night on a beautiful stream of crystal water whose bed is solid stone, some of which covers acres of ground, unbroken except where beautiful steps and holes appear and again fine basins twenty feet across and four to

[7] Stringtown seems to have taken its name from the fact that it was strung out along the foot of the hills. Bryce, "Some Notes of Interest Concerning Early Day Operations in Indian Territory by Methodist Church South," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IV (1924), 239.

[8] Old Boggy Depot was named after the Boggy River. It was situated about a mile west of the stream, on the dividing ridge between the river and Sandy Creek. Muriel H. Wright, "Old Boggy Depot," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, V (1927), 4.

six feet deep, with the Osage orange lying in the bottom and as plain to the view as if they were lying on the ground before you. There are beautiful falls and then you will see the waters all concentrated into very narrow flues from three inches to 18 inches in width. The flues are cut by wear and tear of ages and just below they again come together and form a stream some fifteen or twenty feet wide. I have seen beautiful mountains and hills with forests of variegated evergreens, with here and there magnificent prairie glades, rolling far away until they seem to merge into the blue heavens beyond, all beautiful and grand.

Tuesday, Nov. 15th, 1870. Off early this morning. My horse very lame. We crossed some fine lands, soil black. Another toll bridge today. Beyond any doubt the whites ought to possess this country. You will see one or two Indians with from three to four Negroes. Here in this country the Osage trees grow from two to four feet through. The wagon makers in Texas use this tree to make all the running gears of their wagons and carriages. The seasoned timber of the Osage tree is of a beautiful yellow color and looks as if it had been painted. We passed through two little villages today of no consequence. A few days ago we passed the graves of three Confederate soldiers. A small rough stone placed at the head of each with their names is all that is left to tell the passer-by their story. Today we passed an earthen fort with rifle pits. Whose it was and for what we did not learn. Good water very scarce today. We are now within thirty miles of Sherman. Camped early this evening. Rather poor place to camp.

Wednesday, Nov. 16th, 1870, C. N. McDonald and Bob E. went ahead, horseback, to Sherman. We followed rather slow on account of my lame horse. Two miles brought us to the northern line of the Chickasaw Nation and the southern line of the Choctaw Nation; twelve miles to Red River. We passed only one house in crossing the lower corner of the Chickasaw Nation—twelve miles— it was a one and a half story log residence overlooking the much talked of Red River. It is a pretty view. Down below us flows the reddish colored waters of the Red River and beyond and still farther on may be seen the prairies of Grayson County, Texas. Down the long winding hill into the ferry boat, which is a flat boat run with rope and pulley, and a few strokes or pulls and we land safely on the Texas shore. The ferryman here is one of Quantrill's soldiers. Up the hill squarely on Texas soil. The first tree almost we see, is a beautiful, large cedar. The river here at low water is only two or three hundred yards wide. A half mile beyond the river we halted and fed our stock. Off again and drove to Sherman. We saw some good cotton on the Red River bottoms. Passed one cotton gin and saw mill. Some tolerable farms along the road to Sherman.[9]

[9] After some interesting experiences in Texas, the author of this vivid and picturesque diary returned to Missouri by way of the Red River and the Mississippi River.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

1861

By Dean Trickett

For many years preceding the Civil War it had been the policy of the Government, by successive purchases of Indian lands, to remove the native tribes from the eastern states to the country west of the Mississippi. Into what is now the state of Kansas were transplanted various small tribes from the Old Northwest; while to the south, in the Indian Territory, later to become the state of Oklahoma, were settled the Five Civilized Tribes: the Creeks from Georgia and Alabama, the Choctaws and Chickasaws from Alabama and Mississippi, the Cherokees from Tennessee and Georgia, and the Seminoles from Florida. Of these numerous tribes only the southern Indians figured prominently in the stirring events that commenced in the fateful winter of 1860-61. Their numbers, their comparatively advanced stage of civilization, and, above all, their strategic location, made their alliance desirable and, in a sense, imperative to the Southern Confederacy.

The Cotton States began their revolt by the simple expedient of voting themselves out of the Union. Several of the states, notably Alabama and Mississippi, sent commissioners to the capitals of the border slave-holding states to advise with their brethren as to ways and means of meeting the "impending crisis." As these outlying states had "a common interest in the institution of slavery, and must be common sufferers in its overthrow,"[1] it was thought they should be consulted. In December, 1860, commissioners from Alabama visited Missouri and Arkansas.

The Texas convention, after adopting an ordinance of secession on February 1, 1861, appointed commissioners to the Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole nations to "invite their prompt co-operation in the formation of a Southern Confederacy."[2]

Early in the preceding January, David Hubbard, commissioner to Arkansas, had reported to the governor of Alabama that the western counties of Arkansas, bordering on the Indian nations,

> "would hesitate greatly to vote for secession, and leave those tribes still under the influence of the Government at Washington, from which they receive such large stipends and annuities. These Indians are at a spot very important, in my opinion, in this great sectional controversy, and must be assured that the South will do as well as the North before they could be induced to change their alliances and dependence."[3]

[1] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1904), Series IV, I, 30. Hereafter cited as O. R.

[2] *Ibid.*, 322, 197.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3.

Time was to sustain Hubbard's judgment, and the failure of the Texas mission may be laid to an inability to make such assurance to the Indian nations.[4]

The Texas commissioners[5] crossed the Red River late in February, 1861, and entered the Chickasaw Nation about thirty miles southwest of Fort Washita. At that time the southern half of the Indian Territory, lying between the Canadian and Arkansas rivers on the north and the Red River on the south, was divided into three large Indian reserves. The Chickasaws were in the middle, with the Comanches and other plains Indians in the Leased District to the west, and the Choctaws to the east, adjoining the state of Arkansas.

The Texans interviewed Governor Cyrus Harris and other distinguished men of the Chickasaw Nation, and on March 12 Commissioner James E. Harrison addressed a convention of the Choctaws and Chickasaws at Boggy Depot. A "crowded auditory" listened to Harrison's moving tale of wrongs suffered, but the quarrel between the North and the South was not their quarrel—at least, not yet. The Indians were "embarrassed. . . by the absence of their agents and commissioners at Washington. . . seeking a final settlement with that Government."[6] Important treaty relations, involving large sums of money, were at stake. Harrison's appeal proved ineffectual. Self-preservation was a first law of Indian nature.

Already that law had impelled the Chickasaws and Choctaws to put out "feelers." On January 5, 1861, the Chickasaw Legislature proposed a convention of the five Indian nations, at a time and place to be designated by the chief of the Creek Nation,

"for the purpose of entering into some compact . . . for the future security and protection of the rights and Citizens of said nations, in the event of a change in the United States. . . "[7]

A month later the Choctaw Council resolved:

"That in the event a permanent dissolution of the American Union takes place . . . we shall be left to follow the natural affections . . . which indissolubly bind us . . . to the destiny of . . . the Southern States, upon whom we are confident we can rely for the preservation of our rights of life, liberty, and property, and the continuation of many acts of friendship, general counsel, and material support."[8]

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[4] Later on, in June, Albert Pike wrote to the Choctaws: "If any emissaries from Arkansas come among you, hear them and say nothing. . . . The State of Arkansas has nothing whatever to do with you, and cannot protect you. The Confederate States are both able and willing to do so. . . ." Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), 188. Pike to General Council of the Choctaw Nation, June, 1861.

[5] James E. Harrison, James Bourland, and Charles A. Hamilton. J. A. Echols accompanied them as secretary. *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 325.; Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1861), I, 99 (P.).

[6] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 323.

[7] Abel, *op. cit.*, 68-69. Act of Chickasaw Legislature, Jan. 5, 1861.

[8] *O. R.*, Series I, I, 682.

The general convention proposed by the Chickasaws met at the Creek council ground, at the junction of the North Fork and Canadian, on February 17. For reasons yet unknown neither the Chickasaws nor the Choctaws attended. The Cherokee delegation was under instructions from Chief John Ross to

"guard against any premature movement . . . Should any action of the Council be thought desirable, a resolution might be adopted, to the effect, that we will in all contingencies rest our interests on the pledged faith of the United States, for the fulfillment of their obligations."[9]

The upshot was that the Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee delegates determined "simply to do nothing, to keep quiet and to comply with our treaties."[10]

The Texas commissioners journeyed north to the Creek Agency on the Arkansas River. There they met the McIntoshes and other prominent men of the Creek Nation, and through them induced Governor Motey Kinnard, (Kinnaird) of the Creeks, to call a convention of the five nations to meet at North Fork on the 8th of April.

The Texans entered the Cherokee Nation, "calling on their principal men and citizens" and "conversing with them freely." Near Tahlequah they met with Chief John Ross and

"were received with courtesy, but not with cordiality . . . He was very diplomatic and cautious. His position is the same as that held by Mr. Lincoln in his inaugural; declares the Union not dissolved; ignores the Southern Government."[11]

Returning to the Creek Nation, the Texas commissioners resumed their visits with the "principal men." At the convention on April 8 the Choctaws and Chickasaws were again absent, prevented by high waters from attending, the rivers and creeks being full and impassable. Commissioner Harrison addressed the assembled Creeks, Cherokees, and Seminoles, and his views were "cordially received." The commissioners returned to Texas convinced that the "Creeks are Southern and sound to a man, and when desired will show their devotion to our cause by acts."[12] However, no Indian nation had yet joined the Confederacy.

In their report on April 23 to the governor of Texas the commissioners stated that

"The Administration of the North is concentrating his forces at Fort Washita, about twenty-four miles from the Texas line, and within the limits of the Chickasaw Nation."[13]

A week and a day previously President Lincoln had issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 militia to suppress "combinations and

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[9] Abel, *op. cit.*, 71. Chief Ross to Cherokee Delegation, Feb. 12, 1861.

[10] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), 124.

[11] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 323.

[12] *Ibid.*, 324.

[13] *Ibid.*, 324-25.

to cause the laws to be duly executed."[14] North and South were now at war.

In the spring of 1861 there were but three garrisoned military posts in the Indian Territory. Fort Washita, an old-established post, was in the southeastern corner of the Chickasaw Nation, on the left bank of the Washita River, twenty-two miles above its mouth. Companies C and I of the First Cavalry were stationed there. Fort Arbuckle, also in the Chickasaw Nation, was about sixty miles northwest of Fort Washita, near the right bank of Wild Horse Creek, five miles from its mouth on the Washita River. It was garrisoned by Companies A and B, First Cavalry, and Company E, First Infantry.

The third post, Fort Cobb, was about 160 miles northwest of Fort Washita, at the junction of Pond Creek and the Washita River. In camp were four companies—B, C, D, and F—of the First Infantry. The site of Fort Cobb was

> "on a portion of the Choctaw country, leased as a reserve for several detached bands of Comanche and other Indians, which were moved there from points within the limits of Texas. This arrangement was made for the convenience of the State of Texas, and Fort Cobb was designed for the double purpose of protecting these friendly bands against incursions from the hostiles of their own tribes and to restrain the latter in their descents upon Texas."[15]

The post was established October 1, 1859, by Maj. William H. Emory of the First Cavalry.

Two new regiments of cavalry had been added to the Army in the spring of 1855. Ben McCulloch, of Texas, was appointed major of the First Cavalry and Captain Emory major of the Second. McCulloch, aggrieved because he did not receive the command of one of the regiments, refused to accept the appointment, and Emory was transferred to the First Cavalry.[16] He was stationed at Fort Arbuckle in 1858-59 and at Fort Cobb after its establishment in the fall of 1859. On leave of absence and special duty throughout the following year, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in January, 1861. During the Civil War he reached the rank of major general. He served under General Sheridan in the Valley campaign in 1864, and the great cavalry leader wrote of him: "General Emory was a veteran, having graduated at the Military Academy in 1831, the year I was born."[17]

Colonel Emory, then in Washington, D. C., was ordered on March 13, 1861, to return to Fort Cobb. Before his departure, however, a report reached Washington from the commanding officer

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[14] *Ibid.*, Series III, I, 67.

[15] *Ibid.*, Series I, I, 660.

[16] R. W. Johnson, *A Soldier's Reminiscences in Peace and War* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1886), 96.

[17] P. H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1888), I, 473.

at Fort Washita retailing rumors of a threatened attack by Texans. Emory's orders were revised, and he was directed to "repair without delay" to Fort Washita. A dispatch was forwarded by express from St. Louis ordering the infantry company at Fort Arbuckle to "forthwith proceed" to Fort Washita and the troops at Fort Cobb to be held "in readiness for a prompt movement."[18]

Emory was given discretionary power. He was to concentrate his troops at Fort Washita unless in his judgment

> "the safety of the troops and the interests of the United States demand a different disposition. The interests of the United States are paramount to those of the friendly Indians on the reservation near Fort Cobb."[19]

A few days later Emory was informed that, in deference to the opinion of Senator Mitchell, of Arkansas, "a company may be kept at Fort Cobb."[20]

On his journey west, traveling by way of Memphis, Emory was detained several days by low water in the Arkansas River. To hasten the concentration of troops he sent orders ahead directing the commanding officer at Fort Arbuckle "to commence the movement upon Fort Washita, and, in the event of the latter place being threatened, to march to its support with his whole force."[21]

On April 6, shortly after his arrival at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and before he had become fully acquainted with the situation in the Indian Territory, Colonel Emory ordered the commander at Fort Cobb to march two of his companies to Fort Washita, the other two to remain at the post until further orders. Such Indians as desired could retire "within the protection of the camp at Washita."[22]

The permission given the Fort Cobb Indians to move with the troops was vigorously objected to by the Indian agents at Fort Smith, headquarters of the Southern Superintendency. Emory was informed by Superintendent Rector that it would "give great dissatisfaction" to the Choctaws and Chickasaws to bring the Fort Cobb Indians within their territory. Furthermore, they wert "hutted and planting and without means" to move even if permitted. Matthew Leeper, agent of the Leased District, journeyed to Fort Smith to protest against the removal of his wards. Emory bowed to the storm and rescinded the invitation.[23]

But he was adamant to "earnest appeals" by Army officers at Fort Smith "not to abandon Arbuckle." To the War Department at Washington he wrote: "I have forwarded these appeals and

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[18] *O. R.*, Series I, LIII, 487; *ibid.*, Series I, I, 656-57.
[19] *Ibid.*, 656.
[20] *Ibid.*, 659.
[21] *Ibid.*, 660.
[22] *Ibid.*, 662.
[23] *Ibid.*, 663, 665.

dissented from them.''[24] The concluding paragraph of that dispatch, dated April 13, 1861, is a pathetic reminder of the predicament confronting many Army officers at that time.

"Owing to the turn affairs have recently taken,[25] the position of an officer from a Southern State out here on duty has become extremely embarrassing; so much so as to impair his efficiency,"

continued Colonel Emory, requesting that he be allowed to turn over his command to another officer and to return to Washington to explain

"my reasons for the step. If these reasons should prove unsatisfactory, I am prepared to resign my commission. I respectfully suggest it has never been the policy of any government to employ officers to operate against their own section of country."

Emory was born in Maryland. Without waiting for a reply he set out for Fort Washita.

The turn of affairs made the position of the Federal troops in the Indian Territory untenable. At such a distance from their base they could no longer be supported nor supplied.[26] It became necessary at Washington to again revise Colonel Emory's orders. The dispatches were entrusted to William W. Averell, a young lieutenant who had been severely wounded several years before in an Indian attack in New Mexico and had just reported for duty from an unexpired sick leave. He left Washington by train on April 17, dressed in citizen's clothing. In the thousands of pages that make up the 130 volumes of the *Official Records* of the Civil War there is no narrative more thrilling than Lieutenant Averell's report of that journey.[27] At Rolla, Missouri, the end of the railroad, he took the stage coach for Fort Smith ''through towns wild with secession excitement and rumors of war.'' He found Fort Smith in the hands of the secessionists. Captain Sturgis, with Companies D and E, First Cavalry, had evacuated the fort several days before, ''and the post quartermaster, on whom I had an order for tranportation, was a prisoner in the guardhouse.''

After cautious inquiries Averell exchanged his gold watch and ''a little money'' for a horse, saddle, and bridle, and started for Fort Arbuckle, 260 miles away.[28] The horse was unbroken to the saddle, but the young lieutenant mastered and swam it across the Poteau River, which was bank full, losing his overcoat in the struggle. Twenty miles west of Fort Smith, where the road forked,

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[24] *Ibid.*, 666.

[25] The bombardment of Fort Sumter began on April 12, and the fort was surrendered on April 14 (*ibid.*, 12).

[26] A year's supply of subsistence stores for the military posts were seized by secessionists at Pine Bluff, Ark., April 18, while en route from St. Louis to Fort Smith (*ibid.*, 647).

[27] *Ibid.*, Series I, LIII, 493-96. Averell later became a distinguished Union cavalry leader and reached the rank of brigadier general.

[28] For some reason, unexplained, the dispatches Averell carried were addressed to Fort Arbuckle instead of Fort Washita.

he noticed, by the deep trail, that Sturgis had taken the Washita road. Following on that route, Averell was pursued by secessionists. He took to the woods. "Realizing that I could make a trail faster than they could find it, my course was taken directly across the mountains (San Bois) and my escape made good"—after leading his horse in the night "through howling packs of wolves."

Regaining the Arbuckle road, Averell was again pursued, and again he eluded his would-be captors. At Cochrane's ranch, forty miles from Fort Arbuckle, he was told that the troops had left Arbuckle for Fort Washita, forty miles southward. He procured a fresh horse and an Indian guide. But in a blinding storm of wind and rain "the Indian lost the way and I lost the Indian." After swimming the Big Blue River, Averell unsaddled and "tied my new horse to one stirrup, and running my arm through the other lay down and slept till morning." Luckily, the Indian found him and informed him that they were near the road from Washita to Arbuckle, and about ten miles from the former place. Reaching the road, they found a "deep double trail made in the mud of the previous evening." They followed the trail about six miles and came upon the First Cavalry and First Infantry breaking camp. "Riding to Colonel Emory, who was already mounted, I delivered the dispatches."

Under the orders handed to him Emory was directed to abandon the "Indian country west of Arkansas" and march with all his troops to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.[29] These instructions had been partly anticipated, as Emory's troops were then two days' march from Fort Washinta. The post had been occupied the day before by a regiment of Texas State militia under Col. William C. Young.[30]

Five miles from Fort Arbuckle Emory was met by troops from that post and the two Cobb infantry companies he had ordered a month before to Washita. The flag was lowered with military honors at Fort Arbuckle on May 4, and the troops marched toward Fort Cobb, taking the prarie road to the north of the Washita River so as to render the cavalry available. Two Indian guides, Possum and Old Beaver, accompanied them.[31]

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[29] *Ibid.*, Series I, I, 667.

[30] In a "Summary of Principal Events" (*ibid.*, 637) the date of the abandonment of Fort Washita is given as April 16. That is clearly in error. (1) Emory's dispatch dated April 18 is beaded "On the Road to Fort Washita" (*ibid.*, 668). (2) Sturgis reported he evacuated Fort Smith April 23 and arrived at Fort Washita on the 30th (*ibid.*, 650). (3) From the chronology of Averell's report it appears he delivered tbe dispatches to Emory May 2 and was told that Washita had been occupied by the enemy the evening before (*ibid.*, Series I, LIII, 494-96). (4) Emory reported that Averell delivered the dispatches two days' marcb from Washita (ibid., Series I, I, 648). It is probable Fort Washita was abandoned by Emory April 30 and occupied by the Texas militia May 1.

[31] *Ibid.*, 648; *ibid.*, Series I, LIII, 496.

The Texans followed close behind and on the 5th occupied Fort Arbuckle. That same day their advance guard pushed up onto the heels of the retreating column and were taken prisoners by Captain Sturgis and his company. They were released the following morning and retraced their steps, Emory and his troops continuing their march unmolested. On the 9th the two remaining Cobb infantry companies were overtaken about thirty-five miles northeast of that post. The united command—eleven companies—turned north. The course they followed was later used by Jesse Chisholm and became famous as the Chisholm trail.[32]

They arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the last day of the month. "Not a man, an animal, an arm, or wagon has been lost except two deserters," reported Colonel Emory.[33]

Colonel Young, with his regiment, occupied the abandoned forts for several months and shared with the Indians the property left behind by the retreating Federals.[34]

During the early months of 1861, while North and South were slowly drifting apart, Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation was essaying the difficult role of a neutral. Despite the fact that he later abandoned this position and chose sides in the struggle that ensued, there is little doubt that Ross was personally opposed to secession and dismemberment of the Union. Unfortunately, he had behind him a divided nation. The situation was outlined in May, 1861, by Albert Pike, a competent observer, in a letter to the Confederate Secretary of State:

"Since 1835 there have always been two parties in the Cherokee Nation, bitterly hostile to each other. The treaty of that year was made by unauthorized persons, against the will of the large majority of the nation and against that of the chief, Mr. Ross. Several years ago [1839] Ridge, Boudinot, and others, principal men of the treaty party, were killed . . . and the feud is today as bitter as it was twenty years ago. The full-blooded Indians are mostly adherents of Ross, and many of them . . . are on the side of the North . . . The half-breeds or white Indians (as they call themselves) are to a man with us."[35]

Hampered by internal dissension, Chief Ross' policy was complicated by pressure from without the nation. The Cherokee territory, like that of the Choctaws to the south, lay adjacent to the state of Arkansas, covering its western border north of the Arkansas River. As reported by Commissioner Hubbard, this contiguity of territory became a matter of vital concern to the western counties of Arkansas. Seeking an understanding with the Cherokees, the governor of Arkansas addressed a letter to Ross on January 29, 1861.

Governor Henry M. Rector was a cousin of Elias Rector, the

[32] John Rossel, "The Chisholm Trail," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* (Topeka), V (1936), 6-7.

[33] *O. R.*, Series I, I, 649.

[34] *Ibid.*, 653; *ibid.*, Series I, IV, 98.

[35] *Ibid.*, Series IV, I, 359.

Indian superintendent at Fort Smith, and an avowed secessionist. Citing the action of the Cotton States, he declared: "Arkansas . . . will probably pursue the same course by the 4th of March next."[36] He urged the Cherokees to "co-operate with the South in defense of her institutions, her honor, and her firesides . . . " As a warning, Rector added:

"It is well established that the Indian country west of Arkansas is looked to by the incoming administration of Mr. Lincoln as fruitful fields ripe for the harvest of abolitionism, free-soilers, and northern mountebanks."

The communication was entrusted to Lieut. Col. J. J. Gaines, aide-de-camp, who was instructed to confer "confidentially" with Ross and report back to the governor. At Fort Smith Gaines was given a letter of introduction to Ross by Superintendent Rector, who fully approved "of the object the governor has in view."[37]

In the meantime, information of Gaines' mission reached A. B. Greenwood, United States commissioner of Indian affairs, in Washington. As this intermeddling was in violation of the intercourse laws, Greenwood telegraphed the Cherokee agent, Robert J. Cowart, for a report on Gaines' movements and object. Cowart was himself a secessionist, and his reply was evasive, though he denied, in Gaines' own words, that the colonel was acting as a commissioner for the governor of Arkansas.[38] However, Gaines delivered the letter to Ross[39] and extended his journey to attend the abortive conventive convention of the Indian tribes at North Fork on February 17.[40]

On Washington's birthday Chief Ross replied to Governor Rector's communication. In measured yet temperate words he deplored the separation of the states, trusted the Divine power "to overrule the discordant elements for good," recalled the treaty stipulations that mutually bound the Cherokee people and the Federal Government, and denied that "the contiguity of our territory to your state" should be a bar to friendship. He was "surprised" at Rector's warning.

"As I am sure that the laborers will be greatly disappointed if they shall expect in the Cherokee country 'fruitful fields ripe for the harvest of abolitionism, ' & c., you may rest assured that the Cherokee people will never tolerate the propogation of any such obnoxious fruit upon their soil."[41]

Throughout the South the abolitionist was the bogy man of the day, and his designs on the "peculiar institution" were appealed to time and again in arguments with the wavering border slaveholding states and Indian nations. Slavery had existed for many

[36] *Ibid.*, Series I, I, 683-84.
[37] *Ibid.*, 683.
[38] Abel, *op. cit.*, 114. Cowart to Greenwood, Feb. 13, 1861.
[39] *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 491.
[40] Abel, *op. cit.*, 115. Ogden to Secretary of the Interior, March 4, 1861.
[41] *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 492.

years among the southern Indians, and Chief Ross was himself a wealthy slave owner. Albert Richardson, the New York *Tribune* correspondent, was told in Fort Smith in 1859 that Ross had "over a hundred,"[42] but that seems to have been an exaggeration, as the census of 1860 reported the largest proprietor among the Cherokees as holding 57 negro slaves. There were 2,504 in the nation, held by 384 owners. Among the other nations the Choctaws held 2,297 slaves; the Creeks, 1,651; the Chickasaws, 917; and the Seminoles, none.[43] Richardson learned that the negroes had an easy life. "The Cherokees and Choctaws don't govern them; in fact, the niggers are masters and do about as they please."[44]

In spite of Ross' disclaimer, there is evidence that for a number of years some sort of abolition movement had been on foot among the Cherokees. The Office of Indian Affairs had taken official notice of it early in June, 1860, when Commissioner Greenwood reported to the Secretary of the Interior "that a secret organization has been formed in the Cherokee Nation," and asked that the Secretary of War be requested to detail troops to assist in breaking it up.[45] In a letter to Superintendent Rector, written on the same day, Greenwood revealed the source of his information as an article in the Fort Smith *Times,* which pointed

"to the Jones' as being the leaders in this movement . . . It is believed that the ultimate object of this organization is to interfere with the institutions, [i. e., slavery] of that people. . . "[46]

The Joneses were Evan Jones and his son, John B. Jones, for many years Baptist missionaries to the Cherokees.[47] The secret organization was the Keetoowah (Night-hawk) Society,[48] the members of which, in contemporary literature, are more often called the Pin Indians.

Nothing seems to have been done about Greenwood's request, and the secret society continued to flourish. The Texans commissioners, after their visit among the Cherokees in March, 1861, reported:

"The fact is not to be denied or disguised that among the common Indians of the Cherokees there exists a considerable abolition influence, created and sustained by one Jones, a Northern missionary of education and

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[42] Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1867), 216.

[43] Jos. C. G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census, 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), 11.

[44] Richardson, *op. cit.*, 216.

[45] "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), 447. A. B. Greenwood to J. Thompson.

[46] *Ibid.*, 447-48. A. B. Greenwood to Elias Rector.

[47] Joseph B. Thoburn, ed., "The Cherokee Question," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), II (1924), 228.

[48] *Ibid.*, 239.

ability, who has been among them for many years, and who is said to exert no small influence with John Ross himself."[49]

After the war Albert Pike wrote that he learned in 1861 that the Pin organization

"was established by Evan Jones, a missionary, and at the service of Mr. John Ross, for the purpose of abolitionizing the Cherokees and putting out of the way all who sympathized with the Southern States."

Pike added that he later learned "with certainty" that

"the secret organization in question, whose members for a time used as a mark of their membership, a pin in the front of the hunting-shirt, was really established for the purpose of depriving the half-breeds of all political power. . ."[50]

The half-breeds themselves belonged to the Knights of the Golden Circle, "a society whose sole object is to increase and defend slavery."[51]

Except for the visit of the Texas commissioners in March, Chief Ross had a breathing spell of more than two months. Arkansas did not secede on March 4 as predicted by Governor Rector. That object was not attained until May 6. As a gesture of friendship to the Indian nations, the Arkansas convention on May 9 resolved that no money in the hands of the Indian superintendent or any Indian agent shall be seized.[52] Superintendent Rector and his Indian agents shortly afterward went over to the Confederacy.

With Arkansas out of the Union, Chief Ross again became a target for the secessionists. First, some citizens of Boonsboro, a border village in Washington County, Arkansas, asked him to define "his political status in this present contest." They wished a frank answer, "as we prefer an open enemy to a doubtful friend."[53]

This communication was followed on May 15 by a letter from J. R. Kannady, lieutenant colonel, commanding at Fort Smith. He had been informed that "Senator Lane, of Kansas, is now in that state raising troops to operate on the western borders of Missouri and Arkansas." As one "intrusted with the defense of the western frontier of this state," he too wished Ross to define his position, bluntly asking him

"if it is your intention to adhere to the United States Government during the pending conflict or if you mean to support the Government of the Southern Confederacy; and also whether in your opinion the Cherokee people will resist or will aid the Southern troops in resisting any such attempt to invade the soil of Arkansas, or if, on the other hand, you think there is any probability of their aiding the United States forces in executing their hostile design."[54]

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[49] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 324.

[50] Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 173. Albert Pike to D. N. Cooley, Feb. 17, 1866.

[51] Abel, *op. cit.*, 86. E. H. Carruth, report, July 11, 1861.

[52] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 307.

[53] *Ibid.*, Series I, XIII, 493-94. Erroneously spelled Boonsborough. It is known today as Cane Hill.

[54] *Ibid.*, 492.

Two days later Chief Ross answered Kannady and the citizens of Boonsboro. They were addressed separately, but copies of all the correspondence were enclosed in each letter.[55] In his reply to Kannady, Ross again recalled the treaty relations that existed between the Cherokees and the Federal Government. "Those relations still exist." He hoped the Cherokees would

"not be called upon to participate in the threatened fratricidal war between the 'United' and the 'Confederate' States. . . If the pending conflict were with a foreign foe the Cherokees, as they have done in times past, would not hesitate to lend their humble co-operation. . . Our interests all center in peace."

But if war should not be averted—and here he came to the second part of Kannady's question—

"my own position will be to take no part in it whatever, and to urge the like course upon the Cherokee people. . . We hope that all military movements, whether from the North or the South, will be outside of our limits. . ."[56]

To the citizens of Boonsboro he wrote as a neighbor of "more than twenty years." He hoped the Cherokees would not be regarded as enemies, even if they could not be classed "as active friends." He still looked for peace; that the difficulties might be settled by "compromise or peaceful separation." He thought that

"War is more prospective than real. It has not been declared by the United or Confederate States. It may not be. I most devoutly hope it might not be."

The position of the Cherokees was one of strict neutrality. "That position I shall endeavor honestly to maintain."[57]

Prompted no doubt by a desire to forestall such interrogatories in the future, Chief Ross issued that same day, May 17, his memorable proclamation of neutrality. Addressing his own people, he reminded them of the obligations arising under the treaties with the United States and urged their faithful observance. He earnestly impressed upon them the propriety of attending to their ordinary avocations and abstaining from unprofitable discussion of events transpiring in the states; of cultivating harmony among themselves and observing in good faith strict neutrality between themselves and the states threatening civil war.

"By these means alone can the Cherokee people hope to maintain their rights unimpaired and to have their own soil and firesides spared from the baleful effects of a devastating war."

He admonished the Cherokees to be prudent and avoid any act or policy calculated to destroy or endanger their rights. By honest adherence to this course no just cause for aggression would be given, and in the final adjustment between the states the nation would be

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[55] The letter to Kannady was dated May 17 and the letter to the Boonsboro citizens May 18, although both letters undoubtedly were written on the 17th.

[56] *Ibid.*, 492-93.

[57] *Ibid.*, 494-95.

in a situation to claim and retain their rights. He impressed upon the Cherokee people the importance of non-interference and trusted "that God will not only keep from our own borders the desolations of war, but that He will in infinite mercy and power stay its ravages among the brotherhood of States."[58]

If Chief John Ross thought the Cherokees would be allowed to remain onlookers while the North and the South struggled for supremacy, he was mistaken. If he was simply playing for time, he gained a few more months.[59]

[58] *Ibid.*, 489-90.

[59] Mr. Dean Trickett is a local historian living at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

A CROSS-SECTION IN THE LIFE OF A MISSIONARY TEACHER AMONG THE INDIANS

By

LOUISE THOMSON

Two contrasting pictures in the lives of teachers then and now may emphasize the point that, after all, the life of a teacher is made of joys, ambitions, surprises and incomplete efforts. There is still some thing for one's successor to achieve.

In the home of a home missionary where I was one of nine entities, good bad and indifferent, all being shaped into citizens by the loving care, strict discipline and religious training of our parents, the late Rev. and Mrs. A. E. Thomson.

Having been one of the younger ones I had not received the advantages of the eastern schools before we settled in western Kansas with few schools, fewer churches, no social life and no saloons. Humdrum, is perhaps the word to describe the situation.

Then follow one of our modern young teachers around for a day or two during the annual O. E. A. at Oklahoma City. Watch her as she goes to her rural school full of ambition, proud of her degree, not sure whether she wants to follow her own career to the bitter end, or to help some handsome young man to mount the heights sublime.

I am an 89'er as I with three sisters crossed the Kansas line into Indian Territory an hour before midnight Dec. 31, 1889. Before leaving Kansas our main interest was centered on the number of passengers sneezing and coughing. After hearing the comments from many of the sufferers we learned that they feared they were taking the "new" Russian malady, "The La Grippe", which was spreading over the United States. They were right and we four experienced the same trial a few days after entering the Cherokee Nation.

Almost immediately after crossing the state line our attention was drawn to the large number of beautiful, well-dressed, lively Indian girls who were enjoying their returning to school after the Christmas holidays. We looked in vain for their chaperon. Her absence and the very great supply of chewing gum were surprising to us.

My first personal encounter with Indians was when my father, Rev. A. E. Thomson, the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Tahlequah, met us at Gibson Station and drove to the home of Rev. Evans Robinson and wife. There we stayed all night and there a lasting impression was made: the hospitality, the convenience and neatness of the home and the reticence of every member of the

family. I was the chatterbox of our family and had a natural aversion to silences no matter how golden they appeared to others.

Our arrival in Tahlequah, followed by a serious attack of the above mentioned "grip" delayed my older sister, Anna, and me from going to our schools. Later Anna began her work in Lehigh among the foreign element.

On Jan. 20, 1890, I began school work in a log house built on a flint hill, ten miles from Tahlequah on the old Ft. Gibson road. It had been 16 years since the old buildings had burned, long enough to give rise to rumors of strange sights and sounds, of mysterious appearances, of sure proofs that it was never meant to have another school there. Some firmly believed these stories, while others, who opposed the establishment of a mission in the neighborhood, spread the tales with many enlargements, thus adding to our difficulties.

Having been taught from early childhood that being of Scotch descent did not entitle me to superstitious beliefs these stories interested, but did not frighten me. This was my first encounter with superstitions, signs and omens. At this time I made another serious mistake of thinking they were distinctly Indian characteristics. Since then I have found that the mysterious whisperings, "What is that the sign of" is just as rampant among the whites as among the Indians.

The school was financed by relatives of Rev. Joseph Leiper and his aunt, Miss Margaret Mc Carrell, of the Park Hill Mission, who lived near Pittsburgh, Pa. The present settlement of Welling, east of the Illinois river, near the old Elm Spring Mission derived its name from the widowed sister of Miss Mc Carrell. The school, known locally as the Woodall, was never directly under the supervision of the Presbyterian Board, but, as Dr. R. W. Hill, superintendent of Missions, New York City, called it, the Park Hill Annex.

Due to intense feeling, political and social, of the two factions in the community arrangements were made for me to share my time in the two sides of the district. I soon learned to love this arrangement. My two landladies were very dear to me and I leaned on them in every trying time. I do not believe that either of them ever broke a confidence. Something I can not say of confidants of later years.

My school and social work were so diversified that I had no time for home sickness or despair over seeming failures. Imagine an inexperienced, nervous, 85 pound girl having Sunday school, the day school and visiting the sick within a radius of four miles. The day school consisted of boys and girls in the primer ranging in years from five to fifteen years, intermediate classes, and some boys and girls who had attended for several years the male or female seminaries near Tahlequah. These latter, because of bitter factional and political disputes, had withdrawn from the seminaries and en-

rolled in the "New Jerusalem" as they sneeringly called our school. Though some of the patrons were pleased with this great honor it was always a moot question in my mind as to the advantage derived.

My discipline now might appear lacking in either rhyme or reason, but then my determination to carry through, regardless of consequences because, "I knew I was right," saved the day. The parents stood by me almost to a unit.

Then it seemed only incidental that a large Indian boy should threaten to cut out my heart and hang it on a bush in the school yard and I persisted until he capitulated, although ungraciously. His father and older brother warned me against another such incident as there had been real danger and that they with difficulty had taken an open knife from his pocket. However the boy never again questioned my authority.

Comedy, tragedy, fatigue and success formed a composite picture in my mind that, perhaps, will never fade. One night about midnight, the usual bedtime was 8 or 8:30 o'clock, I was awakened by the barking of dogs, excited voices and the protesting words of my landlady, Mrs. M. She came to my door and told me that a boy who had lately come into the neighborhood and had taken the measles was dying. His mother wanted me to come and pray for him. She said she would go with me if I wasn't afraid. I told her I wasn't. Whether she referred to measles, death, dogs, stray cattle, the dark or the flint trail I do not know.

We arrived at the low log house without a window, no ventilation except where the chinking had broken out. There were two rooms and each had a roaring log fire. In one there were eight children in bed, five in various stages of measles, several grown people sitting around smoking or dipping snuff. In the other room on the bed lay a 16 year old boy having hemorrhages of the nose. The evidence of various attempts to stop the flow of blood were disgusting. I did not know such practices were ever used in America.

The mother screamed to me to pray to save her boy and then went into a series of moans. Mrs. M. and I went to work with cotton, salt and water, made pledgets and stuffed his nose and after a time the flow ceased. Then Mrs. M. told the mother to keep quiet so we could have prayer. She looked up and saw that the hemorrhage had stopped and said, "That's all right. He doesn't need it now." However, we thought differently and for a while the quiet and peace of the prayer season strengthened us, and we were needing the uplift. The mother didn't want us to leave until she was sure her boy was all right. She jerked the pledgets from his nose and the work had to be done all over again. An hour later we trudged home, silent and pondering over the idiosyncrasies of human beings.

One beautiful Sabbath afternoon as I rode out from Tahlequah I was very much pleased to see an unusual crowd gathered on the school grounds. We had not had very good attendance. I was rather surprised when four or five of my most faithful women helpers and others not so faithful and several men and boys met me as I alighted from my horse. Some offered to help me off, one ordered her boy to take my horse and tie it. I was amazed at all this attention and more so when some one asked me if I was able to walk into the school house.

This was all a riddle and it remained unsolved until late in the afternoon when after many such questions and delays I entered my own "prophets chamber" followed by Mrs. M.

In the mean time I called the Sunday school to order and there was no standing room left with several outside. There being no organist I played and led the singing; there being no minister present and my usual helpers being overwhelmed by the unusual crowd and refusing to lead in prayer or read the Scriptures I did both. Such an anomalous position. I was nearest being angry with my people for not helping me I had ever been, amused at the ludicrous offer of physical assistance and so lonesome that I really felt like Elijah under the juniper tree and that the effort was more than I could endure.

Only two Sunday school teachers were willing to take their classes. The others augmented by curious strangers crowded into the "men's side" of the building into my class. They ranged in age from ten to 70 years. Some were able to read and some of them were Christians; others were ignorant, wicked, bootleggers, murderers and most of them vying in their use of tobacco and profanity. How I ever lived through that hour and a half I don't know. I wanted to get away and go to my room and write my resignation. Slowly the crowd, friends, critics and the curious disbanded. On reaching my room Mrs. M. followed me in, after ordering her children, nieces and nephews and others to stay out, and locked the door. In a dramatic whisper she asked how badly I was hurt. It took some time to convince her that I was all right, nothing had happened to me until the Sunday school hour when every thing had gone wrong just at the time when we could have done so much to interest the big crowd that was present. After a great deal of questioning I learned the truth.

A white boy whom I had offended by a severe lecture when he invited me to a dance (a dance in those days always carried the idea of a whiskey jug) had told about the neighborhood that he had fired at me while out hunting Friday evening, had wounded my horse and I had been thrown. Of course that aroused indignation among my friends and curosity among the rougher element. After all the excitement of the afternoon it seemed an anti-climax to me and after 47 years I still wonder why some one didn't ride

the ten miles to Tahlequah and inquire about me. From that time the enemies of the school submitted gracefully and we had peace.

For three years and a half I stayed with the school. I've never quite determined why I resigned. But I did and the school continued another year then closed. Some may have thought that I was satisfied with results; others that I was impatient with the slow progress. Mrs. Leiper told me that she believed that I had read too many Pansy stories in my childhood and expected to accomplish much in a short time. I can only say in looking back I feel that short time was more idealistic than any other period of my life.

I spent a short time with the Muldrow Mission and then four years in the Tulsa Mission. In both places I had interesting work and many happy impressions.

In the late summer of 1898 I received my first commission from the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, New York City, and went to the Anadarko school where under the superintendency of the Rev. S. V. Fait I remained three years. There is no doubt in my mind why I returned my second three year commission and left in August 1901.

From the week before Thanksgiving, 1900, until April 1901 the school was under strict quarantine with an epidemic of small pox. I was one of the three of the teachers and employees who had neither small pox nor a nervous breakdown. During that seige I think we all three felt many times that either or both would have been a welcome surcease. Mr. Fait in all that time was "greatness personified." He organized his forces taking the immunized students and drilled them in their duties as nurses. He supervised the diet; kept a steady hand on the farm and school work. He kept up the religious services in the chapel because we couldn't attend church service at Anadarko. He was never known to complain of weariness nor overwork and, as Dr. Charles Hume, government doctor said: "The only trouble with Mr. Fait is, he thinks he must be the whole building, 'chinkin' and daubin'." The best compliment one great, worthy overworked man could say of another. My stay in Anadarko was blessed by my association with those two noble pioneers of the Kiowa Reservation. Volumes could be written of their long years of self sacrifice and self effacement.

For six years I remained at home thinking my teaching days were over. By a very peculiar incident I became connected with the public schools of Lincoln and Hughes counties and continued teaching for twenty years in town and rural schools.[1]

[1] Miss Louise Thomson is a local historian living at Meeker, Oklahoma.

CHOCTAW INDIAN DISHES

By Peter J. Hudson

The process of preparing corn for Tash-lubona and Ta-fula is about the same.

For Tash-lubona, soak the corn for a short time or until the hull is loosened, and then beat it in a mortar uuntil the hull has slipped off leaving the grain of corn as whole as possible. Then take the corn out and fan it in a basket (ufko) to separate the hulls from the grain of corn. This basket or ufko is made of stripped cane. It is about three feet long and eighteen inches wide. One half of this basket is flat, having no sides, but starting from the center of the length, sides gradually rise from a fraction of an inch to five inches, one end being five inches in height. The corn is fanned and the grains all go to the end with the sides while the hulls are blown off the flat end. After the hulls are all disposed of, put the corn in a kettle with lots of water, salt and pieces of fresh pork and boil it down until it is thick. When it is done you have Tash-labona, which is very rich. Don't eat too much Tash-labona as it will make you sick.

With Ta-fula, the same process is followed as with Tash-labona, only the corn is beaten until the grains of corn are broken into three or four pieces, then take it out into the basket and separate the hulls from the grains. It can then be cooked with beans, with wood ashes or in any other way you wish. Meat is not cooked with Ta-fula. Use plenty of water and boil it down until there is a lot of juice. You can eat all the Ta-fula you wish as it contains no grease.

For Bread or Banaha, or, in English, Shuck Bread, soak the corn a long time, maybe all night, then beat it in a mortar until the hulls are off and then put in the basket and separate the hulls from the grains, after which put it back in the mortar and beat it into meal. Then sift it. That meal is as fine as wheat flour. Of course there will be some grits left that cannot go through the sieve.

In making Sour Bread, the grits are mixed with the dough. The dough is made the night before and allowed to sour and then it is cooked.

In making Banaha the meal is made into dough and then rolled out into lengths of Hot Tamales but about four or five times bigger around, and each one covered with corn shucks and tied in the middle with a corn shuck string. The middle is smaller than the ends when tied up. It is then boiled in water until done and the

shucks taken off when ready to use. When Banaha is to be carried on a trip the shucks should be left on.

Another bread is made with this meal by wrapping the dough in green fodder and boiling. It is very fine. Sometimes the hulls of peas are burned and the ashes put in this dough which makes it a brownish color.

Holhponi is the old Choctaw word for Ta-fula and the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi call this dish Holhponi to this day.

In Cyrus Byington's dictionary, Tash-labona is spelled Tanlubona or Talubo. Tanlubona came from two words, Tanchi which means Corn, a noun, and luboni, verb, meaning to boil. In Choctaw language, when you unite two words, a vowel and sometimes a syllable of the preceding word is dropped. So in this case "chi" is dropped, leaving Tanluboni. Luboni, to boil, then becomes a past participle and it is spelled lubona. The "n" in Tan is there because of the fact of the nasal sound. The old missionaries adopted a short line drawn under a vowel to give it a nasal sound, so I prefer using a short line drawn under the vowel to denote a nasal sound rather than the use of "n". Therefore, I would spell the word Talubona. In a few cases the "ch" is changed to "sh", so in this case "ch" is changed to "sh" and the word becomes "Tash". The Choctaw people will recognize the word as it is used interchangeably.

Ta-fula, came from two words, Tanchi, a noun meaning corn, and fuli, a verb, which means "to stir." Then when they are joined together "chi" is dropped, leaving Ta-fula. The "i" is changed to "a" because it is a past participle, and in Choctaw when two consonants come together it calls for a vowel.

Walakshi is another Choctaw dish made on special occasions. Wild grapes are gathered in the Fall and put away on stem to dry to be used when wanted. To cook, the grapes are boiled and then strained through a sack, only the juice being used. The dumplings are made of the corn flour described above and dropped in the grape juice and cooked until done. Of course more or less grape juice is absorbed by the dumpling and the remainder of the juice is thickened. Walakshi was always furnished by the bride's relatives at weddings, while the bridegroom's relatives furnished the venison.

Bota-Kapvssa is a cold meal made of parched corn. The grains of corn were poured into a kettle, a fire was built under it and hot ashes were poured in the kettle with the corn. The corn was stirred continually until it was parched brown and then it was taken out and put in the basket described above to be fanned, the ashes being separated from the corn. The parched corn was put into the mortar and the hulls loosened from the grain of corn and then it was put back in the basket again to be fanned, separating the hulls from the grains of corn. It was again put in the

mortar and pounded until it became a fine meal. Bota-Kapvssa is very nourishing. The Indian hunters and warriors used to take a small sack of it on their journeys and when they became hungry or thirsty, a small amount was put in a cup of water and upon drinking it, the thirst as well as the hunger was satisfied.

When roasting ears were gathered, a fire in a long row was built and a pole laid over the fire, the roasting ears were laid against the pole in front of the fire and the ears were turned every few minutes so that they would cook evenly and also to keep them from burning. When they were all cooked, the corn was shelled from the ear and dried in the sun, and sacked and put away for winter use. It was cooked in water and because it swells a great deal, a little corn would make a big meal. It is good for invalids.

In making Choctaw dishes, flint corn is preferable but if flint corn cannot be obtained any corn can be used. Horses will not eat flint corn. Flint corn is called by the Choctaw Indians Tanchi Hlimimpa. It is the only kind of corn the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi had when the white people found them.

In making Hickory Ta-fula, hickory nuts are gathered and put in a sack over the fire place to dry for a month at least. Then when ready to make Hickory Ta-fula, the nuts are cracked finely, shells and kernels together, then put in a sack and water poured over the nuts to drain. After this water is drained, it looks like milk. This hickory nut water is then poured into the Ta-fula and cooked. This makes a very rich dish.

When pumpkins are gathered in the fall, they are peeled and cut into narrow strips and dried for winter use.[1]

[1] See Robert L. Williams, Peter James Hudson, 1861-1938," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVII (1938), 1-4.

THE STATUE OF WILL ROGERS

By

Paula McSpadden Love

Once again Oklahoma was privileged to participate in one of those rare historical occasions when the state's highest ranking officials, citizens, loved ones and devoted friends gathered in Washington, District of Columbia, June 6, 1939, to unveil the Jo Davidson statue of Will Rogers.

Events had been carefully planned because this day was important not only to Oklahoma but to the nation at large. Will Rogers, though a native Oklahoman, belonged to the world and this fact was quite evident by the vast throng that crowded the Rotunda of the nation's Capitol long before the hour set for the program.

At 2:30 the Navy band opened their program in which they featured such numbers as "Will Rogers" by Pryor; "Oklahoma I Love You" by Opal Willifred Harrison; an arrangement of "Old Faithful" and several other well known airs.

Presiding over the assembly was Walter Harrison, Secretary of the Will Rogers Memorial Commission, who spoke in clear, distinct tones as he announced and introduced each number.

The Reverend Ze Barney Thorne Phillips, Chaplain of the U. S. Senate opened the program with a prayer of inspiration. His deep, resonant voice put into words the sentiment of the people as they sat with heads bowed and listened to the words of praise and thanksgiving. . . . "We thank Thee for this priceless heritage of splendid Christian manhood bequeathed to us, his fellowmen, for his unsullied ideals, his devotion to his home and loved ones, his never failing humor, transfiguring his nature and potent thought, and above all his vibrant personality, weaving its wholesomeness into the warp and woof of myriads of lives. And as we unveil and dedicate this statue in this holy shrine at the Nation's capitol, accept we beseech Thee, the dedication of our lives unto Thee and to the service of our country and grant us to live in such a state that we may never be afraid to die, so that the living and dying, we may be thine through Jesus, Christ, our Lord."

Mr. Norris Henthorne, Chairman of the Will Rogers Memorial Commission was the first speaker on the program. He gave a brief but very comprehensive review of the state's activities in connection with perpetuating the memory of Will Rogers. He made mention that, "twenty-two years ago today, at this same hour, citizens of Oklahoma came to Washington and gave to the nation a statue of

Sequoyah, native American, Cherokee Indian and author of the Cherokee alphabet. This morning citizens of Oklahoma, including members of the old Cherokee Indian nation, placed a wreath at the base of this statue, thus again honoring that other eminent Oklahoman who has been counted among the great of the nation by being placed in Statuary Hall.'' He told of the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore and concluded his address by the following: ''The ceremony today exemplifies the feeling of all of Oklahoma. We are proud to have the nation share with us the respect in which Will Rogers was held by our people. No more suitable words could be used in portraying the feeling of Oklahoma towards Will Rogers than the words carried in the bronze on the door of the Memorial in Claremore: 'Built by the people of Oklahoma in tribute to Will Rogers, Native Son and World Citizen.' ''

Chairman Harrison then called on the Governor of the State of Oklahoma, the Honorable Leon C. Phillips.

The state's chief executive felt the grave responsibility of the hour and in his address conveyed the deep respect, high esteem and genuine appreciation for Oklahoma's favorite son. He characterized Will Rogers as ''the archtype of the American people, the plain and kindly spokesman of the inarticulate.'' Continuing he said, ''Will Rogers was born with the elements of greatness in him. He is one more irrefutable example of the fact to which we as citizens of a democracy unwaveringly adhere, that out of the humblest heritage and simplest circumstances can come great characters who will revive our faith, enlighten our thinking and fire our souls to action.'' He cited examples of the love Will Rogers had for his home state; he spoke of his loyalty to family and friends and recalled how his great heart was torn when the nation was in trouble and his fellowmen in distress. ''He developed a personality from which the false, the pretentious, the silly and the ostentatious fell away,'' Governor Phillips commented. ''Neither carping criticism nor scorn marked his judgment of his fellows, but only a kindly tolerance edged with illuminating wit.'' The climax of his address reached a note of grandeur as he concluded with the following tribute, ''When the great Winnower of human achievement has sifted out the truly great from the chaff of contemporary heroes; when the Great Recorder has penned the record of those whom the Winnower has chosen, the name of Will Rogers, the great American, beloved of his fellows, will be etched in the Book of Fame, imperishable and undimmed. There, writ large neath it in letters that gleam with the idealism and reawakened faith he fostered, will be inscribed the qualities that brought him from the obscure village on the frontier plain to the forefront of human love and affection everywhere . . . . Simplicity, understanding, loyalty, and love of his fellow man. It is with this conviction that I commend Oklahoma's, America's, Will Rogers to the timeless ranks of the immortals.''

Chairman Harrison called on Mrs. Sallie McSpadden, the 75 year old sister of Will Rogers of Chelsea, Oklahoma, to unveil the bronze. In his introduction of this typical Oklahoman who is so well known and loved in her state, Mr. Harrison remarked, "Among the living none merits participation in the ceremony more than Mrs. Sallie McSpadden, the elder sister of the late Will Rogers. She filled as best she could the departed mother's place; she moulded Will's early years. She was always Will's devoted love. Sister Sallie will unveil the bronze with the assistance of Mr. Will Hays, representing the Motion Picture Producers of the United States."

As the American flag was drawn slowly aside to reveal the remarkable likeness of America's most beloved citizen, a hush of deep veneration fell upon the interested spectators. After a dramatic second, the Navy band burst into "The Star Spangled Banner" and the crowd rose simultaneously in loving respect and heartfelt emotion.

Mr. Harrison then presented Senator Allen Barkley of the U. S. Senate. He first brought out the fact that out of the 72 statues occupying places in the Hall of Fame, 60 were office holders of one type or another and only 12 out of the 72 were private citizens of the United States. "The statue which we are unveiling today," remarked Senator Barkley, "is the twelfth among those which have been placed in the capitol by the states which have selected the representative to honor them in this American Hall of Fame. Will Rogers represents, in this capitol the twelve men or women who never held official position under any state or under the nation, and as I look upon this wonderful statue, which I had the privilege to see in Paris just as Jo Davidson completed it, it seems that I am standing in the presence of Will Rogers."

Senator Barkley was talking about his friend; he was speaking of one whom he loved or he could not have put such feeling into words as he soared in his declamation. "Not only was he an intimate and a confidant of kings and of presidents and of governors, senators, members of the House of Representatives, and members of the Legislature; not only was he the friend and the confidant of the humbler men and women, not only of our country but of the world. But even greater than these, he was the friend of the children, and no man was ever a friend of children in this world who was not a good man, a noble man. He gave of his wealth, he gave of his time, he gave of his talents, he gave of his great heart to make America a better place in which to live and he carried to every nation which he visited, and he visited nearly all the nations in the world, that same spirit of nobility and of comradeship which made those who could not speak his language understand his heart and appreciate his soul.

"And so today, Governor Phillips, ladies and gentlemen, I have

the honor and the privilege as Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, to accept this beautiful statue of this great American, not only in the name of the Joint Committee on the Library, but in the name of the American Congress, in the name of the American Government, and in the name of the American people, and I accept it in gratitude not to Oklahoma alone, not for this beautiful statue which represents Will Rogers but I accept it in gratitude for the noble and immortal life which it represents."

Following this address the audience listened to Joe Benton, native Oklahoman, and a member of the Metropolitan Grand Opera Company, sing two numbers, "Good Will to Men" by Geoffrey O'Hara and "The Lord's Prayer" by Melant. He was accompanied by Merl Freeland.

After taking a panorama of the vast crowd that packed the Rotunda Walter Harrison introduced, Luther Harrison, a former Oklahoma legislator, educator, and at present editorial writer on the *Daily Oklahoman.* In his address he traced the development of Statuary Hall and emphasized the fact that the statue of George Washington was the only one placed there by the unanimous choice of all America.

"But today, sons and daughters of Oklahoma," the slender orator continued, "Oklahoma presents a companion to George Washington, who is the unanimous choice of the people of the United States." A spontaneous and vigorous applause greeted this remark and Mr. Harrison went on in his discourse. "Speakers more gifted than I have attempted this afternoon to explain why this man, who never held an office, became so preeminently great. Perhaps that itself is the explanation, who knows? But if you would understand Will Rogers, you will have to go back 500 years to the Southern Passes of the Appalachians. For 500 years before the star of Oklahoma burst forth in the firmament, 500 years before this preeminent American was born out on the plains of Oklahoma, the Cherokee people as proud, as grave, as courteous, as dignified as any race that ever walked the earth, were maintaining republican government, which is democratic government in the fair land of the Southern Appalachians." He spoke at length of the Indian heritage which was in the Rogers blood, the "Trail of Tears," the movement from the Mississippi, on to the Arkansas, the Grand and finally the Verdigris. He spoke of the call of the "Northern Lights" and how Will Rogers with Wiley Post left his home "in the land of the sunset, away from the sandy shores and the orange groves of mystic California, out beyond the primeval forest that guards the Columbia, out beyond the harbors of Vancouver, and beyond the frozen tundras of Alaska, up to the very verge of the polar ocean" to meet his destiny. And in a voice steeped with emotion he completed his remarks. "And

we who knew him can hardly doubt that when the call came for him to meet his Maker, he entered the presence of his Maker with a stainless heart and with his inimitable whimsical smile.

"We present today the companion of George Washington, the greatest private American citizen, a man of whom there are all too few, a man whose kindly spirit is looking down in sympathy on us this afternoon. So God accept him and Christ receive you."

Luther Harrison's address was the fitting climax of a beautiful and meaningful program. He had put into words that poetical aspect of the nature of Will Rogers that others had omitted. With the pronouncing of the benediction, the Navy band played "Stars and Stripes Forever" and the ceremonies were adjourned.

And so Will Rogers in bronze is in the Hall of Fame, placed there by the acclamation of the American people who loved and honored him. Standing in the characteristic pose fashioned by the artistic hands of Jo Davidson, he will look down upon an admiring public in the years to come. Who better deserves a place in the nation's Hall of Fame, than this kindly philosopher who will live forever in the hearts and minds of the people for he wrote his own opitaph in those immortal words, "I never met a man I didn't like."[1]

[1] Mrs. Paula McSpadden Love is Curator of the Will Rogers Memorial Museum, at Claremore, Oklahoma.

NOTES

Among the activities carried on during the past year by the Oklahoma City Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution were the following: Medals were presented to outstanding students in the Oklahoma City schools to encourage the study of good citizenship and history. On February 26, four redbuds (the state tree) were planted east of the Municipal Building in Civic Center. A marker with an appropriate inscription was erected later. On May 10, this Chapter presented two Logan elm trees to the Oklahoma Historical Society which were placed on the grounds north of the Historical Building. One of the markers for a scion of the historic tree honors Dr. J. B. Thoburn and was presented by Mrs. C. G. Girvin, President of the Oklahoma City Chapter on behalf of that organization. The other marker was dedicated to the Mingo Indian Chief, Logan, by Mrs. S. I. Flournoy, chairman of historical markers for the local chapter.

At a meeting of representatives of the Oklahoma Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution at the Historical Building on May 10, Mrs. Frank Gordon Munson, Alva, state historian of the D. A. R., told members about the celebration being planned to commemorate Coronado's passing through Oklahoma. On behalf of the state society she presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society the following: A frame containing the Oklahoma state flag painted and described by Mrs. Louise F. Fluke of Ponca City; a historical map of Oklahoma drawn by Lester W. Raymer of Alva, and a frame enclosing the object, creed, pledge, and belief of the National Society of the D. A. R., prepared by Mrs. Fluke. Additional gifts were added to the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mrs. Virgil Browne, Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Viola Pelter McGreevy, Carmen. Other state officers present were Mrs. Lester B. Gum, state librarian, Mrs. Browne, state genealogist, and Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, chairman of the state regent loan fund.

The following articles will be of interest to our readers: "Coronado's Muster Roll," edited by Arthur S. Aiton, in *The American Historical Review* (April, 1939); "The Fate of the Confederate Archives," by Dallas D. Irvine, in *The American Historical Review* (July, 1939); "The 'Turner Theories' and the South," by Avery Craven, in *The Journal of Southern History* (August, 1939); "The Mississippi Valley and Its History," by William O. Lynch, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June, 1939); "Kansas' Archaeological Survey," by Wayne Delaven, in *The Wisconsin Archaeologist* (July, 1939); "Archaeology in the Light of Recent Finds in Other States," by W. C. McKern, in *The Wisconsin Archaeologist* (July, 1939); "Field Report on the Excavation of Indian Villages

in the Vicinity of the Spiro Mounds, Le Flore County, Oklahoma," by Kenneth G. Orr, in *The Oklahoma Prehistorian* (July, 1939); "Flint Artifacts Relating to Cultures on the Great Plains," by William E. Baker, *ibid.;* "Indian Chiefs of Michigan," by E. F. Greenman, in *Michigan History Magazine* (Summer, 1939); "The Village of the Big Osage," by Joe Harner, in *The Missouri Archaeologist* (February, 1939); "Louisiana Choctaw Pottery," by John M. Goggin, in *El Palacio* (June, 1939); "Notes from Secretary Bloom in Seville," in *New Mexico Historical Review* (April, 1939); "Religious Beliefs of the Nebraska Indian," by Mary Hungate, in *Nebraska History* (July-September, 1938); "Some Frontier Institutions," by LeRoy G. Davis, in *Minnesota History* (March, 1939); "The Natchez Trace: a Federal Highway to the Old Southwest," by Lena Mitchell Jamison, in *The Journal of Mississippi History* (April, 1939); "Gaines Trace in Monroe County," by W. A. Evans, *ibid.;* "Uniform Archival Legislation," by Albert Ray Newsome, in *The American Archivist* (January, 1939); "The Parentage and Birthplace of Osceola," by Charles H. Coe, in *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April, 1939); "Cherokee Goldseekers in Colorado, 1849-1850," by LeRoy R. Hafen, in *The Colorado Magazine* (May, 1938); "Shawneetown: a chapter in the Indian History of Illinois," by Norman W. Caldwell, in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (June, 1939); "Georgia Archaeology with Special Reference to Recent Investigations in the Interior and on the Coast," by Charles C. Harrold, in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* (March, 1939).

Another milestone in the growth of Lawton was reached on August 7, 1939. Scores of pioneers who founded the city in 1901 gathered at Union Park all during the day to recall the events of the past thirty-eight years. Among those extending greetings to the crowd gathered there were Mrs. Janette Rowell, President of the Pioneer Club; Clarence Wilson, President of the Buckaroo Club; Dick Jones, Mayor of Lawton; Colonel L. P. Ross; Reverend T. J. Irwin, pioneer lawyer and minister. Others introduced were Lieutenant Governor James E. Berry and Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett.

Lawton *Constitution,* August 7, 1939.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Handbook of Oklahoma Writers. By Mary Hays Marable and Elaine Boylan. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. 308 pp. $2.50.)

This is one of the most useful books ever published in Oklahoma. Since territorial days the state has been flooded with "vanity projects" and other regional histories carrying biographical sketches, but this book represents the first serious attempt to record the achievements of Oklahoma from the standpoint of objective scholarship. It contains a comprehensive bibliography of books and pamphlets published by Oklahomans (about two thousand titles), biographical sketches of the more important state writers (more than one hundred), a town list of authors (about one hundred and thirty towns), and an imposing list of literary awards and distinctions won by Oklahomans.

It is in no sense a history of Oklahoma literature. There is little attempt at criticism, and where it is present it is not always discriminating. Very little human interest material appears in the biographical sketches. But the research is a marvel of thoroughness and accuracy. And the information is so complete and up-to-the-minute and so conveniently arranged that in spite of its encyclopedic character the book is intensely interesting. It is a great satisfaction to learn the things one has always wanted to know about the writers of the state, and it brings a pleasant glow of pride to view the total of their accomplishments. The history section, in particular, reveals a literary self-consciousness on the part of Oklahomans that promises well for the future of historical studies.

No high school should pretend to teach English or history without this book on its reference list, study clubs will find it indispensable, and no literate Oklahoman will fail to keep it within convenient reach.

Angie Debo

Marshall, Oklahoma

Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, by Willie Malvin Caskey with Foreword by Frank Lawrence Owsley. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1938. XII+318 pp. $3.50.)

While the work and influence of Dunning and Fleming resulted in more or less satisfactory studies of reconstruction in most other Southern states Louisiana, *the* horrible example of reconstruction, it is pointed out in the foreword remained—with the exception of Miss Lonn's work on the later phases—fallow ground. Dr. Caskey has attempted to work the field for a part of the period and proposes to continue.

In addition to the presidential election of 1860, the work includes studies of the succession of Louisiana, Butler's beginning of restoration, Banks' preparation of Louisiana for restoration, restoration under Lincoln's ten per cent plan, the constitutional convention of 1864, the problem of civil government during the civil war period, President Johnson's reconstruction policy in Louisiana, the Legislature's completion of restoration, and, finally, the radical Congressional overthrow of restoration.

Apparent opposition to secession in and about New Orleans in 1860 soon gave way to an overwhelming city and state secession sentiment. Failing in their demands for Confederate cooperation in defense of New Orleans, however, the people expressed bitterness and resentment against those authorities.

General Butler is credited with effective charitable and sanitary measures but with failure in his relations with native and foreign populations and failure to check fraud and corruption. His successor Banks soon altered his own policy of magnanimity and while adopting a compulsory negro labor program was soon faced with negro demands for political equality.

Unionist disagreements and military campaigns delayed organization of a state government. At length the administration ticket carried an election for several state officers ordered for February 22, 1864, and another for delegates to a constitutional convention a month later. The work of the convention was hampered, however, by questions as to its constitutionality, by defeat of the Federals at Mansfield, by the difficulty of securing a quorum, by failure of the character and ability of the delegates as a whole to command public esteem, and by the withdrawal of the most able members. The constitution adopted included the abolition of slavery, the possible extension of suffrage to negroes, and the establishment by public taxation of separate schools for blacks and whites.

The legislature was elected in September, 1864; a much needed supreme court was established; and congressional and senatorial elections were held. But by a congressional filabuster "the Louisiana senators were denied seats, and the Lincoln government in Louisiana stood condemned and repudiated for strictly political purposes, by both conservative and radical unionist factions in Louisiana, and by Congress."

Louisiana was willing to cooperate with President Johnson but an aggressive Louisiana minority condemned the new government, claimed that secession caused Louisiana to revert to territorial status, and elected a "delegate" to Congress, who was never seated. By the close of the election of May 7, 1866, there was effected a complete restoration of the state government apparently under the undisputed control of returned Confederates. This control was

overthrown, however, to all intents and purposes by the New Orleans Revolution or riot of July 30, 1866, engendered by a radical Republican group.

Dr. Caskey's study is intended to be almost purely political. It is to be hoped, however, that study may be made of economic and social interests and activities as a further aid to an understanding of the ardent support of political views and changing factions. Real estate ownership and transfer as evidenced by census reports, deeds, wills, mortgages, tax reports, tax sales, advertisements, and the like should shed light on the situation as should the records of New Orleans business men if and when they appear.

The author has made wide use of the most often used type of source and apparently has arrived at sound conclusions albeit without either achieving a convincing objectivity or making an outstanding contribution. The analysis is not keen and the style upon occasion becomes careless, involved and difficult. Clarity or accuracy is too often wanting as in references to the ultras (p. 1), Hahn's majority (p. 65), the Wells appointee (p. 201), Baird's refusal (p. 225), and in the last sentence on p. 142. Proofreading failed to catch a number of slips (as on pages 38, 117, 142 and 179).

Some 68 pages of notes are relegated to the back of the book, numbered consecutively only within each of the twelve chapters, and arranged in two narrow columns. The index is adequate and the bibliography is conveniently arranged.

V. Alton Moody

Iowa State College

Indian Cavalcade or Life on the Old-Time Indian Reservations. By Clark Wissler. (New York: Sheridan House, 1938. 353 pp. Illustrated. $3.00.)

At the turn of the century a young anthropologist entered upon a study of the American Indian which, over a period of several years, took him to some ten reservations scattered throughout the West. That man was Clark Wissler, now a chief curator at the American Museum of Natural History, and pre-eminent for his contributions in the field of anthropology.

This book of reminiscences of those years and those experiences has all the wealth of the succeeding quarter of a century which Dr. Wissler has devoted to Indian research and investigation. The author modestly sets forth in his foreword that this is a book without a purpose, that it is neither history nor sociology, but merely personal recollections of old-time Indian reservations. So, in the opening chapter the author takes the reader over the prairies to a typical agency where he meets the principal official and unofficial personages usually to be found there. The most talked of individuals are the Agent, usually known as "The Major," and the government

spy sent to report on conditions on the reservation, known appropriately as "The Big Cat." The presence of this latter person was always anticipated and never appreciated, for his report to Washington might mean one's official life or death. There are chapters on the trader who made artful use of his monopoly; the agency "Dock," whose redskin patients could suffer from symptoms as distressingly and dramatically as any pale face. The Indian medicine men are traced sympathetically against the relief of the "black robes"; and there is much of keen observation in the sections dealing with the government schools and missionary establishments; the Indian police, their court and judgments. The "half-breeds" and the "squaw man" stand out vividly as the problems of the Indian frontier. The last few chapter are intimate portraits and experiences with the Indians the writer knew best; and the final pages are among his best writing.

Dr. Wissler shows in an informal but effective fashion that many of the wrongs for which the Indian suffered were due to the white man's ignorance of their tastes and ways. This ignorance more often characterized the officials at Washington than the local administrators, so often hampered and harassed by conflicting and unintelligent orders. The writer discovered that the Indian is most tolerant; he understood why an Indian could be both a pagan and a Christian at the same time, and also belong to several different Christian sects. He points out how differently whites and Indians think about the same things, and with illuminating anecdotes to prove it. There is the story of an old chief, himself a Christian, who accepted the Ten Commandments with the remark that, since they were primarily addressed to the white man, he thought there should have been more than ten!

The book is attractively illustrated with reproductions of several Dakota Indian drawings made about 1890; and with photographs that reflect the atmosphere of the time. The printing and binding are in harmony with the informal and readable style of the author. There is no index; but there is no need of one, for this is not a reference work. This is a book to be read and reflected upon, and is a substantial and contributory critique of the American Indian policy at the turn of the century.

Gaston L. Litton

The National Archives

Tecumseh And His Times, by John M. Oskison. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. 244 pp. ($2.75.)

Tecumseh and His Times presents a very readable and interesting account of the rise and fall of the "Meteor," as the hero has been called. While the material may not lay claim to original treatment, the subject having been often presented in the history of

the American frontier, nevertheless the sympathetic approach and point of view deserve consideration and commendation. .

The book is "dedicated to all dreamers and strivers for the integrity of the Indian race, some of whose blood flows in my veins (Oskison is one-eighth Cherokee, his mother being a Crittenden, a quarter blood); and especially to the Oklahoma Shawnee friends of my boyhood." That Tecumseh was a dreamer of dreams is evidenced in the almost fanatical reliance he reposed in the confederation of Indian tribes of old Northwest Territory which he and his brother, known as "The Prophet," sponsored. He hoped that this alliance would become powerful enough "to dam back the flow of the whites into Indian lands." But when it is recalled that by 1754 the Iroquois were facing political disintegration, their League steadily weakening in influence and prestige, it was just a little too much to expect that Tecumseh's dream would be realized.

The author does not seem to be conscious of the general disintegration of tribalism which had already set in, and, according to some authorities, was coincident with the Columbian era. The divisive influences of tribalism had militated against forming a defensive alliance against the white invader at an earlier date; hence Tecumseh, representing a tribe, which according to the author was never numerically strong (commanding about 500 warriors) and "in a special sense nomadic and jealous of their freedom" (p. 8), was faced with well-nigh insurmountable obstacles at the very outset of his enterprise.

Following the defeat of the French interests in America, the troubled period following the Revolution, and the trek of the settlers down the Wilderness Road, the stirring events depicted in "Tecumseh and His Times" takes place. The close of the War of 1812 also marks the culmination of Tecumseh's career. The author points out what difficulties the newly constituted Republic encountered in dealing with the rough newcomers into the Ohio Valley who showed slight consideration for the rights of a primitive people. The treaties, made with the tribes as though they were sovereign states, were drawn up in high flown language which the average Indian did not understand and which the settlers evidently did not care to understand. At any rate the treaties were not enforced.

A study of the times in which Tecumseh lived furnishes the author with an opportunity for taking William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, to task as a politician and exploiter, of no mean proportions, as well as a maker of "iniquitous treaties." That Harrison and Tecumseh were bitter antagonists, making use of all known methods of the border warfare of that day, history has long since established. The Indians had to bear the brunt of a cruel and reckless frontier; Tecumseh went down in the struggle but his

name lives on as an Indian leader of mettle and resourcefulness albeit championing a "lost cause."

Mr. Oskison pays this tribute to his hero: "Tecumseh takes his place among the dreamers and leaders of the red race who for nearly four hundred years have considered martyrdom not too high a price to pay for holding the dream. He stands out from the rest mainly because his effort was so clearly etched against the background of history in a troubled time, and because of his surpassing honesty and courage." (p. 237).

To the present reviewer, the author's reference to Tecumseh's "dream," as persisting in the Peyote cult, as practiced "among many of the western tribes," seems farfetched and bordering on the fantastic. He holds that "it is clear that the devotees (Peyote users) are uplifted by something more potent than a drug. In these long sessions, the modern reservation Indians recapture a dream; they reach for—at the least—a spiritual union of the race, seek to preserve that which is distinctively Indian."

How the author can see anything uplifting or tending to the "spiritual union of the race" in the peyote orgies as ordinarily practiced among the followers of this cult, is indeed difficult of comprehension. Those who have lived for years in the Indian country and have seen the deleterious effects, physically, mentally and morally, of this insidious drug, are unanimous in their condemnation of its use. Like most drugs it is habit forming and furnishes an "escape mechanism," being at times substituted for liquor; it is also used as a medicine (between meetings), generally indiscriminately, with injurious results. Dr. Moorman Prosser of the Central Oklahoma Hospital, Norman, recently (at the Bacone Regional Conference of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers, June 7, 1939) presented some important findings on the pathological aspects of the use of peyote on Indians. These would indicate that peyote is far from being the "uplifting" influence which the author attributes to it.

G. E. E. Lindquist

Lawrence, Kansas

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, July 27, 1939.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 27, 1939, at 10:00 A. M., with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Gen. William S. Key, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Hon. John B. Meserve, Mrs Jessie E. Moore, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. John R. Williams, Judge Robert L. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The Secretary presented reasons for absence from the following members: Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mr. George H. Evans, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Col. A. N. Leecraft, and Mr. Jasper Sipes, and upon motion duly seconded the absentees were excused.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting held January 26, 1939, and the minutes of the Annual Meeting held May 11-12, 1939.

Hon. W. J. Peterson moved that the reading of the minutes of the Board meeting held January 26, 1939 and the Annual Meeting held May 11-12, 1939 be passed at this time. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President reported that the expense incurred by Professor Rex W. Strickland, now of the School of Mines, El Paso, Texas, attending the Annual Meeting at Durant, to deliver an address on "Miller County, Arkansas Territory, (now a part of Oklahoma), The Frontier that men forgot," was $44.45 and that he had paid the money to professor Rex W. Strickland.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved that Judge Robert L. Williams be reimbursed from the private funds of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that Professor Rex W. Strickland be allowed stenographic hire to reproduce for the Society the address he delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society at Durant. Motion was seconded and carried, same not to be published without his consent.

The exhibit of museum articles lent to the First National Bank and Trust Company for their anniversary celebration was discussed.

Mrs. John R. Williams moved that the Board express its appreciation to the First National Bank and Trust Company for the treatment accorded the exhibit and the spirit of co-operation on the part of the bank officials to interest people in the work of the Historical Society, also for the $100.00 donated the Society relative thereto. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President presented the matter of continuing the WPA project sponsored by the Historical Society for another ten months after the termination of the present project.

Hon. W. J. Peterson moved that the President be authorized to execute a contract on the part of the Historical Society as sponsor and to use any funds available, either state appropriation or private funds of the Society, to provide for the sponsor's share of the contribution. Judge William P. Thompson seconded the motion.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved to amend by adding that the President be authorized to make application for the transfer of state appropriated funds to meet any emergency arising in the sponsor's contribution for the WPA project. The amendment was seconded by Hon. John B. Meserve, and the motion as amended was carried.

The President read part of a letter from Mr. Carney O. Dean, a representative of the Motter Bookbinding Company, regarding the publication of a master index for the seventeen volumes of *Chronicles of Oklahoma* now completed, also a letter from Dr. E. E. Dale of the University of Oklahoma regarding the Master Index.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved that the Board authorize the President to consent to the publication of the master index with no financial obligation on the part of the Historical Society, provided that the work be supervised by James J. Hill, assistant librarian at the University of Oklahoma, without cost to the Society.

The President asked permission to sign a release for work done on a WPA project, sponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society, at the Sequoyah home shrine.

Honorable John B. Meserve moved that the President and Secretary be authorized to sign said release. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge William P. Thompson moved that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the State Highway Commissioners, in regard to roads leading from the main highway to the Sequoyah home shrine and from the main highway to the Robert M. Jones shrine. Motion was seconded and carried.

The matter of paying the typewriter rent for the WPA projects at Oklahoma City and Muskogee was discussed.

Judge Samuel W. Hayes moved that the rent be paid quarterly as heretofore, thus securing some reduction, and accordingly allowed out of the transferred WPA funds from state appropriations.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership in the Society:

LIFE: Clara Alice Ward, Tulsa.

ANNUAL: J. A. Bodovitz, Ardmore; A. F. Connelly, Oklahoma City; Rev. W. N. P. Dailey, Pottersville, New York; Harry J. Daitch, Akron, Ohio; Miss Cooleela Faulkner, Claremore; Clarence W. Fink, Okmulgee; G. E. Frey, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Joe Ham, Oklahoma City; Miss Ella A. Ketcham, Oklahoma City; George I. Laingor, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Paul Lynch, Fort Smith, Arkansas; C. C. Roberts, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Elizabeth Thurman Smith, Clinton; Robert W. Spann, Granite; Mrs. Bland West, Norman.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that they be elected members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. John B. Meserve moved that it be the sense of this Board of Directors to put forth every effort to increase the membership of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Honorable W. J. Peterson moved that the President be given authority to prescribe the duties of the various employees of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore transmitted to the Society a copy of the Chickasaw Roll of 1818, the original having been made up for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Chickasaw Treaty of October 19, 1818, between the Commissioners for the United States and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chickasaw Nation, this copy having been compiled by Mrs. Melven Cornish of McAlester, Oklahoma, and is presented to the Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. Melven Cornish.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that this gift be accepted and that Mr. and Mrs. Melven Cornish and Mrs. Jessie E. Moore be thanked for this donation. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle reported that Mr. G. B. Parker and associates of the Scripps-Howard publications donated to the Society a complete bound file of all their editions of the *Oklahoma News* and a number of volumes of other newspapers and *The Oklahoma City Directory*, and moved that Mr. Parker and associates be thanked for their generosity in supplying these copies for the Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

The following letter was read:

Board of Directors—Oklahoma Historical Society.

Since the room which was to have been furnished by the women's organizations named by the Board has not materialized, I desire to present to the Historical Society the following articles given by generous donors to the Oklahoma Memorial Association.

1 A hand painted picture by Maxine V. Lewis, subject "Oklahoma under six flags."

2 An American walnut desk and chair, presented by the Board of Regents of the Oklahoma College for Women at Chickasha to honor Dr. George W. Austin.

3 A small American walnut book case, presented by the Women's Culture Club of El Reno.

4 An American walnut book case and desk, presented to honor the Governors of Oklahoma.

5 An inlaid table of various woods, made by the prisoners of the Oklahoma State Penitentiary, at McAlester, and presented by the Warden.

6 A Majestic refrigerator, presented by the John Brown Department Store.

7 An electric range, presented by the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company.

Signed Anna B. Korn, President
Oklahoma Memorial Association.

Gen. William S. Key moved that they be accepted and the donors thanked for this contribution to the Museum and equipment of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Upon motion of Hon. John B. Meserve the meeting stood adjourned subject to call.

Judge Robert L. Williams, President,
presiding.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

NECROLOGY

FREDERICK WILLIAM INSULL

1875-1939

Frederick William Insull was born July 5, 1875, at Walthamstone, Essex, England, a suburb of London, the son of Henry and Helen (Pasfield) Insull. He died at Tulsa, January 14, 1939. His mother died in 1880. Two years later his father brought his children to Canada and went in the clothing business in Winnipeg, Manitoba, which business he continued until his death in 1920.

Frederick William was educated in the common schools of Winnipeg but did not finish school to the extent of receiving a diploma from the high school. At that early age he manifested a keen interest in electricity and devoted his efforts to studying this subject instead of the ordinary academic branches of learning.

The first work he engaged in was as newsboy selling papers on the streets of Winnipeg. At the age of sixteen he was working as repairman on a trolley wagon, and later he held positions as motorman and conductor on the street railway lines of Winnipeg.

In 1901 at the age of twenty-six he established his permanent residence in the United States at Chicago, where during the years of 1901 and 1902 he worked for the Chicago Edison Company and from 1903 to 1909 was secretary and treasurer of the North Shore Electric Company in Chicago. From 1909 to 1913 he was in Idaho, Oregon and Colorado with various electric and power companies.

In January, 1913, he came to Oklahoma and located at Tulsa, where he was largely instrumental in organizing the Public Service Company of Oklahoma, an electric light and power company with offices at Tulsa, furnishing light and power to a large portion of northeastern Oklahoma. At the organization of the company he was elected to the positions of director and president, which positions he held until his death. During these nearly twenty-six years he was largely instrumental in building up the company, keeping it abreast of the great growth of population and the development of industries in that portion of the state served by the company. He presided at every annual meeting and with one exception at every special meeting of the stockholders from the time of the organization of the company until his death.

He was also president of the Peoples Ice Company at Tulsa from 1913 until his death; was president of the Chickasha Gas & Electric Company with offices at Tulsa from 1913 to 1926; was vice-president of Oklahoma Power Company with offices at Tulsa from 1922 to 1924 and from 1929 to 1932 and was elected its president in 1933; was president of the Southwestern Light & Power Company from 1928 until his death; was president of Oklahoma Utilities Association in 1923; was president of Southwestern Geographical Division of National Electrical Association.

Mr. Insull was always deeply interested in all civic and charitable movements and organizations pertaining to the welfare of Tulsa and Oklahoma. He was a member of the Board of Directors of Tulsa Chamber of Commerce from 1920 until his death and was president of the Chamber in 1925. He took an active part in the activities of the Chamber of Commerce during all that time and was always a member of one or more of the major committees of the Chamber of Commerce and spent a great deal of time in the work. He was an active member of the Union Station Committee in 1924, which led to the erection of Tulsa's Union Railway Station. He was largely instrumental in the organization

FREDERICK WILLIAM INSULL

of Tulsa Community Fund in 1924, at which time he was appointed a director and served continuously until his death, serving as president from 1929 to 1932. He helped to create and maintain United Family Service Association and for a long while was a member of the Board of Directors of Tulsa County Public Health Association.

He was active in organizing the International Petroleum Exposition in 1923 and served as a director from that time until his death.

He took an active part in the establishment of the Tulsa Municipal Airport and was one of the underwriters of the project and was one of the guarantors on the loan for financing the building of the Skelly Stadium in Tulsa in 1931.

The members of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce voted him the honor of being the most useful citizen in Tulsa in 1931.

He was director of Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce from 1929 until his death and national counsellor of United States Chamber of Commerce in 1932-1933.

He acted as trustee of the University of Tulsa from 1927 to 1935 and was a director of the Atlas Life Insurance Company at time of death; was a director of First National Bank and Trust Company from 1927 to 1932; was president of Tulsa Rotary Club for the year 1933-1934.

He became a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Tulsa in 1925 and held the position of deacon continuously from 1926 until his death; was chairman of Building Committee from 1930 until death; was a member and chairman of Finance Committee at various times and was a regular attendant at church services.

He was a member of Knights of Pythias, a 32nd Degree Mason, a member of Shrine, a member of Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, member of the Rotary Club, member of Tulsa Club, Tulsa Country Club, Southern Hills Country Club and Men's Dinner Club of Tulsa.

May 18, 1905, he married Margaret Parkinson, daughter of Joseph and Mary Alice Parkinson, of Winnipeg, Manitoba. He had two children, Margaret, the wife of Dr. Gifford Henry of Tulsa, and Rosemary, the wife of Robert Berry of Pawnee.

The widow and both daughters survive him.

Harry Campbell

Tulsa, Oklahoma

JUDGE THOMAS CHAUNCEY HUMPHRY

Thomas Chauncey Humphry was a son of Charles Brome Humphry and Elizabeth (Garner) Humphry, and a grandson of Rev. William Humphry, who was born in Isle Abbotts Parish, near Taunton, Somersetshire, England, on April 1, 1775. In 1797 William Humphry married Mary Brome, a daughter of Francis Brome, yeoman and land owner of Isle Abbotts Parish. William Humphry was a serious-minded man of pronounced religious convictions and in about 1800 became interested in the general religious revival inaugurated by the Wesleys a half century before. After a few years of serious thought, he decided to withdraw from the Established Church and organize a congregation of his own connections, which was that of the Free Baptist Order. He was ordained in 1815, preached for some years, and died on May 14, 1835.

Charles Brome Humphry, father of Thomas C. Humphry, was born at "North Hall," Isle Abbotts, on May 10, 1798, and at the age of 17, with a number of his relatives, set sail from Bristol, England, in the sail vessel "Brigganze," and after a six weeks' voyage landed in New York. The program was that Charles should go to his uncle's home in Ohio upon landing, but he secured work and remained in New York for eight months. Finally, in 1816, arriving at his uncle's home, the exterior appearances of which gave evidence of well-to-do-people, he, an unknown

foreign relative, turned away because of his uncertainty as to what his position would be in the household. Subsequently he procured employment on an Ohio-Mississippi steamer; in time became a pilot on a keel boat, and later, with friends, organized a company to trade with the Indians. In February, 1828, he married Elizabeth Garner in Natchitoches, Louisiana. After the marriage they removed to Arkansas and ultimately settled in that part of Crawford County, which subsequently became Scott, and later Logan, County, Arkansas.

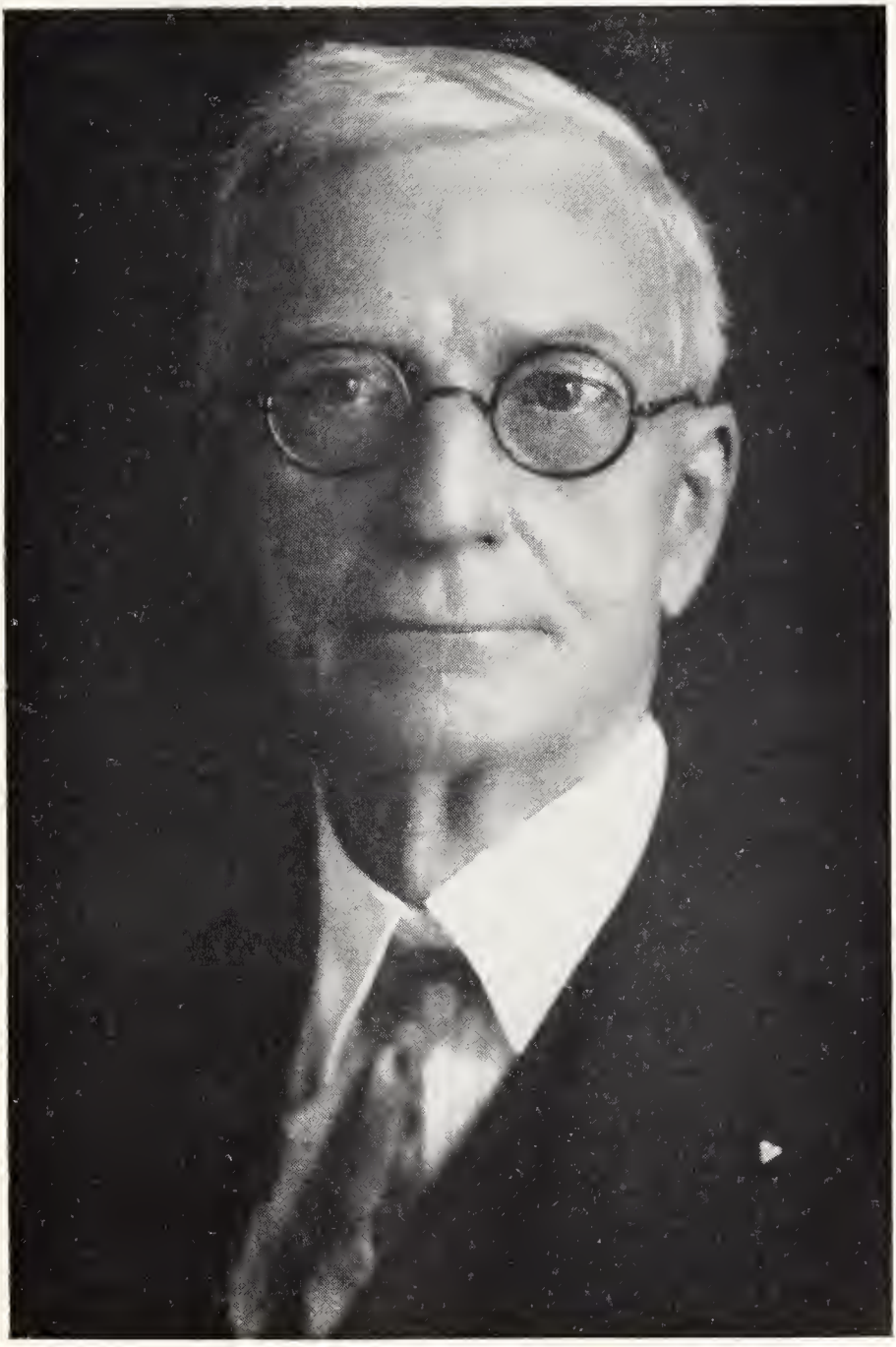
In 1835 Charles Humphry was appointed to fill an unexpired term as sheriff of the newly erected county of Scott, Territory of Arkansas, and was elected for two more successive terms. Following the expiration of his term as sheriff in 1840, he was elected to represent the county in the Third General Assembly of Arkansas in 1840-42. After his term of office as Representative expired in 1842 he made no further offer for political preferment; however, a number of years later he was appointed Commissioner of Internal Improvements for his district. This office he held until it was ended by the State's secession from the Federal Union in 1861. During the war between the states, Charles Brome Humphry at first opposed secession, but later espoused the Confederate cause and had four sons who served in the Confederate Army, two of whom received minor wounds. After the war he settled in Quitman, Van Buren County, where he died in March, 1877, in the seventy-ninth year of his life.

Elizabeth Straumit (Garner) Humphry was born in Anderson County, South Carolina, April 1, 1811. She was the daughter of James Garner, Jr., born in Maryland in 1771, died in Texas in 1823, and his life, Jane Nelson, born in South Carolina, 1777, died in Lawrence County, Arkansas (Mo. Territory), 1818.

James Garner, Jr., came with his father to South Carolina from Charles County, Maryland, after the Revolution. James Garner, Sr., the grandfather of Elizabeth S. Garner, was born in Stafford County, Va., about 1720-25; died in Orange County, North Carolina after 1790; was the son of Thomas Garner, born in Westmorland County, Va., before 1680. Thomas was the fourth son of John Garner, the immigrant, and Susanna Keene, his wife. John was born in England, 1630; came to Virginia Colony, Northumberland County, in 1650, being the part that was cut off into Westmoreland in 1653. Hence, Elizabeth was of the sixth generation in descent from John, the immigrant.

Charles Brome Humphry and Elizabeth Straumit (Garner) Humphry had the following children: Mary Jane, William, Henrietta, Joanna Cauthron, Henry Columbus, James Garner, Charles, Thomas Chauncey, John Wesley and Elizabeth Victoria.

Thomas Chauncey Humphry was born in Scott, now Logan, County, Arkansas on December 20, 1846. He attended school at his father's home, and was a studious pupil. On his fourteenth birthday, South Carolina seceded from the Union and before he was seventeen he was in the Confederate Army and served during the remainder of the war; he was at the battle of Prairie de Ann (near Prescott, Arkansas) and Marks Mill (near Fordyce, Arkansas). He served in Company I, Gordon's Regiment. After the war he removed to Quitman, Arkansas, but stopped at Galley Rock where he taught a three months' term of school. He then studied medicine with Dr. Talbot, who was a surgeon in the regiment in which he had served. After studying medicine while clerking in a drug store at Galley Rock, he borrowed money and attended the Missouri Medical College, then known as McDowell Medical College, at St. Louis, Missouri. This was in 1867. After graduating on the first day of March, 1869, he practiced medicine in Memphis, Tennessee, but remained there only about six months. During his residence in Memphis he met and conversed with Jefferson Davis during the occasion of the latter's visit to that city. In the fall of 1869 he returned to Arkansas and practiced



THOMAS CHAUNCEY HUMPHRY

medicine, locating in Johnson County near Horsehead Creek for a short time, subsequently going to Quitman where he became interested in the drug business which he operated in connection with his practice as a physician until 1871. He married, on September 27, 1871, Anna Eliza McLeod, who at the time was a teacher of music at the Quitman College. Miss McLeod was born in South Carolina, a daughter of Adolphus Alexander and Anne Elizabeth McLeod of Lynchburg, Sumter District. She was educated at the schools of Columbia, South Carolina, and Jackson, Tennessee, was a first cousin to Senator Ella D. Smith of South Carolina, and the late Bishop A. Coke Smith, who was bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and also of the late Thomas G. McLeod, ex-Governor of South Carolina. She was born August 20, 1850; died March 23, 1931.

After his marriage, Thomas C. Humphry disposed of his drug interest in Quitman and removed to Judsonia, Arkansas, and in 1874 was elected to the legislature from White County. During his term he was the author of a bill to tax the railroad lands of the state, which became a law and was litigated through the court of Jackson County, the Supreme Court of Arkansas, and the United States Supreme Court—Chief Justice Waite delivering the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, holding the law constitutional. In 1892 he was again elected as representative from Sebastian County and was elected speaker of the House where he made a record as a parliamentarian, presiding over the House for three months without an appeal from any decision he made. After serving in the Legislature in 1874-1875 he moved back to what is now Logan County, locating in Paris. The young physician decided to abandon the medical profession and so began reading law and attended the University of Louisville, Kentucky, where he graduated in March, 1879. He returned home and was licensed to practice law by Judge John H. Rogers of Fort Smith, who was the circuit judge of that circuit. About this time a vacancy occurred in the county judge's office and Thomas C. Humphry was appointed by the Governor as county judge of Logan County. After this term expired he was elected to the office of county judge and served in 1880-82.

In 1886 he removed to Fort Smith, and when Judge John S. Little resigned to run for Congress, Mr. Humphry was appointed Judge of the Twelfth Circuit of Arkansas on March 30, 1890, holding court at Fort Smith, Greenwood and Waldron, Arkansas. Both before and after his appointment as circuit judge he practiced before Judge Isaac C. Parker, United States District Judge at Ft. Smith. During his practice of law in Arkansas he was in partnership with Jeptha H. Evans of Booneville, and with Joseph G. Ralls at Fort Smith, who later located at Atoka, Oklahoma; and C. A. Warner of Fort Smith. About 1895 he moved to Cameron, Indian Territory, and while living there organized what he called "The Smooth Riders," after the Rough Riders had been organized, but, of course, the Smooth Riders were never accepted. In 1896 when William J. Bryan ran for President on the 16 to 1, or free silver, platform, Thomas C. Humphry changed his political affiliations and from thence on became a staunch adherent of the Republican party. He returned to Fort Smith in 1897 on account of the schools, but in 1900 removed to South McAlester, in what was then the Indian Territory, where he practiced law until April 28, 1904, when he was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt as United States District Judge for the Central District of the Indian Territory. He was appointed under the act authorizing additional judges for the four districts of the Indian Territory, which position he most capably held until Oklahoma became a state on November 16, 1907. After Oklahoma became a state he moved to Hugo, Oklahoma, where he continued to reside and carried on his profession until his death on December 3, 1937—just 17 days before his 91st birthday. He rests in the city cemetery at Hugo.

In the fall of 1928, the electoral vote of Oklahoma was cast for the Republican ticket and Judge Thomas C. Humphry as one of the electors from the Third District cast his vote for Herbert Hoover.

Judge Thomas C. Humphry was a member of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, and a worker in that church. He was also a member of the Masonic fraternities, having served as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas from 1885 to 1886; as Chairman of Committee on Foreign Correspondence of the Indian Territory Grand Lodge until statehood, and of the Oklahoma Grand Lodge from 1912 until time of his death, and his final report was completed just about a week before he passed away.

Surviving Judge Thomas C. Humphry are three sons and three daughters—Charles A. Humphry of Evansville, Indiana; Thomas C. Humphry, Jr., of Tulsa, Oklahoma; Frank N. Humphry of Monroe, Louisiana; Mrs. Daisy Doss of Hugo, Oklahoma; Mrs. J. G. Griffith of Idabel, Oklahoma, and Mrs. R. R. Massey of San Angelo, Texas.

The contact of Judge Humphry with the pioneer days of the Southwest was quite complete. His career, having its inception amid environs necessarily crude, evidences his character of courage and native ability. He fully appraised the hopes and ambitions of the frontiersman, because he was one of them. He brought to the judiciary of the old Territory a service of the highest and most understanding character. His passing closed another chapter in the "Winning of the West."[1]

Thomas C. Humphry, Jr.

Tulsa, Oklahoma.

SAMUEL HENRY HARRIS

1858-1939

Samuel Henry Harris, 80 years old, veteran attorney and civic leader, died Sunday, April 9, 1939, at 2:30 p. m. in St. Anthony's Hospital, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, following an illness of several months. He had been in the hospital for three weeks. Until his retirement in 1926 he was general counsel of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company.

Services were held Tuesday at 4 p. m. in the First Presbyterian church. Men who worked with Harris during his long lifetime of service were honorary bearers. The Knights Templar, Commandery No. 3, were in charge.

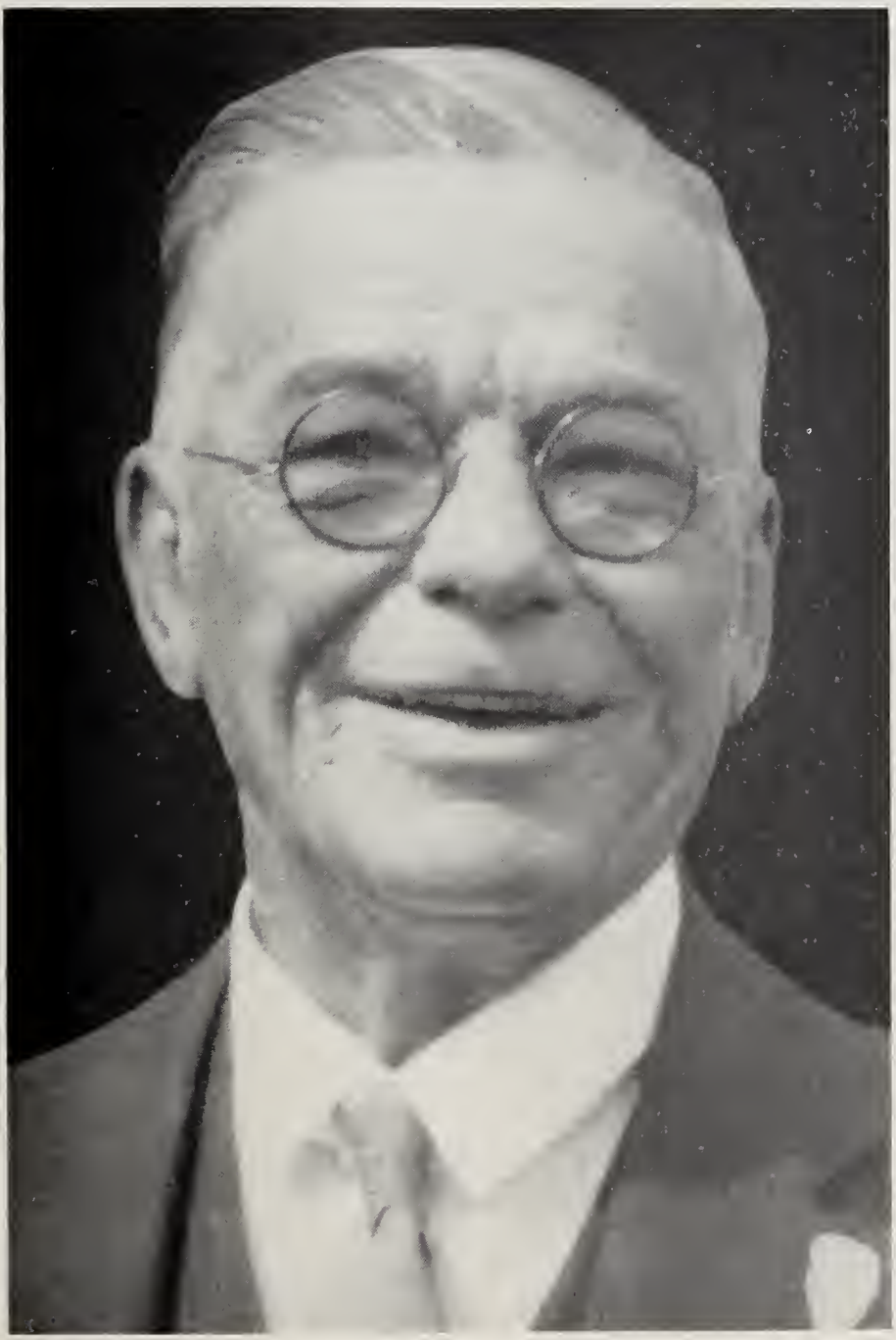
The honorary bearers were Roy Hoffman, O. N. Dailey, L. M. Jones, Dr. J. A. Ross, E. E. Westervelt, John M. Noble, Edgar S. Vaught, James R. Keaton, John J. Hildreth, W. R. Bleakmore, M. E. Trapp, Thomas H. Doyle, A. G. C. Bierer, J. R. Spielman, Sam Hooker and John Embry.

Harris was best known for his activity in connection with statehood. He was a leader in the movement to obtain congressional indorsement of an act to admit the Territory of Oklahoma as a state, including within its boundaries the adjacent Indian Territory.

Born at Carrolton, Arkansas, October 18, 1858, Harris was educated in the common schools and at the State Normal school at Warrensburg, Missouri.

Harris located at Norman in 1891 and in 1893 was appointed first county attorney of Noble county. He continued to reside in and practice at Perry until his removal in 1906 to Oklahoma City, where he became general counsel for the Pioneer Telephone Company, with which company and its successor, the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, he

[1] Thomas C. Humphry, Jr., of Tulsa, the writer of this sketch, is a son of Judge Humphry and has assembled the data from autobiographical material found among the archives of the late judge.



SAMUEL HENRY HARRIS

remained as general counsel at Oklahoma City and St. Louis, Missouri, until his retirement from active practice in 1926.

He was one of the organizers of the Territorial Bar association in Oklahoma. He was elected the second president of the combined association in 1905.

After the adoption of the Oklahoma State constitution in 1908, he was appointed chairman of the code revision committee and in 1908 to 1910 he was engaged in revising and arranging the statute laws of the new state, which revision was adopted by the legislature of Oklahoma in 1913.

While general counsel for the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company at St. Louis he compiled and was instrumental in the adoption of the retirement plan for employes, which is regarded as a model of its kind.

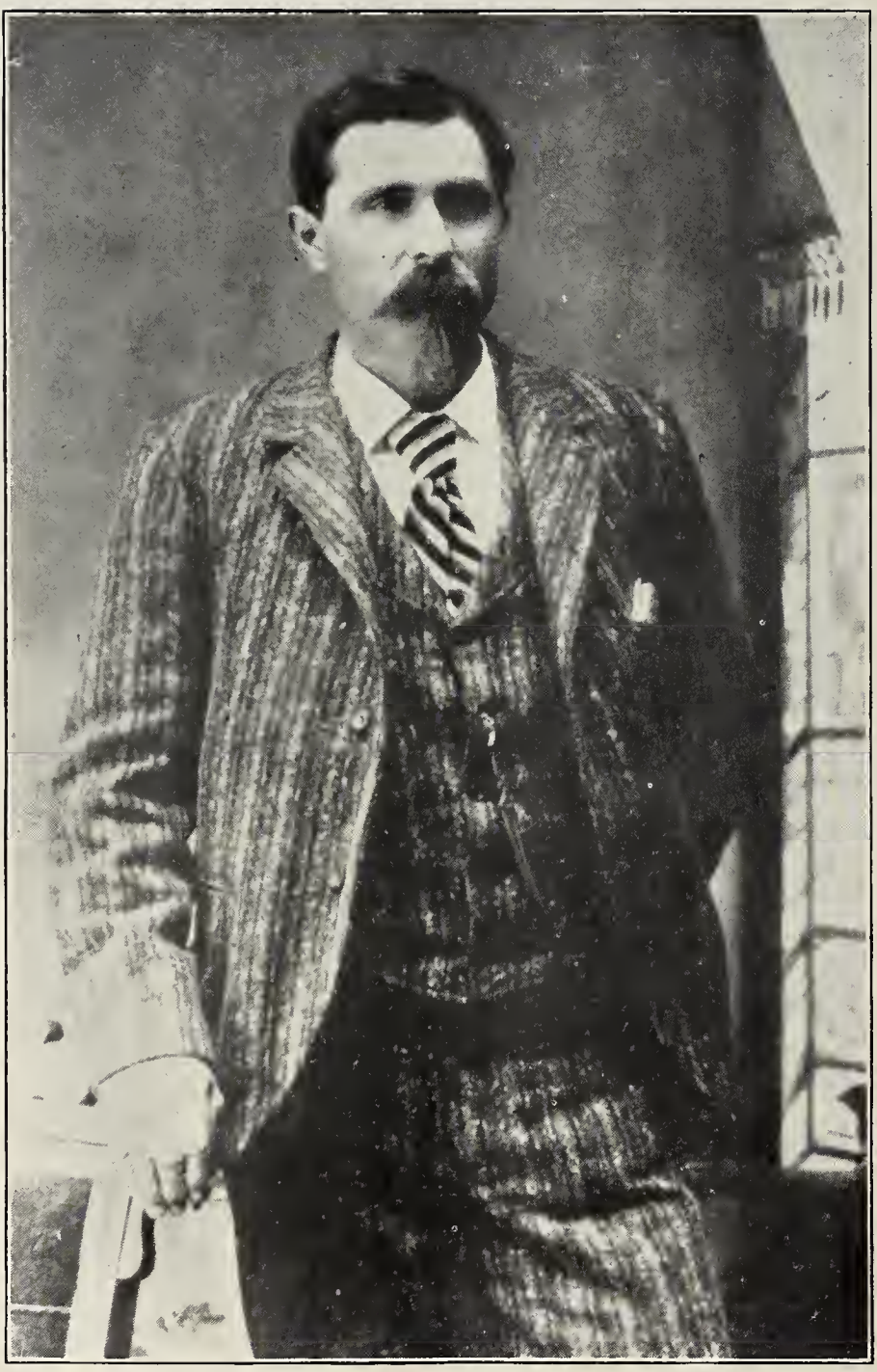
After retirement from active service with the company, he became secretary of the state game and fish commission, which position he held for several years. He was generally regarded as the father of the state's present game and fish laws and a leader in the conservation of wild life.

In Oklahoma City he was a member or past member of the Oklahoma club; the Oklahoma City Golf and Country Club; the Men's Dinner club; Siloam lodge, A. F. and A. M., and all Scottish and York Rite Masonic bodies.

Mr. and Mrs. Harris were married in Norman, April 19, 1893. Mrs. Harris was Miss Minnie Ernestine Carlock, daughter of the late Andrew Means Carlock, widely known throughout a wide territory as an educator. A son, Samuel Lowe Harris, born June 28, 1899, now is general attorney for the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company for Kansas and western Missouri.

In addition to his wife and son, Harris is survived by three grandsons, Samuel, Edward, and John Harris, Kansas City, Missouri, and one brother, J. E. Harris of Amherst, Nebraska, father of Mrs. Solon W. Smith, 1505 Wilshire Boulevard.[1]

[1] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 10, 1939.



GOVERNOR ROBERT MAXWELL HARRIS

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GOVERNOR ROBERT MAXWELL HARRIS

By

John Bartlett Meserve

The Chickasaws were now approaching the twilight zone of their independent life. Rapid progress had been made through capable leadership, which fitted them for the responsibilities of full American citizenship which stood at the threshold. The Indians who gathered to the polling places throughout the Chickasaw Nation in August, 1896 to invest Robert M. Harris with the governorship were remote from the Chickasaws of the pristine Mississippi days. The "trail of tears" had led them to a new day.

In the old Mississippi days, Elsie, a daughter of Louis LeFlore and his Chickasaw Indian wife, became the wife of Daniel Harris, a white man and their son, Joseph married Catharine Nail, a Choctaw. The Nail family was of much prominence among the Choctaws. Robert Maxwell Harris, a son of Joseph D. Harris and Catharine Nail, his wife, was born upon a farm some ten miles east of Tishomingo, Chickasaw Nation, on April 1, 1850. Although bearing the same name, he was in no wise related to the celebrated Chickasaw Governor Cyrus Harris. The young man attended the tribal schools and later was sent to a private school at Paris, Texas. Such an advantage was most unusual among the Indians and reflects the high, appreciative character of his parents. Upon the conclusion of his scholastic years he returned to the old farm and later engaged in farming for himself. He entered quite extensively into the stock business and, as fortune favored his efforts and excellent judgment, in 1890 he established a general mercantile store at Tishomingo. He became interested in and promoted successfully, the construction of the initial telephone line connecting Tishomingo, Ardmore and Denison, Texas. Robert M. Harris became a most successful business man and was regarded as one of the wealthiest men in the Chickasaw Nation.

During the early years after his return from school, he held some minor political positions and served as a county judge and sheriff and later as a member of the legislature. He was drafted from his business career in the fall of 1896 when he became a candidate for the governorship. He was pitched against Ex-Governor Janus Wolfe who had reentered the political arena and whom he defeated at the tribal election held on August 12, 1896. Governor Harris succeeded the first term of Governor Palmer S. Mosely.

With the advent of Governor Harris, the controversial allotment policy of the Government as expressed through the Dawes Commission, became the dominant issue. The governor at first evidenced no defined policy as to the allotment scheme and the consequent lapse of the tribal government. With few if any suggestions as to a proper course to pursue, he handed the situation over to the legislature which he convened in special session in January 1897, and in his message to them concludes,

"There are only two things for us to decide. To-wit, shall we undertake negotiations with the Dawes Commission or shall we do nothing and risk the consequences. * * * * I wish to impress upon you to decide what shall be done, so that I will know what course to follow and feel easy that I am acting as you will have me to act. * * * * I dislike to set forth any particular recommendations advising what you should do in the premises, fearing being met with false accusations of learning & favoring such course, but feeling it my duty to lead out in this great crisis. I venture to say to you and repeat my message of last September that as an Indian I much prefer to remain as we are but Gentlemen my better judgment teaches me that we cannot maintain these conditions. We are simply the weak in the hands of the strong. We the weak must submit and therefore I suggest the idea that why not go to the strong and with them plead under the principles of weakness, Christianity and humanity, to give and allow us to have that which is ours and which is dear to us. Our government, our property rights, our lands and God, our Nation Homes and which she (the strong) had so often promised and guaranteed to us and our descendants under solemn obligations but which we now find ourselves unable to enforce and have no other remedy save what we can gain by being ably represented in our true condition and begging the best terms possible and with this idea advanced I submit the cause and the plans of operation to your own device which I shall endeavor to follow and execute."

On January 16, 1897, the legislature dispatched a Commission headed by Governor Harris to Washington to enter a protest against any unilateral steps by the Government. Upon his return from Washington, Governor Harris again summoned the legislature and on February 25, counselled that body,

"I would recommend that you so modify the law creating the Commission to Negotiate with the Choctaws and Dawes Commission passed and approved Jan. 16th 1897 so that an agreement can be effected between the three parties on the best terms that can be made for the Chickasaw people, which negotiations should be completed at as early a date as possible believing as I do that a delay will be dangerous."

The powers of the Commission were enlarged as suggested by the governor, on March 1, 1897 and of its final efforts, the governor advised the legislature on July 23,

"We met according to agreement at Atoka, Choctaw Nation after which I with the Chickasaw Commission duly elected and qualified, met with the Choctaw Commission and the Dawes Commission at the same place and on the 23rd day of April, 1897, succeeded in entering into an agreement with the Choctaw and Dawes Commissions, which agreement is herewith submitted to your honorable body for your consideration as provided for by the act of the legislature of the Chickasaw Nation creating said Commission."

This agreement to become known as the Atoka Agreement became Section 29 of the Curtis Act of June 28, 1898 and provided for the allotment of the tribal domain, abolished the tribal courts and otherwise divested the Chickasaw government of many of its ancient prerogatives. The adroit and capable governor throughout the entire negotiations had taken his people into the fullest confidence. Governor Harris favored the transition, became a signer of the Atoka Agreement and led the understanding Chickasaws in their adoption of its terms. This was the most forward movement the Chickasaws had taken since their removal to the West and much credit is due to the patient, understanding efforts of their progressive governor.

Governor Harris omitted no effort to improve the educational advantages for his people. During his administration a new building for the Orphan School in Pickens county was completed. Many neighborhood schools were repaired and the school at Double Springs which has been destroyed by fire was rebuilt. Bloomfield Seminary also was rebuilt. In 1896 the legislature under his inspiration granted a charter to Hargrove College of the Methodist Church, South, at Ardmore and provision was made for the attendance of twenty tribal pupils at the expense of the Nation. On November 8, 1897, the governor signed a bill authorizing the construction of the new capitol building at Tishomingo. This was also a crowning achievement of his administration and this historic building is today the county court house of Johnston County.

Governor Harris was defeated in his efforts for reelection in August, 1898 and the late Governor Douglas H. Johnston was chosen. He opposed the candidacy of Governor Johnston for reelection in the fall of 1900 and again suffered defeat.

Robert M. Harris gave to the Chickasaws a business administration and upon his retirement from office resumed his business career at Tishomingo, where he passed away on November 11, 1927. He rests in the Tishomingo cemetery where his grave is suitably marked.

Governor Harris married Incy McCoy, a daughter of Judge James McCoy, on July 4, 1872. After her demise, and in October, 1892, he married Virginia (Jennie) Wyatt a daughter of J. Wyatt of the Chickasaw Nation. The governor was a member of the Presbyterian Church and was of the Progressive party in tribal politics. The governor ever stood for the best concerns of his people; he urged substantial progress and moral advancement. Upon the approved rolls of the Chickasaws, his name appears opposite roll number 4286 as a one-fourth blood Indian as shown by census card number 1600.

THE BEGINNING OF QUAKER ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN OKLAHOMA

By Aubrey L. Steele[1]

The peace made with the Southern Plains Indians following the Civil War was not kept. A second attempt was made to bring about more settled conditions by holding one of the largest Indian councils of all times at Medicine Lodge Creek in Kansas. Here the Indians agreed to keep the peace, settle upon comparatively small reservations and learn to live like the white man. But soon a band of Cheyenne accompanied by some Arapaho, Kiowa and Comanche raided settlements along the Soloman and Saline rivers in Kansas. The friendly Indians were warned to go to their new reservations immediately. General P. H. Sheridan, newly appointed commander of the Department of the Missouri, conducted a campaign in the winter of 1868-1869 against the disaffected bands. The winter campaign began in November with the annihilation of the Cheyenne under Black Kettle on the Washita River. After this the hostile Indians began to surrender and settle within the confines of their newly assigned homes. By the spring of 1869 the task of bringing them to their reservations had been completed.

After the government took the Indians "by the hair and pulled" them to their reservation, as Satanta put it several years later,[2] Colonel W. B. Hazen, who had been sent to care for the friendly Indians at Fort Cobb, considered it his duty to put three new agencies into operation.[3] One of these was for the Cheyenne and Arapaho, one for the Wichita, Caddo and affiliated bands,[4] and one for the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache, located at Fort Sill.

Several grave problems faced Hazen from the very beginning of his work, but the two most critical ones were: first, the fact that

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[1] Mr. Steele is head of the Department of History in the Pampa, Texas High School. This study is based on a Master of Arts thesis which he presented to the University of Oklahoma last year.

[2] Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*, (Philadelphia, 1899), 116.

[3] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Made to the Secretary of Interior for the Year 1869*, 388. Hereafter cited, Report, (date). For a discussion of Hazen's work the writer has found it necessary to depend upon this source almost entirely.

[4] Under Hazen these Indians were under a separate agency but when Tatum took charge it was made a sub-agency of the Kiowa and Comanche Agency. Tatum recommended that the Wichita and Caddo be given a separate agency due to their superior civilization. This was done in 1872. See, Tatum, *op. cit.*, 58; "Articles of Agreement," in *Kiowa—Foreign Relations File in Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society*. Hereafter cited, O. H. S.

several hundred Kiowa and about two-thirds of the Comanche were still not on the reservation; and second, that he could not feed them adequately.[5] Most of the money given to him by the army to spend for the Indians' benefit had to be used for food. Hazen had hoped to use this for fencing, breaking and cultivation of land, planting fruit trees, the construction of houses for the chiefs and school buildings, and other permanent improvements.[6] "As it is," said Hazen, "I have 1200 acres broken, with contracts for fencing it all; having 300 acres planted in corn; over a hundred patches, from a few rods to ten acres each, started for Indians as gardens, tended by their own hands, and as cleanly kept as the best gardens in Ohio. . ."[7]

Hazen believed that it was the government's duty to feed the Indian when he was placed on the reservation until he had been taught to provide for his own subsistence.[8] The established way of issuing rations, he found, was to give an equal quantity of supplies to each band of Indians, regardless of its size, and the chief in turn was to distribute the supplies among his followers. Hazen altered this and issued the rations according to numbers. One hundred rations consisted of " . . . 150 pounds of beef, 75 pounds of corn meal, 25 pounds of flour, 4 pounds of sugar, 2 pounds of coffee, 1 pound of soap, 1 pound of salt."[9] The beef ration was increased to two and a half pounds in the winter when the cattle were poor. These goods were a subsidy Hazen believed, since the buffalo were plentiful and furnished him with adequate food, but the sugar and coffee were greatly prized by the Indians.[10]

The reservation system had been proclaimed by Hazen since 1866, as the only feasible solution to the Indian problem. He found that one grave necessity, now that this policy was in operation, was the power to punish the government's wards when they left the reservation.[11] As for the frequent raids into Texas the military agent said:

> Here lies the most unsatisfactory portion of our work. The Comanches claim truly that they never ceded away Texas, which was their original country, and that they therefore have a right to make war there. From its earliest settlement they have raided upon it, killing, capturing and stealing. The Medicine Lodge Treaty makes them promise to stop these raids; but they have not stopped, being known to have gone not less than 40 times since, in which 40 or 50 people have been killed, and as

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[5] Rupert Norval Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, A Century and a Half of Savage Resistance to the Advancing White Frontier*, (Glendale, 1933), 329-330.

[6] *Report*, 1869, 392.

[7] *Ibid.*, 392. Also see Tatum, *op. cit.*, 26-27.

[8] *Report*, 1869, 393.

[9] *Ibid.*, 390.

[10] *Ibid.*, 390.

[11] *Ibid.*, 394.

many women and children captured and thousands of horses stolen; and now several parties are there.[12]

Hazen requested that examples be made of the chief leaders in these crimes and that the stolen horses be returned since many were able to identify their stock. He was assured that this would be done, but it was thought best afterward by the military commander at Fort Sill to do nothing about the matter. Hazen said, "Until we dictate our own terms these outrages will continue."[13] Nothing was done and Hazen having no military authority, saw his warning laughed at. The raids continued.

It was estimated that 916 Comanche were on the reservation and 1,500 were absent, while about 1,000 Kiowa and 281 Apache were within their proper bounds.[14] Such were the conditions when the Quakers began their work among the savages.

A new wave of immigration following the Civil War made isolation and removal westward for the Indian impossible and a new policy was imperative. The reservation system was then introduced to meet this situation and the Indians were driven to the homes allotted them, as was shown above, but this was not sufficient. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1866, said in his Annual Report:

> An earnest endeavor has been made to awaken or revive the interest of officers and teachers in the work of educating the children of the Indians, as the only means of saving any considerable portion of the race. . . That the labor of reclaiming the American Indian is more difficult than that relating to any other race, is the universal testimony of those who have devoted themselves most earnestly to it; and the reasons for this state of things do not alone inhere in the nature of the Indians, but arise to a great extent from the character of the whites with whom they are brought into contact upon the frontier, who are too often unprincipaled and reckless, devoid of shame, looking upon an Indian as a fair object of plunder, and disgracing their race and color.[15]

At this point when there was grave necessity for unselfish cooperation and work among the Indians, it was pointed out by the Commissioner that there had been a sharp decline in the interest and effort on the part of religious and philanthropic organizations. The Commissioner appealed for additional help from these sources.[16]

The question of whether the Indian should be civilized or exterminated was a much discussed one at this time and served to quicken the interest of several organizations in the problem.[17] One of these was the Society of Friends which had manifested an in-

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[12] *Ibid.*, 393.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*, 393-394.
[15] *Report*, 1866, 20.
[16] *Report*, 1868, 2.
[17] *Senate Executive Document*, No. 13, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., 39; Louis Thomas Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*, (Iowa City, 1914), 205.

terest in the American Indian ever since 1672 ". . . when George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, began his wanderings. . . Strange as it may seem, something in the untamed nature of the red man has always attracted the Quaker to him; and in turn something in the attitude of the peaceful Quaker has ever made the Indians his trusting friend."[18]

The work and success of the Friends had not gone unnoticed, for in 1867 the press called attention to the fact that:

> The treaties made by Wm. Penn were always respected by both parties, and the peaceful sect of which he was a distinguished member have been traditional friends of the aborigines, and always kindly regarded by them. We have often thought that if the Society of Friends, who so successfully colonized and civilized the Senecas in western New York, and with such judgment and benevolence managed their affairs with the Government, could be induced to take charge of the subject of colonizing the Indian territory, and instructing the Indians, they might prepare them for the inevitable future.[19]

At the conference of Friends at Baltimore in 1867, it was reported that several important statesmen had expressed the wish that the Friends would be given the care and civilization of the Indians. The conference sent a memorial to Congress in which they offered their services in behalf of the Indians.[20] In the same year, the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Iowa appointed a "Committee on Indian Concerns" and invited other Yearly Meetings to join in their work. This resulted in a committee representing the Quakers of several states.[21] This Committee sent a memorial to Congress in January, 1868, asking that " . . . in the appointment of officers and agents, to have charge of their [the Indians] interests, care should be taken to select men of unquestioned integrity and purity of character."[22]

Due to Congressional distrust of the officials' integrity in charge of Indian affairs, an act creating a Board of Indian Commissioners was passed April 10, 1869. The president was to appoint high minded citizens interested in philanthropy to this Commission, who were to receive no pay. Their duties included participation in the purchasing of goods for the Indians, the right to inspect all phases of Indian administration, and make recommendations for their improvement and civilization.[23]

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[18] *Ibid.*, 203.

[19] Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians 1655-1917*, (Philadelphia, 1917), 164-165. (From the *Weekly Chronicle*, of Washington, D. C., September 14, 1867.)

[20] *Ibid.*, 165-166.

[21] *Ibid.*, 166; Jones, *op. cit.*, 205-206. The Committee included representatives from the states of Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, New York, and other groups such as the New England Yearly Meeting, Friends of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

[22] Kelsey, *op. cit.*, 166.

[23] James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, (Washington, D. C., 1898), VII, 23-24.

The Friends in January, 1869, sent another memorial to Congress in which they pled for a more Christian-like policy in dealing with the Indians and recalled their long and successful work among the aborigines.[24] On January 25, and 26, of the same year, two groups of Friends called upon President-elect, Ulysses S. Grant. In their interviews they stressed the necessity of applying Christian principles and offered their assistance in dealing with the Indians.[25] Grant was favorably impressed with their suggestions and on February 15, directed his aide, E. S. Parker, to write the Friends that:

> General Grant, the President-elect, desirous of inaugurating some policy to protect the Indians in their just rights and enforce integrity in the administration of their affairs, as well as to improve their general condition, and appreciating fully the friendship and interest which your Society has ever maintained in their behalf, directs me to request that you will send him a list of names, members of your Society, whom your Society will endorse as suitable persons for Indian agents.
>
> Also, to assure you that any attempt which may or can be made by your society for the improvement, education, and Christianization of the Indians under such agencies will receive from him as President, all the encouragement and protection which the laws of the United States will warrant him in giving.[26]

In Grant's first annual message to Congress, he explained his reasons for allotting to the Quakers the control of a part of the Indians. Among these reasons were: the long and successful work with the natives of this country, their opposition to armed might and their integrity.[27]

The policy to be administered by the government officials in their treatment of the Indian was summarized by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as:

1. that they should be secured their legal rights,
2. located when practicable, upon reservations;
3. assisted in agricultural pursuits and the arts of civilized life;
4. and that Indians who should fail or refuse to come in and locate in permanent abodes provided for them, would be subject wholly to the

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[24] *House Miscellaneous Document*, No. 29, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., 1-3.

[25] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 23.

[26] Kelsey, *op. cit.*, 167-168. General W. T. Sherman said that the Quaker Policy, was a result of the act of July 15, 1870, prohibiting the use of army officers in civil positions, since the Congressmen wished to fill these positions with their political henchmen. He wrote, "I was then told that certain politicians called on President Grant, informing him that this law was chiefly designed to prevent his using army officers for Indian agents . . . . The President then quietly replied: 'Gentlemen, you have defeated my plan of Indian management; but you shall not succeed in *your* purpose, for I will divide these appointments up among the religious churches, with which you dare not contend.' Sherman said that he then appointed various denominations to nominate agents for the Indians and "The Quakers, being first named, gave name to the policy, and it is called the 'Quaker' policy today." It will be noticed by the reader that the Quaker policy had been in progress for a year before the episode related by Sherman. See, *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, (New York, 1904), II, 436. Hereafter cited, *Memoirs*.

[27] James D. Richardson, *op. cit.*, 38-39.

control of and supervision of military authorities, to be treated as friendly or hostile as circumstances might justify.[28]

There is nothing new in this policy. The only change of importance in Grant's and previous policies, was the system of selecting superintendents and agents with more control over the Indian from sources outside of the government. The "peace policy," as Grant's policy was sometimes called, aimed at kindly, just, and humane treatment but so did the policies before this.[29]

The 6,490 Indians of the Northern Superintendency in Nebraska were turned over to the Society of Hicksite Friends while the Central Superintendency embracing the 16,379 Indians of Kansas and the Indian Territory were turned over to the Orthodox Friends.[30] The latter group organized the "Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs," to carry on the work that had been assigned to them.[31] Enoch Hoag of Iowa was nominated for the superintendency by the Friends and appointed by the President. Under Hoag's supervision there were nine agents. Lawrie Tatum, an Iowa Quaker farmer, was chosen agent for the Kiowa and Comanche.

Tatum said that he knew nothing of his appointment as agent until he read it in the paper and that "I knew little of the duties and responsibilities devolving upon an Indian agent. But after considering the subject as best I could in the fear of God, and wishing to be obedient to Him, it seemed right to accept the appointment."[32]

The remainder of the Indian superintendencies in the United States were placed under the control of the army until 1870, when a section of the Army Appropriation Act, passed, July 15, provided that any army officer holding a civil position in the government should forfeit his commission in the army.[33] Grant then divided the other Indian appointments among the various religious groups.[34]

Colonel W. B. Hazen met Lawrie Tatum, the new agent to the Kiowa and Comanche, at Junction City, Kansas, and escorted him

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[28] *Report*, 1869, 5.

[29] For similar views see, John C. Lawrie, "Our Indian Affairs," *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, New Series, No. 9, January, 1874, 9; and Frederic L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, (New York, 1922), 347.

[30] *Report*, 1869, 5: Jones, *op. cit.*, 207-208; and Kelsey, *op. cit.*, 168-169. The Five Civilized Tribes were not included in numbers quoted. Hoag had only indirect control over them.

[31] *Ibid.*, 170-171.

[32] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 25-26.

[33] See footnote, 25. Also, *Memoirs*, 436-437; and Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs; Its History, Activities and Organization*, (Baltimore, 1927), 54-55.

[34] *Ibid.*, 55; James D. Richardson, *op. cit.*, 109-110; Report, 1872, 72; and *Memoirs*, 436-437.

to the agency located at Fort Sill. On July 1, 1869, care of the agency and its property was officially turned over to Tatum except for the commissary stores which remained under the Military Department until the next year.[35] When the Quaker Agent took charge, he estimated his Indian charges to include ". . . about two thousand five hundred Comanches, nineteen hundred Kiowas, five hundred Apaches, and twelve hundred of the Wichita and affiliated bands."[36]

Tatum was well pleased with the work he found already begun by Hazen but the adobe agency buildings were located in a low and inaccessible place. Consequently, new buildings of stone were constructed on higher ground west of East Cache Creek. The agent then went to Chicago and purchased a steam engine with attachments for a saw-mill, a shingle machine, and a small mill-stone for grinding corn.[37]

The military agent had planted some corn for the Indians of this reservation and Tatum reported when he took charge that it was making an excellent growth. The sedentary Wichita and affiliated bands were enthused over the agricultural developments on their reservation since they had raised corn and some vegetables from time immemorial. Some of the Comanche, it was reported, took a great deal of interest in agriculture and "permitted" their squaws and two white farmers to plant a few acres of corn for them,[38] but the Kiowa took little interest in the fifty-five acres of corn and vegetables planted for them, until after they had returned from a hunting trip when they ate the immature vegetables and corn and permitted their ponies to run loose in the fields. The unripe food made the Indians sick. The ponies destroyed the fields.[39] The Kiowa later wished to share that which was raised, and more judiciously guarded by the Comanche.

Tatum prepared about fifteen hundred acres of land for planting the following spring,[40] and to encourage agricultural pursuits recommended that one thousand dollars be appropriated each year to provide for not less than twenty-five prizes to be awarded to the Indians making the most progress during the year in agriculture.[41]

The government was interested in raising grain on the reservations because it would teach the Indian to be self-sufficient, it would be less expensive to raise the food than to buy and transport it

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[35] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 21. Commissary turned over to Tatum July 1, 1870.
[36] *Ibid.*, 55.
[37] *Report*, 1869, 60; and Tatum, *op. cit.*, 27-28.
[38] *Report*, 1869, 384.
[39] *Ibid.*, 385; and *Report*, 1870, 260-261.
[40] *Report*, 1869, 383.
[41] *Ibid.*, 384.

to the Indian, and consequently would decrease the chances of smuggling liquor in to the Indians since fewer people would have an excuse for entering the Indian country.[42]

Although, he had had no previous experience in the problems of Indian management, the new agent was not without ample advice. The Indian and Military departments, the Friends, individually and collectively, rained letters of adminition and "good" advice upon him. He soon discovered that he was expected to act in the capacity of governor, legislature, judge, sheriff, and accounting officer. Besides these duties he was theoretically responsible for hiring the many agency employees. However, the Executive Committee performed this function.[43] Other routine duties included instructing the Indians in agricultural pursuits, advising them on their multitudinous difficulties and the distribution of rations and annuity goods.[44] The rations were issued every two weeks to the chiefs, who divided them by having the women of each family sit on the ground in a circle around him. The chief then distributed the goods among them. One or more beeves were issued alive to the chiefs according to the size of their bands. If one family's supplies were exhausted before "issue day," they went to visit another. This procedure was followed until the food of the entire band was gone and then, if they could not fast until the next "issue day," they would kill a mule.[45]

Sugar and coffee were the most prized of the rations and it was believed that the issuance of these goods would be more effective in keeping the Indian peaceably upon his reservation than " . . . any other measure which the government can adopt." So runs a report to the government. It continues: "There is much reason to believe that the Kiowa and Comanches, in part, will again go to the plains if the measure is not adopted at an early date, and that the sugar and coffee will certainly hold them."[46] Agent Tatum requested more rations for his Indians on the grounds that they would leave for the plains if not given sufficient food. His request was granted.[47]

By the treaty of 1868, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were to receive annuity goods to the value of thirty thousand dollars annually for thirty years from the government. "The goods consisted of blankets, brown muslin, satinet, calico, hosiery, needles,

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[42] *Ibid.*, 385-386.

[43] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 88-93.

[44] Kelsey, *op. cit.*, 175.

[45] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 73. The rations included: beef, bacon, flour, coffee, sugar, soap, tobacco, and soda.

[46] *Report*, 1869, 60-61. Felix Brunot, of the Board of Indian Commissioners in reporting on conditions among the Kiowa and Comanche, stressed the importance of adequate rations as a means of maintaining peace.

[47] E. S. Parker to Enoch Hoag, August 19, 1869, Kiowa—Issues O. H. S.

thread, a few suits of men's clothes, beads, tincups, butcher knives, iron kettles, frying pans, hoes and small axes."[48] Tatum, in his first annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote that it was a mistake to send pants and woolen hose to the Indians as they nearly always cut the upper part of the pants off and saved only the leggings. The socks were generally worn without moccasins and were worn out quickly. The shirts, of good material, said the report, should be longer since they do not wear pants.[49]

When the annuity goods came in 1869, they were much smaller in quantity than in the previous year, and Tatum wrote:

> The Indians during the summer and fall appeared to anticipate that . . . they would be smaller, . . . on account of their having behaved well during the last year. They repeatedly told me that when they behaved well they got but a small amount of goods and the only way to get a large amount was to go on the war path a while, kill a few white people, steal a good many horses and mules, and then make a treaty and they would get a large amount of presents and a liberal supply of goods for that fall.[50]

When Tatum inquired of the Indian Bureau the reason for the smaller quantity of goods, it was explained that money for the depredation claims had been taken from the fund for annuity goods.[51] Since most of the depredations had been in the previous year, Tatum pointed out that it would be a much wiser policy to withhold a part of the annuity goods immediately following the depredations even before the claims came in and treat them liberally when they behaved themselves. The agent thought this would be better for the government as well as the settlers along the frontier.[52]

Education was recognized as the surest, perhaps the only, way of transforming the natives of this country into civilized beings.[53] Consequently, a part of the new agent's work was to establish schools among his charges. The Wichita and Caddo were willing to send their children to the boarding school provided for them, but the Kiowa and Comanche did not place their children in school for several years.[54]

Sheridan's winter campaign did not permanently discourage raiding in Texas but the spring and summer months were unusually quiet for the frontier settlers. Agent Tatum believed that the Comanche continued to raid in Texas because they had never been paid for this land which they claimed had been their home for

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[48] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 73-74.

[49] *Report*, 1869, 386.

[50] *Report*, 1870, 261.

[51] E. S. Parker to Enoch Hoag, March 9, 1870, "Kiowa—Issues," O. H. S.; and *Report*, 1869, 50.

[52] *Report*, 1870, 262.

[53] *Report*, 1866, 20; and *House Executive Document* No. 97, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 17, 21.

[54] *Report*, 1869, 50; and *Report*, 1870, 265.

many years,[55] while the natural love for roaming, unmolested upon the plains, was the reason ascribed for the Kiowa raids. These resulted frequently in the taking of horses and mules from the Texans.[56]

The principal objective of raiding in Texas was to take horses and mules, but sometimes women and children were seized and held for ransom. The agent learned that a trail up the Canadian River to New Mexico was used by the Indians to drive stolen stock from Texas. They were exchanged to Mexican traders for guns, ammunition, and liquor.[57]

The Quahadi Comanche were largely untouched by Sheridan's campaign, since they inhabited the Staked Plains lying to the southwest of the Kiowa and Comanche reservation. They were openly hostile to the government and sent word to Tatum that they did not intend to come to the agency until the soldiers came out and "whipped" them, and they did not think that possible.[58] Their camp served as a rendezvous for all hostile bands of Indians in the southwest but frequently the blame for crimes was laid at their door when it actually belonged to some of the reservation Indians.[59]

If 1869 was an unusually quiet year, the Indians made up for lost time in 1870. Following a raid on the Wichita agency in which several head of stock were stolen, seventy-three mules were taken from the Quartermaster's corral at Fort Sill by the Quahadi. A series of raids and murders were committed by various bands in the vicinity of the agency following these escapades. One man was shot within two hundred yards of the agency, another was killed at the butcher pen, and several head of stock were driven away. Conditions became so bad in June that Tatum called the agency employees together and told them that although he intended to remain, in the face of such an unsettled state of affairs, those who wished, might leave. Only two teachers, Josiah and Lizzie Butler stayed.[60]

On July 4, two Kiowa came in to see if they could draw rations and Tatum, after consultation with Colonel Grierson, told them they could if the animals stolen from the fort and agency were returned. A few days later Kiowa runners brought word that Little Heart and few other chiefs with their people had gone to the Quahadi camp and did not intend to come to the agency again.

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[55] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Made to the Secretary of Interior for the Year* 1869, 384. Hereafter cited, *Report*, (date).

[56] *Ibid.*, 8, 35, 385.

[57] Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*, (Philadelphia, 1899), 50.

[58] *Ibid.*, 134.

[59] *Ibid.*, 133.

[60] *Ibid.*, 35.

The other Kiowa wanted to come "in." Tatum repeated his demand for the return of the stock before promising them rations. They said that Kicking Bird was collecting the horses and mules and would bring them to the agency in a few days. The runners told their agent that he might sleep now, as they would not raid near the agency again. The Indians expected additional supplies if they should remain at peace; but instead, Tatum steadfastly refused to issue rations until the stock was returned, and then only the regular quantity. Instead of coming to the agency immediately, however, the Indians went on the biggest raid of the season.

The agent learned that two white women had been taken captives in the raid and on August 7, when two or three hundred Kiowa came to get their rations, bringing with them twenty-seven of the seventy-three mules stolen from the Quartermaster and one stolen from the Wichita agency, Colonel Grierson and Tatum held a council with them in an attempt to get the women released. The prospect of a council always pleased the Indian as it increased his feeling of self-importance to argue with the agent. Tatum tried to impress them with the fact that the people of Texas as well as other states were their friends and helped to pay their annuities. Furthermore, the Indian and the white man, he explained, were both children of the Great Spirit and He wanted them to live like brothers. Lone Wolf said that he could not see what they were mad about and all the other chiefs claimed to have opposed the raids but said that they had been carried into them by the current of affairs. At the council White Horse was accused by other Indians of leading the party that stole the mules from the soldiers and he had also been the leader of the band that took the two captives. A payment of two mules and a carbine in advance was demanded for the captives but Tatum told them that they need not come back for rations until they brought the white women with them, and that they would not receive a reward. While in the council some of the Indians laid bows and arrows by their sides; one removed the cartridges from his breech-loading rifle and put them back again to let Tatum see how many he had. Another strung his bow and snapped an arrow in it, while still another took out a butcher knife and a whetstone and began to whet it vigorously. After the council, one Indian came to Tatum " . . . and ran his hand under my [Tatum's] vest over my heart to see if he could feel any scare. But it was beating calmly as usual."[61] After this effort of intimidation, Tatum made a rule that the Indians should leave their weapons outside of the agency when they came to see him.

On August 18, the Kiowa came to the agency again, gave up the two captives and demanded rations but the agent having

[61] *Ibid.*, 42-43. See also, *Report*, 1870, 263-264.

learned of other captives refused to give them their supplies until they freed all of their prisoners. The Indians then went to work in earnest and soon all of the captives were freed—that is, all that the agent knew about. The Indians then demanded a large amount of coffee and sugar and their usual supplies of beef and flour, and since they had quit the warpath, they wanted arms and ammunition, too. They said their liberality deserved liberal rations but Tatum refused to give them any more than the usual amount of supplies and no ammunition. But he offered to give them one hundred dollars for each captive they would bring in. The Indian Bureau approved this. H. P. Jones, the post interpreter, said that he had never seen captives recovered before without the payment of several hundred dollars for them.[62] Tatum soon found that the offer to pay the Indians for their captives was a mistake because it encouraged raiding for the purpose of securing captives. His offer was withdrawn.

In September, 1870, when the rations were being issued Tatum told the chiefs to control their young men because at the last issuance, they had committed depredations at the beef pen. The chiefs went with the young men but " . . . assisted in killing ten or a dozen beeves and thirty or forty calves more than they were entitled to, and robbed the herders of their provisions and cooking utensils."[63] Tatum kept half of their supplies as punishment. The chiefs came to see Tatum about this and Lone Wolf made what he called a "big speech," in which he said that it was very foolish for Tatum " . . . to get mad just as we have got entirely over our mad."[64] His women and children were terribly hungry for sugar and coffee and if the agent wanted to, he could keep the flour and beef but if half the sugar and coffee was withheld, they would not accept anything. Lone Wolf then ordered his camp to be broken up and his band left but before Tatum finished issuing rations to the others, they returned and decided to take what the agent would give them.[65]

To prevent the Indians from going into the commissary and doing their own issuing, as they had done at the beef pen, Tatum requested Colonel Grierson to furnish him with a company of soldiers, who, under a civil officer, would be like any sheriff or police force. Subsequently Tatum had no trouble on issue day.[66] But the guard was not permitted to stay very long for a visiting delegation of Friends were horrified to find that a fellow Quaker would use armed force. After this the old conditions returned.

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[62] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 35-44.
[63] *Ibid.*, 45.
[64] *Ibid.*, 46.
[65] *Ibid.*, 46-47.
[66] *Ibid.*, 47-48.

The hostilities of 1870 were without any justification. The tribes had been well treated by the people of Texas and the soldiers, the agent reported, and it was evident that the Indians expected the government to give them a lot of annuity goods and rations to stop raiding.[67]

The Comanche gave four reasons for remaining on the plains and committing depredations.

> . . . 1st. because they got so few annuity goods last fall; 2nd. because so many of them got sick and died here (at the agency) last summer and fall;[68] 3rd. because they are not allowed to purchase ammunition; 4th. dividing the land into reservations, instead of having all the Indian country in common, and liberty to roam and hunt over it at will.[69]

Commissioner E. S. Parker believed the hostiles should be severely punished for the crimes they had committed in open violation of their treaty stipulations. He said that the Indian Bureau was powerless to prevent these raids and demanded that they be thus dealt with:

> I know of no way to check this marauding spirit, except to place all of them under the control of the military power, until they shall have satisfactorily shown that they are determined in good faith to keep their solemn promises of peace, and to respect the persons and property of all citizens.[70]

Moreover, he recommended the establishment of a line of forts along the southern boundary of the reservation to protect the frontier settlers.

The conditions were so bad on the Texas frontier, that a memorial signed by more than three hundred and fifty settlers was sent to Congress pleading for protection and asserting " . . . that the country has vastly decreased in population, caused by the rapine of the savages; that hundreds of their citizens have been made destitute and driven from their homes."[71] Indians living at Fort Sill were charged with the malefactions and it was asserted, furthermore, that the authorities at Fort Sill treated their requests for help and recovery of property with insults;[72] that the authorities by giving the Indians six-shooters and Spencer carbines had afforded them means of committing depredations; that Fort Sill served as a place of refuge for raiders; and that Forts Richardson and Griffin were garrisoned with too few soldiers.[73] The petitioners asked permission

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[67] *Report*, 1870, 264.

[68] Their illness was due to an unusually wet season producing malaria and other diseases, and because they ate too many green watermelons, cantaloupes, cucumbers, etc. See *Ibid.*, 260-261.

[69] *Ibid.*, 263.

[70] *Report*, 1870, 6.

[71] *House Miscellaneous Document*, No. 142, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 1.

[72] *Ibid.*, 1.

[73] *Ibid.*, 2.

to pursue the Indians onto their reservation, and to compel the authorities to search for guilty parties and punish them if found. They also requested that the sale of horses and mules by wild Indians be prohibited and the purchase of them treated as a crime, and the sale and distribution of arms to Indians be forbidden.[74]

In this year of pain and bloodshed an incident occurred which is not without its amusing aspect. Satank whom Tatum branded as "the worst Indian on the Reservation," rode a mule that was claimed by a Texan to the agency one day. It being the duty of the agent to settle controversies arising between Indians and whites, the case was appealed to Tatum. He found that the brand on the mule was that of the Texas settler. Satank explained his possession of the mule in this way. He and his son, he said, had gone to Texas to get some horses and mules and some people got mad and shot his son. Later he returned to this place and stole the mule. He now loved the mule as he had his son and therefore thought he should be allowed to keep it. He then proposed that he and the Texan go alone to the prairie and fight and the one who killed the other should get the mule. "But," wrote Tatum, "I got the mule without the fight."[75]

A council, sponsored by the government, was held early in the winter with the natives of the southwest. The Indians were warned against hostilities, since it would mean an encounter with the military. But as has been shown, the council did nothing toward keeping the peace. In September of the same year, as a result of their almost continual warfare, a resolution was passed by the more civilized Indians in eastern Indian Territory at Okmulgee, calling upon their red brothers of the plains to abide in peace with the United States government. The wild Indians were also invited to attend and participate in the annual all-Indian councils and congresses held in eastern Indian Territory. This resolution had little or no influence in bringing about a more peaceful state of affairs.[76]

In 1870-71, as was usual during the winter months, the Indians remained quiet on their reservation. About the middle of May, 1871, Agent Tatum wrote to the Executive Committee that he did not anticipate trouble at the agency but he thought the Indians intended to commit depredations in Texas, and added:

> I believe affairs will continue to get worse until there is a different course pursued with the Indians. I know of no reason why they should not be treated the same as white people for the same offense. It is not right to be feeding and clothing them, and let them raid with impunity in Texas. Will the committee sustain me in having Indians arrested for murder, and turned over to the proper authorities of Texas for trial?[77]

[74] *Ibid.*, 2-3.
[75] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 48-49.
[76] *Report*, 1870, 7.
[77] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 115-116. See also, Report, 1871, 502-503.

Tatum had judged his wards correctly. On the afternoon of the day he wrote this letter, he learned what later proved to be the most famous raid in all southwestern history had occurred a few days before and that his Indians had been responsible for it.

General W. T. Sherman, commander-in-chief of the United States army, had heard so many reports of depredations on the Texas frontier that he decided to visit the affected area and see the actual conditions for himself. Traveling with a small escort in the company of Inspector General R. B. Marcy, he heard numerous stories of raids, but saw no evidences of Indians until he reached the border and he had about come to the conclusion that the reports of war and plunder were grossly exaggerated. As he rode, on May 18, toward Fort Richardson, located near Jacksboro, Texas, he met Henry Warren's outfit composed of ten wagons drawn by about sixty mules. The wagons were loaded with corn and destined for Fort Griffin, a cavalry post. Sherman continued on his route and reached Fort Richardson about sunset. Here the General received additional testimony from delegations of settlers about the dreadful conditions.[78]

Sherman, late that night, visited Thomas Brazeal who had been admitted to the post hospital for treatment of a gunshot wound in the foot. He told Sherman that in the afternoon as Henry Warren's wagon train had reached Salt Creek (shortly after Sherman passed by), it had been attacked suddenly by a band of more than a hundred Indians. Seven of the teamsters, including the wagon master, had been killed and Brazeal with four others had escaped to a woods where they concealed themselves until night and then made their way to the fort. This was additional proof for Sherman that the stories he had been hearing were not figments of the imagination. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie, was sent with twenty days rations to pursue the Indians with instructions to report to Sherman at Fort Sill.[79] The following letter written by the army surgeon who examined the dead men at the scene of the massacre needs no additional comment:

> I have the honor to report in compliance with your instructions, I examined, on May 19, 1871, the bodies of five citizens, killed on Salt Creek by Indians on the previous day. All of the bodies were riddled with bullets, covered with gashes and the skulls crushed evidently by means of an axe found bloody on the place. . . One of the bodies were even more mutilated than the others, it having been found fastened with a chain to the pole of a wagon lying over a fire with the face towards the ground, the tongue being cut out. Owing to charred condition of

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[78] Carl Coke Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, 1865-1881, (Cleveland, 1928), 127; W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance, the Story of Fort Sill*, (Norman, 1937), 159-160; and Clarence Wharton, *Satanta, The Great Chief of the Kiowas and His People*, (Dallas, 1935), 165-166.

[79] Rister, *op. cit.*, 127-128; Nye, *op. cit.*, 160-162; and Wharton, *op. cit.*, 166-167.

the soft parts it was impossible to determine whether this man was burned before or after his death.[80]

The next day Sherman started for Fort Sill, and on May 23, he reported the massacre to Tatum and asked his aid in finding the guilty Indians. Tatum told him that he thought he could find out in a few days who the marauders were.

Four days later when the Indians came for their rations, the agent called the chiefs into his office and told them about the tragedy in Texas and asked if they knew any thing about it. Satanta said:

> Yes, I led in that raid. I have repeatedly asked for arms and ammunition, which have not been furnished. I have made many other requests which have not been granted. You do not listen to my talk.
>
> The white people are preparing to build a railroad through our country, which will not be permitted. Some years ago they took us by the hair and pulled us here close to Texas where we have to fight them. More recently I was arrested by the soldiers and kept in confinement several days. But that is played out now. There is never to be any more Kiowa Indians arrested. I want you to remember that. On account of these grievances, a short time ago I took about a hundred of my warriors to Texas, who I wished to teach how to fight. I also took the chief Satank, Eagle Heart, Big Bow, Big Tree and Fast Bear. We found a mule train, which we captured and killed seven of the men. Three of our men got killed, but we are willing to call it even. It is all over now, and it is not necessary to say much more about it. We don't expect to raid in Texas. If any other Indian claims the honor of leading that party he will be lying to you. I led it myself.[81]

Satank, Eagle Heart and Big Tree were present and agreed that Satanta's story was true.

Tatum believed it would be a crime to allow this vicious act to go unpunished and went to the post to tell Grierson and General Sherman of Satanta's speech, and to ask the arrest of Satanta, Big Tree, Eagle Heart, and Big Bow. Shortly after this Satanta appeared at Grierson's quarters. He had heard that a representative of Washington was there " . . . and he probably wished to measure up with him, and see how they compared."[82] After boastfully telling his story of the raid, he received the first intimation that all was not well. Sherman ordered that he, Satank, and Big Tree, who were also present, be arrested and sent to Texas for trial. He also told them that forty-one mules had to be returned to replace those taken in the raid. This put a different light on the whole matter and immediately Satanta began to "back up" on his story. Now,

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[80] J. N. Patzki to R. S. MacKenzie, June 17, 1871, in W. T. Sherman Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Copies in Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma. Hereafter cited, Sherman Papers.

[81] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 117; Lawrie Tatum to Jonathan Richards, May 30, 1871, in "Kiowa—Satanta and Big Tree Trial," Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. Hereafter cited as O. H. S.

[82] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 118.

he said, he had merely gone along and had had nothing to do with the killing of the teamsters.

When the Indians gave indication that they would resist the arrest of their chiefs, Sherman, by a pre-arranged signal, caused the whole post to bristle with armed soldiers where a moment before there had been only a few men lazily loitering around. A brief skirmish involving Stumbling Bear, Lone Wolf, Kicking Bird and Colonel Grierson insued, but with the soldiers' guns pointing at the Indians from every direction, they soon subsided. Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree were held as prisoners, and the rest of the Indians were dismissed.[83]

MacKenzie who had been sent to follow the trail of the Indians from the scene of the massacre, reported at Fort Sill on June 4, that he had been unsuccessful in his attempt to follow the Indian trail as a recent rain had obliterated the tracks of the ponies. He was surprised to learn that those guilty of the crime were already prisoners in the post guardhouse awaiting his arrival to be taken back to Texas for trial.

On June 8, MacKenzie left Fort Sill with the prisoners. Satank being refractory was placed in a separate wagon from Satanta and Big Tree. The three prisoners were handcuffed. Satanta sent word to the Kiowa to return the mules stolen and not to go on any more raids in Texas or around Fort Sill.[84] A Caddo boy rode by the wagons as the soldiers and prisoners left. Satank said to him: "I wish to send a message by you to my people. Tell my people that I am dead. I died the first day out from Fort Sill. My bones will be lying on the side of the road."[85] When the column was about a mile from the fort, Satank began to sing his death song:

O sun you remain forever, but we Ko-eet-senko[86] must die,
O earth you remain forever, but we Ko-eet-senko must die.[87]

His song completed, he turned his back to the guards, pulled the handcuffs from his wrist, horribly mutilating them, drew a butcher knife that he had successfully concealed in spite of the fact that he had been searched twice, and then attacked the guards who jumped

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[83] *Ibid.*, 117-118; Rister, *op. cit.*, 130-132; Lawrie Tatum to Jonathan Richards, May 30, 1871, "Kiowa—Satanta and Big Tree Trial," O. H. S.; *Report*, 1871, 163, 502-503; Ranald S. MacKenzie to Assistant Adjutant General, June 16, 1871, 6, in Sherman Papers. See Nye, *op. cit.*, 174-184, for a good detailed account of the Salt Creek Massacre; and C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Jacksboro Indian Affair of 1871," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, (January, 1926), 181-200.

[84] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 121.

[85] *Ibid.*, 118.

[86] Ko-eet-senko was the name of Satank's secret society.

[87] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 121.

from the wagon, leaving their guns. Satank seized one of the rifles and attempted to load it but being unfamiliar with its mechanism several bullets struck him before he could use it. The old chief fell mortally wounded and died in about twenty minutes.[88]

The Society of Friends was very anxious about the whole problem of the arrest of the chiefs since it was considered as a wedge which might open the way to a revision of the government's Indian policy and take the management out of their hands. But they were also much concerned about the punishment to be meted out to the chiefs as can be seen in a typical paragraph from one of their letters sent to Tatum at this time. " . . . I believe that if by any means their punishment should be imprisonment for life it would be more consonant with Christianity, and vastly more effective in deterring their people from a repetition of crimes."[89]

The two chiefs were taken to Jacksboro for trial after Satank's death. "Never was there an incident having to do with frontier history quite so spectacular and colorful as that pertaining to the arrest and trial of these notorious raiders."[90] The chiefs were tried before Judge Charles Soward of the Thirteenth Judicial District and prosecuted by District Attorney S. W. T. Lanham. Thomas Ball and J. A. Woolfork of Weatherford, Texas, defended the chiefs. The trial began July 5, and was speedily closed.[91]

The district attorney probably voiced the sentiments of the frontier settlers when he said:

> Satanta, the veteran consul chief of the Kiowas—the orator, diplomat, the counselor of his tribe—the pulse of his race:—Big Tree, the young war chief, who leads in the thickest of the fight, and follows no one in the chase—the mighty warrior athlete, with the speed of the deer and the eye of the eagle, are before this bar, in the charge of the law! So they would be described by Indian admirers, who live in more secure and favored lands, remote from the frontier—where 'distance lends, enchantment' to the imagination—where the story of Pocahontas and the speech of Logan, the Mingo, are read, and the dread sound of the war-whoop is not heard. We who see them today, disrobed of all their fancied graces, exposed in the light of reality, behold them through far different lenses! We recognize in Satanta the arch fiend of treachery and blood—the cunning Catiline—the promoter of strife—the breaker of treaties signed by his own hands—the inciter of his fellows to rapine and murder—the artful dealer in bravado while in the pow-wow, and the most abject coward in the field, as well as the most canting and double-tongued hypocrite when detected and overcome! In Big Tree we perceive the tiger-demon, who has tasted blood and loves it as his food—who stops at no crime, how black so ever—who is swift at every species of ferocity, and pities not at any sight of agony or death—he can scalp, burn, torture,

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[88] *Ibid.*, 121; Rister, *op. cit.*, 132-133; and R. S. MacKenzie to Assistant Adjutant General, June 16, 1871, Sherman Papers, 6.

[89] James E. Rhoads to Lawrie Tatum, June 13, 1871, "Kiowa—Satanta and Big Tree Trial," O. H. S.

[90] Rister, *op. cit.*, 132.

[91] *Ibid.*, 134-135.

mangle, and deface his victims with all the superlatives of cruelty, and have no feeling of sympathy or remorse. They are both hideous and loathsome in appearance, and we look in vain to see in them anything to be admired, or even endure.[92]

Satanta, "Orator of the Plains," was given an opportunity to speak and defend himself. The handcuffs restrained his oratorical gestures as he spoke.

I cannot speak with these things upon my wrists; you make me a squaw. . . I look around me and see your braves, squaws, and papooses, and I have said in my heart that if I ever get back to my people I will never wage war upon you again. I have always been a friend of the white man. My tribe has taunted me and called me a squaw because I have been the friend of the Tehannas. I am suffering now for the crimes of bad Indians—of Satank, Lone Wolf, and Kicking Bird, and Fast Bear, and Eagle Heart—and if you will let me go, I will kill the three latter with my own hands. If you will let me go, I will withdraw my warriors from Tehanna. I will wash out the stain of blood and make it a white land, and there shall be peace and the Tehannas may plow and drive their oxen to the river. But if you kill me, it will be a spark on the Prairie—make big fire—burn heap.[93]

But the jury, after brief deliberation, brought in a verdict finding the chiefs guilty of murder and condemning them to death.

The principal witnesses at the trial were Colonel MacKenzie and Lawrie Tatum; and it was largely through their testimony that the Indians were convicted.[94] Tatum did not believe in capital punishment and used his influence along with many others who had similar views, to get their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. Trial Judge Soward was persuaded that it would be more beneficial to the Texas frontier for the chiefs to be alive and in prison. Only then could the reservation Indians be expected to refrain from raiding. If they were hanged there would be no such check and it would only embitter the Kiowa still more.[95]

Not all of the Friends were in sympathy with their fellow member, Lawrie Tatum, as may be discerned by a letter sent to him in August concerning the attitude of the Executive Committee in regard to his part in the arrest and conviction of Satanta and Big Tree. A part of it reads: "There was evidently some concern on the part of several of the Committee lest thou complicate thyself with military matters to such an extent as to compromise our religious principles . . . "[96]

The Quakers no doubt would have been alarmed to a greater extent if they had been given the opportunity of reading Colonel

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[92] J. W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas*, (Austin, 1935), 563-564.
[93] *Ibid.*, 567-568.
[94] Rister, *op. cit.*, 136-137.
[95] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 122.
[96] Wm. Nicholson to Lawrie Tatum, August 22, 1871, "Kiowa—Satanta and Big Tree Trial," O. H. S.

MacKenzie's report on the conditions that he found on the reservation while he was there following the Jacksboro Massacre. He wrote:

> To obtain a permanent peace and to give Mr. Tatum who I regard as an excellent man an opportunity to elevate these people, the Kiowas and Comanches should be dismounted and disarmed, and made to raise corn, etc.
>
> The Kiowa and Comanches are entirely beyond any control, and have been for a long time. Mr. Tatum understands the matter, appears to be straight forward, resolute and capable. He is anxious that the Kiowa and Comanches now out of his control be brought under it. This can only be accomplished by the army. The matter is now within a very small compass, either these Indians must be punished, or they must be allowed to murder, and rob at their own discretion.[97]

Tatum was so disgusted with the Indians that he urged MacKenzie to return to the reservation after delivering the prisoners, and render the hostile bands such a severe blow that they would have no alternative but to remain at peace. However, they decided to wait and see how the people behaved after their chiefs had been dealt with.[98]

The Kiowa brought in the forty-one mules demanded of them by the military to make up for those taken in the raid.[99] Raiding ceased except for a few individual forays. The Kiowa and Arizona Apache had planned to carry on extensive raids but the arrest of the chiefs stopped them.[100] Agent Tatum wrote to the Executive Committee that Colonel Grierson, Interpreter Jones and others who had had long experience with the Indians, said they had never seen the Indians so completely subdued before. "I see much in the Kiowas and all of the other Indians," wrote Tatum, "to confirm me that it was right to have them arrested, and I see nothing to make me feel doubtful about it. It has probably saved the lives of many Texas citizens."[101]

The Indian agent wrote that the Indians had no use for guns except for raiding since they preferred to use their bows and arrows for hunting and therefore the government should exert a special effort to prevent the sale of munition to them. The continual raids had, in his opinion, forfeited the treaty rights of the Indians. No more treaties should be made with them since they were really wards of the government and their true relationship should be recognized.[102]

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[97] Ranald S. MacKenzie to W. T. Sherman, June 15, 1871, Sherman Papers, 2-3.
[98] *Ibid.*, 3.
[99] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 122; and *Report*, 1871, 503.
[100] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 121.
[101] *Ibid.*, 122.
[102] *Report*, 1871, 503-504.

Again during the winter months of 1871-1872, the Indians were quiet. All of them except the Quahadi came in for rations during the year, but as soon as spring came the Kiowa with some Apache and Comanche began to raid in Texas with a fury seemingly unprecedented.[103] Not less than forty white people were killed during the summer of 1872, several hundred head of live stock were stolen and three children were taken captives.[104]

On April 20, 1872, the Howard Wells Massacre occurred in which sixteen people were killed. Although troops succeeded in following the Indians, they held a secure position which enabled them to repulse the soldiers until nightfall, after which, they slipped away.[105] All of the forays during the spring and summer months of 1872 were made to compel the government to free their chieftains.

The patience of the Indian Commissioner was just about at an end, as is clearly seen in his report for the year 1872. The hostilities:

> . . . of the past year were pursuant to their deliberate decision, and it is safe to state that at least one-half of the terrible scenes of blood, fire, and pillage which they have caused have never yet been reported to the Department. . . nothing less than military authority, with perhaps some punishment by troops, will bring them into such subjection as to again render the services of a civil agent of benefit to them.[106]

Thomas C. Battey, a Quaker school teacher among the Kiowa, believed that "a firm hand" as well as "a kind heart" was necessary in dealing with the Indians.[107] The Kiowa were not unanimous on the raids if we can believe Battey. Kicking Bird, one of Battey's staunch Indian supporters, was one of the most influential of the Kiowa chieftains. His friendship for the whites, at one time caused him to lose the confidence of his people. They believed this friendship was due to cowardice. However, after he led a party into Texas, in an engagement against the soldiers, he proved himself courageous and came out with the renewed con-

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[103] *Report*, 1872, 247.

[104] Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians*, (Boston, 1875), 76-77.

[105] Rister, *op. cit.*, 148-149.

[106] *Report*, 1872, 136.

[107] Battey, *op. cit.*, 123. Since it was impossible to persuade the Kiowa and Comanche to send their children to the agency school at Fort Sill, Tatum was anxious to send a teacher to the Indian camps. Thomas C. Battey, a Quaker teacher in the Caddo school at the Wichita agency, believed that " . . . he distinctly heard the question audibly addressed to him by the Lord, 'What if thou should have to go and sojourn in the Kiowa camps.' On the same day Kicking Bird came to Battey and asked him to come to their camps and teach their children. Battey finally went to the Kiowa, lived with them and attempted to teach their children but his school was not very successful and the hostilities of 1874-1875 finally caused him to discontinue his efforts. Yet he succeeded in gaining the confidence of some members of the tribe. His experiences are interestingly told in his book. *Ibid.*, 64.

fidence of his people. He then returned to his reservation and continued his efforts to promote peace between his people and the whites. While he was the leader of the peace faction, Lone Wolf was encouraging outrages against the settlers.[108]

The raids of 1872, were brought to an abrupt eonclusion by the fall campaign of Colonel MacKenzie who surprised a camp of Quahadi on the Staked Plains. They fled without fighting, thus failing to make good their boast that they would gloriously defeat the soldiers once the opportunity presented itself. The entire camp was destroyed, along with their winter's food supply. In addition to this blow, a still more severe one was dealt the Indians by taking as captives more than one hundred women and children left unprotected in the camp by the fleeing warriors. These were taken to Texas and held at Fort Concho until the next year.

This severe defeat had a very pronounced influence on the Comanche. They were compelled by hunger to come to the agency for rations and gave the government a means of coercion in recovering white captives and of curbing temporarily the hostile activities of one of the most troublesome war bands on the southern plains.[109]

At the general council held by the civilized Indians in 1872, it was decided to send a delegation to the nomads of the Plains to hold council and persuade them to establish friendly relations with the United States government.[110] The council was held in July at Fort Cobb. Two captives were brought in to Tatum and Kicking Bird said that they had made "a law" forbidding their young men to go to Texas on raids. The Yamparika were induced to restore thirty-two head of stock stolen from the Chickasaw, and friendly relations between those two tribes were restored. Some government stock was recovered and a promise of permanent peace was made by the Plains Indians—if Satanta and Big Tree were returned.[111]

The government sent Captain Henry Alvord and Professor Edward Parrish to the Indians to persuade them to send delegates to Washington,[112] and to determine the best method of dealing

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[108] *Ibid.*, 102-103.

[109] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 134-141.

[110] Enoch Hoag to Jonathan Richards, June 18, 1872, "Kiowa—Indian Councils," O. H. S.

[111] *Report*, 1872, 197-198; and Tatum, *op. cit.*, 125-126.

[112] Originally Dr. Joseph Parrish was appointed with Alvord but being unable to attend, his brother, Edward Parrish, was sent in his place. Professor Parrish died of typhoid fever September 8, at Fort Sill, and Alvord had to bear all the responsibility of the work. George W. Schofield to Lawrie Tatum, September 8, 1872, "Kiowa—Foreign Relations," O. H. S.; and Tatum, *op. cit.*, 128.

with the hostile element of the tribes.[113] For several years, it had been a government policy to induce the wild tribes to send representative chiefs and warriors to visit the capitol with the hope that they would become better acquainted with the strength of the whites. The Indians believed that they outnumbered the whites. This erroneous conception was due to the fact that they had rarely seen more than a few hundred whites at one time. This was evidenced by the fact that a Comanche in bidding farewell to his friends as he departed for Washington told them that he would count all of the whites he saw and then report if he thought the combined forces of the Indians could drive the whites from the country.[114] Every Indian who visited Washington, it was asserted, was convinced that to attack the whites was a hopeless task and counseled their people to keep peace and make the best terms possible.[115]

Alvord held the first council on Leeper's Creek, September 5. Only a few Kiowa were present and none of the hostile bands of the Comanche. Most of the Indians at the council agreed to send delegates to Washington. A Comanche chief (Tea-chatz-kinna) told Alvord that all of the tribes present were guilty of raiding except the Arapahoe, Caddo, and Delaware.[116]

On September 19, Alvord held a council with the principal Kiowa chiefs including Lone Wolf, Woman's Heart, Red Otter, Little Mountain, Son-of-the-Sun, Stumbling Bear, Sleeping Wolf and Fast Bear. The chiefs were opposed to sending delegates to Washington. Finally Alvord promised to permit them to see Satanta and Big Tree if they would go.[117] Some of the Kiowa delegates were so frightened by a rumored approach of troops from Texas that they did not go, but Lone Wolf, the most important chief, and three others from his tribe were among those who made the trip.[118] Alvord repeated the same old promise and threat that the Indians heard in nearly every council; namely, stay on the reservation and have peace, leave the reservation and have war.[119]

Alvord commended Tatum for doing such a good piece of work under adverse circumstances.[120] He recommended that the

[113] *Ibid.*, 127-128; Henry E. Alvord to Lawrie Tatum, August 10, 1872, "Kiowa—Foreign Relations," O. H. S.; and *Report*, 1872, 128-129.

[114] *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the President of the United States*, 124.

[115] *Ibid.*, 5, 124.

[116] *Ibid.*, 130.

[117] Alvord had been authorized to promise the release of the chiefs but he was not in favor of giving their freedom and did not mention such a possibility in council.

[118] *Report*, 1872, 130.

[119] *Ibid.*, 132.

[120] *Ibid.*, 135.

Kiowa be rounded up and all the horses and mules found in their possession which were unquestionably not theirs, be taken from them; that the tribe be forced to surrender their three most prominent men who had engaged in atrocities during the last year for trial in a United States court; that no annuity goods be given them for the present year; that a force of troops large enough to enforce these provisions be ready to move against them immediately if they did not submit. Alvord believed that under these conditions the Indians would quickly meet the demands.[121]

As for the Comanche, he believed that they could not be dealt with as a tribe because two-thirds of their number had remained beyond the western limits of the reservation on the Staked Plains, and had never recognized the treaties made with the other Comanche. In council they told the commissioner that they did not want to fight but they regarded living as they did as their natural way and did not want to change. He recommended that the government compel them " . . . to give up captives and stolen stock, forfeit annuities, and move, even for hunting, only by special permission."[122] It was also recommended that since the other third of the Comanches were not totally blameless, that they be compelled to give up one half of their annuities and live nearer the agency that they might be more easily supervised.[123]

As for the Apache, Alvord believed that they had acted in conjunction with the Kiowa and should forfeit one half of their annuities and be separated from the other Indians because he believed they would remain peaceful if not incited by others, more hostile.[124]

The delegation sent to Washington, as a result of Alvord's efforts, included fifty chiefs from the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Arapahoe and other tribes.[125] It was the largest delegation to visit Washington up to this time.[126] Enroute they were permitted to see and visit with Satanta and Big Tree at St. Louis as had been promised.[127] After a few days the delegates went on to Washington where the Kiowa were promised that if they behaved well, their chiefs would be given their freedom.

Probably the worst aspect of the Indian raids from the standpoint of the white people was that related to the captive prob-

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[121] *Ibid.*, 137.
[122] *Ibid.*, 137.
[123] *Ibid.*, 137.
[124] *Ibid.*, 138.
[125] *Report*, 1872, 128.
[126] James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute*, 1895-1896. Part I, 192.
[127] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 128.

lem. It was an experience especially dreadful for the women. The Indians had a two fold object in taking captives: first, to secure servants and slaves; and second, to obtain ransom money.[128] One of the most beneficial results of the work done by Lawrie Tatum as Indian agent, was securing the freedom of many white captives held by the Kiowa and Comanche.

In the summer of 1871, White Horse and six other Kiowa raided in Texas. They attacked the Lee family, killed Lee and his wife; and took as captives, Susan, sixteen years of age, Milley F. nine, and John who was six. The two Lee girls were finally delivered to Agent Richards.[129] The Kiowa contended that they should be given a reward for their return but Tatum told them that they would not receive a dollar; and furthermore, " . . . they could have no more rations until the boy was brought in. These girls were the first captives ever recovered from the Kiowas without paying from $100 to $1,500 for each one."[130]

Horseback, a friendly Comanche chief, secured the freedom of Clinton Smith and John Valentine Maxie and turned them over to Agent Tatum on October 24, 1872. Clinton Smith had been a captive for about a year and a half. He had been herding sheep with his brother near San Antonio when a band of Arizona Apache captured him. Shortly after this Clinton was sold to the Quahadi Comanche. At the time he was turned over to Tatum, he was about thirteen years of age. Clinton told Tatum that there were other white captives in the Indian camp.[131]

John Valentine Maxie was about nine years of age at the time he was rescued. He had been with the Comanche so long that he had forgotten his name and could not speak the English language. He could only remember the scene and circumstances of his capture. He said that his father was killed at a woodpile, his mother with her small baby were killed, and that he and his sister had been taken away. His sister was killed the first night, as she could not walk fast enough to keep up with the band of Indians.

Tatum advertised the recovery of these captives. John's father came for him upon reading his description in the newspaper. Maxie had been away on the day that the Indians attacked his home, about three years before. It was John's grandfather who had been killed. His mother had recovered from the wound she received but her baby was killed by the same bullet that wounded

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128 *Ibid.*, 58-59.
129 *Ibid.*, 126.
130 *Ibid.*, 127. See also, Battey, *op. cit.*, 149-151; and *Report*, 1872, 247, for accounts concerning the capture and release of the Lee children. John Lee was released September 30, 1872.
131 Tatum, *op. cit.*, 83-84.

her. As soon as John saw his father he remembered his name and several incidents in his life before his capture.[132]

On November 14, Horseback brought two more captives to Tatum. They were in a very pitiful condition.[133] Adolph Kohn who was about eleven years of age, said that he had been captured by three Arizona Apache some three years before near San Antonio while he was tending his father's sheep. He was traded to the Quahadi. He had been forced to herd the ponies and mules and do hard work for his captors.[134]

Temple Friend, the other boy, was about thirteen years of age. He could not remember his name but he did remember the place of his capture. His grandfather, L. S. Friend, a Methodist minister, came to the agency on hearing of the recovery of these boys and identified him. He recalled his name and past events as soon as he talked with his grandfather.[135]

Four of the Comanche women, captured by Colonel MacKenzie were liberated after these boys were given their freedom. When one of these women reported that they were well treated and given excellent food, with little work to do, Tatum seized the opportunity to compare the treatment accorded the Indian captives as compared with that received by the white captives. How much this object lesson impressed the Indians is not known but the Comanche chief, Horseback, agreed that it was true.[136]

Tatum learned that some Mexicans were among the Quahadi but he could not get definite information about them. When he demanded their freedom, the Indians told him they would restore any captives he knew of who wanted to leave the Indian camp. Tatum did not know of them specifically and prayed earnestly that he might find a way to deliver them and the Lord " . . . answered my prayer, . . . " wrote Tatum, "by putting the thought into the heart of Martha Day, a Mexican captive, to leave the Indians and come to the agency.[137] She ran away one rainy night while tending the pony herd. The Indians attempted to recover her from the agent, but she was successfully hidden until a stage came along enabling her to leave the Indian country.[138] Acting on information given him by the Mexican woman, Tatum effected the release of six captives.

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[132] *Ibid.*, 84-86.
[133] *Ibid.*, 87.
[134] *Ibid.*, 87-88.
[135] Battey, *op. cit.*, 88-89.
[136] *Ibid.*, 112-113; and Tatum, *op. cit.*, 142.
[137] *Ibid.*, 150.
[138] Battey, *op. cit.*, 98-99; and Tatum, *op. cit.*, 150.

Two of these told of a Mexican man in the Indian camp. The Indians pretended that the Mexican had threatened to kill anyone who tried to bring him to the agent. Tatum, however, ordered that they jump on him while he was asleep, if necessary, tie him and bring him to the agency. The agent added to his demand, "Tonight, when you lie down to sleep, I want you to turn one ear towards Texas and see if you can hear your women and children crying. They will continue to cry then until that man is brought here."[139] The Indians said that Tatum was a *hard* man.

Shortly after this the Quahadi brought the Mexican in but it had not been necessary to tie him. He was dressed in a beautiful warrior's costume and accompanied by two chiefs and fifteen warriors. Tatum believed that he had been intimidated and when the Mexican was asked, in Comanche, if he wished to return to his family or live with the Indians he replied that he preferred to stay with the Comanche. Tatum was not satisfied with the answer and sent for an interpreter who could speak Mexican. The question was put to him again in his own language and after he had been assured that the Indians would not harm him, he eagerly expressed the desire to leave his captors. When he answered Tatum's qustion affirmatively in the Comanche language, the Indians were very disappointed and stripped him of his ornaments before leaving him with the agent.[140]

Two Mexicans, a man and his wife, had been held captive nearly all of their lives. They had escaped to John Chandler's[141] home where they lived for sometime but finally the Comanche heard of their hiding place and recaptured them. When Tatum learned of their plight, he demanded their freedom. The man was brought in but due to his wife's illness she remained in camp, he preferred to return to her. The agent made the Indians promise to give them their freedom whenever the captives desired it. The man was guarded constantly after he returned to keep him from letting the agent know that he and his wife wished to be freed. They finally escaped one night and after travelling on foot six nights, hiding during the day, they reached the agency and were sent to a place of safety.[142]

During the last eight months of Tatum's administration he recovered seven white captives and twelve Mexican. Before this

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[139] *Ibid.*, 151-152.

[140] *Ibid.*, 152-154.

[141] John (or Joseph) Chandler lived on a little farm near Fort Sill and raised vegetables which he sold at the fort and to the Indians.

[142] Battey, *op. cit.*, 155-156.

he had succeeded in liberating five white children and two women.[143]

As has already been mentioned, Captain Henry Alvord had been authorized to promise the freedom of Satanta and Big Tree to the Indians of the reservation if they would promise to remain peaceful for the next six months. Alvord pointed out that the next six months would include the winter season when it was impossible for the Indian to raid, as the grass was not sufficient to feed his ponies. For this reason it was not a suitable period of time to test their promises.[144] Besides this, Alvord pointed out the Kiowa had entered into the raids of the summer of 1872 for the sole purpose of compelling the government to release their chiefs. To agree to their freedom at this time would be understood by the Indians as a sign of weakness and submission.[145]

However, in spite of Alvord's good advice, while the delegation of chiefs was visiting in Washington, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs promised them that Satanta and Big Tree would be released on June 1, 1873, if the tribe remained peaceful.[146] The chiefs had been convicted under the laws of the State of Texas and the Commissioner did not have the right to make such a promise. This brought a storm of protest from the frontier, but, wrote the Commissioner " . . . the pledge of the Government having been given to the Kiowas and the Kiowas having reason to expect its fulfillment . . . an appeal was made to the courtesy of the governor of Texas to relieve the Government from its embarrassment by the release of the prisoners . . . . "[147]

Lawrie Tatum believed that the Indians had made some improvement but he believed, too, that the measures taken against them such as the arrest of the chiefs, the capture and holding of the Comanche women and children, and the threat to punish the Indian when he left the reservation were largely responsible for this improvement. To him it seemed that " . . . the effect on the Kiowas of the promise of the release of Satanta, a daring and treacherous chief, was like a dark and rolling cloud in the Western horizon, and when he should be restored to his people in freedom, it might burst like a tornado upon innocent and unsuspecting parties."[148]

The agent's fellow Quakers did not share his views and he offered his resignation to be effective March 31, 1873. Tatum wrote:

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143 Tatum, *op. cit.*, 154.
144 *Report*, 1872, 132.
145 *Ibid.*, 132.
146 Battey, *op .cit.*, 197.
147 *Report*, 1873, 7.
148 Tatum, *op. cit.*, 159-160.

. . . that with kindness and fair dealing the Indians would not be brought into subjection and cease their almost continuous depredations in Texas during the spring and summer.

Had the kind and honorable treatment that they were receiving by almost every person, except horse thieves and illicit traders, caused a manifest decrease in their depredations, the Government could have afforded to bear with them; but when they were evidently growing worse, then firm restraint was the kindness that I thought they needed.[149]

Thomas C. Battey, although not in accord with Tatum's views as to the release of the Chiefs, praised him for his work. Many of the Indians had grown to respect Tatum,[150] and even the military was sorry to see him leave, as was shown by a letter from General Augur which in part reads; " . . . I fully understand that the place has no attraction for you, I can also see that the public service is to be the loser by any change however worthy may be your successor."[151]

[149] *Ibid.*, 165-166.
[150] Battey, *op. cit.*, 136-137.
[151] Tatum, *op. cit.*, 155.

SOUTHWESTERN OIL BOOM TOWNS

By Gerald Forbes

Characteristic of the twentieth century history and rapid peopling of the southwestern part of the United States has been the oil boom town. It has been an important factor in the sociological, economic, industrial, and political development of the six states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and New Mexico. The era of the boom oil town began with the turn of the century and continued with mechanization of industry and the manufacture of the internal combustion engine. Just as the production of petroleum in the great Mid-Continent Field resulted in the rapid building of towns from Kansas to the Gulf of Mexico, so did the automobile manufacturers of Michigan concurrently sell their products from Maine to California.[1] The features and resulting problems of the oil boom towns have been generally the same throughout the Mid-Continent Field.

The development of the petroleum producing industry may be conveniently divided into five different phases, which were virtually the same in all parts of the Mid-Continent Field. The first phase, or period, was, of course, that of discovery in which one well, or possibly half a dozen, would show clearly the existence of a vauable deposit of petroleum. The period of leasing the land, surrounding the discovery well, formed the second phase of the development. The next two stages of the development, the drilling of the wells that formed the oil pool and the building of the town or towns, were thoroughly interlocked and interdependent. The final phase of the cycle arrived when the drilling was virtually concluded, and the operations of the pool were those of extracting the petroleum from the wells.

In the Mid-Continent Field, petroleum has been discovered in areas that have resulted in two materially different types of development. When oil has been discovered in an area of small land holdings, as in the case of the Glenn Pool in the Creek Nation of the Indian Territory or the Spindle-Top Pool in Texas, both at the beginning of the century, or the East Texas Pool two decades later,[2]

[1] Horses dominated the delivery of petroleum products until 1917, when predominance was taken by motorized vehicles.—*The Magnolia Oil News*, XVI, No. 5, (Dallas, Texas, April, 1931) 23. The increase in motor vehicles grew from four in 1895 to 29,777,000 in 1937.—*The Oil Weekly*, LXXXVIII, No. 8, (Houston, Texas, January 31, 1938) 24.

[2] The Spindletop Pool in 1902 produced 17,421,000 barrels of crude oil and forced the price down to the remarkable figure of three cents a barrel.—*The Magnolia Oil News*, XVI, No. 5, 53; John W. Flenner, History of Oklahoma, (*Ms.*) Paul Hedrick Collection, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 309-312.

the development was thoroughly different from that which took place in the Osage Reservation in Oklahoma or the Yates ranch in West Texas.[3] Fundamentally the difference was to be found in the size of the leases. The large leases of the areas of big land holdings tended to obviate competitive drilling, which in turn reduced or prevented the growth of oil towns.

The physical conditions at the beginning of the century that produced the most oil boom towns included many small leases and in addition oil-bearing sandstones only a few hundred feet below the surface of the earth.[4] The small leases stimulated drilling, because petroleum would not observe property lines, and the owner of one well might extract oil from the subsurface of his nearby neighbor. The result was that the neighbor, for the preservation of his own petroleum, was forced to drill an offsetting well on the opposite side of the line. Market conditions had little effect on this type of drilling. Certainly market conditions played no part in the Federal regulations that governed the production of oil on Indian lands during the early years of the century, for those rules required drilling within six months or a year to validate the contracts.[5]

Closely following the leasing, came the period of drilling, which brought with it the town building phase.[6] Drilling crews consisted of about half a dozen men, most of whom were young and unmarried, with educations generally no more than mediocre. They were attracted to the new oil pool by the wages which varied from four dollars a day upward.[7] In addition to the drilling crews there were numerous teamsters and their assistants. A large and rapidly drilled pool, such as Cushing in Oklahoma or the East Texas near Tyler, Texas, might attract from fifty to one hundred thousand persons to an area that previously had been rather sparsely populated.[8]

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[3] L. C. Snider, *Oil and Gas in the Mid-Continent Field*, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1920) 208; *Oklahoma Statutes*, I, (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1931) 1061; Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1905, I, (Washington, 1906) 307.

[4] University Geological Survey of Kansas, *Special Report on Oil and Gas*, IX, (Topeka, Kansas, 1908) 209.

[5] Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1905, I, 216.

[6] Glen Patchett, The Cushing Oil Field, (Ms.) Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, Tulsa, Oklahoma; *The Drumright Derrick*, November 27, 1914 (Drumright, Oklahoma).

[7] *The Tulsa World*, August 30, 1912 (Tulsa, Oklahoma); Gilbert L. Robinson, History of the Healdton Oil Field, (Master's thesis, 1937, University of Oklahoma library, Norman, Oklahoma) 23.

[8] Charles B. Eliot, *Petroleum Industry in the Gulf Southwest*, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, United States Department of Commerce, *Domestic Commerce Series, No.* 44, Part 2 of the Commercial Survey of the Gulf Southwest, (Washington, 1931) 7; *The Mounds Enterprise*, August 9, 1907, (Mounds, Creek Nation, Indian Territory); *The Oil and Gas Journal*, February 25, 1915, 16, and May 4, 1937, 27 (Tulsa, Oklahoma); *The Drumright Derrick*, June 12, 1914; *The Cushing*

The largest population shifts occurred under such conditions as were found in the East Texas and the Healdton Pool in Oklahoma. There the leases were relatively small and the petroleum was found comparatively near the surface, factors which permitted men with limited capital to own and operate producing properties. The more competitive the drilling became, the larger the transient population of labor was certain to become.[9] There were, of course, highly productive areas which did not result in the development of boom town conditions, generally because of the operation of one or both of the following factors. If the drilling were deep, and therefore expensive, the small operators were automatically eliminated, and the large companies controlled their production in accord with the national market conditions. The Oklahoma City Pool, with its oil found at about 6400 feet, was an example of deep drilling.[10] The other situation which has prevented the development of boom town conditions was exemplified by the Texon Pool in West Texas, where the entire petroleum deposit was held in one big lease by a single company which built and owned a little town for the exclusive accommodation of its employees.[11]

The oil boom towns of Kansas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico, were built chiefly where neither of the foregoing conditions existed. The discovery and development of an oil pool in a region of relatively small farms was certain to change the complexion and character of the entire countryside. The first easily noticable change was the arrival of the drilling crews, many young men without the stabilizing influences of family and property responsibilities. These young men received very good wages, and despite the fact that they worked strenuouslv from eight to twelve hours a day, they were vigorous enough to seek recreation and entertainment when not on duty. The farmers of the region were attracted from their fields and crops by the high wages offered by the oil companies. Those farmers who owned teams were particularly in demand for freighting supplies to the new pool. Thus in the early stages of the oil pool development the population of the countryside was augumented by a great influx of irresponsible young men, and the agricultural interests of the community were deserted or permitted to decline rapidly.[12]

Independent, September 12, 1913, and December 5, 1913 (Cushing, Oklahoma); Statement of H. H. Atkins, Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 7, 1937; Oil Well Supply Company, *Catalog*, 1884, (Bradford, Pennsylvania, 1884) 14.

[9] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, September 22 and October 24, 1915 (Ardmore, Oklahoma); Robinson, op. cit., 7.

[10] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 23, 1939, (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma).

[11] Statement of Erwin Rowe, of Dallas, September 10, 1934.

[12] Joe Chapple, "Oklahoma as Seen by Joe Chapple," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, VI, No. 2, 44 (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) Eliot, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

The next apparent alteration in the appearance of the region was the development of rooming and boarding accommodations. The first persons to enter this division of the life of the oil pool were the wives and daughters of the farmers, but their efforts quickly became inadequate. Men who could use hammers and saws rapidly nailed cheap buildings together, along the country road near the anticipated center of the oil pool.[13] Into these cheap buildings moved restauranteurs, open day and night, with two staffs, grocers, and men whose chief claim to the title "hostlers" rested in the control of numerous beds and cots. A "hotel" might be one large room crowded with beds and cots that were rented by the night or week to those fortunate men who applied first. It was not unknown for a condition of scarcity to force men to spend the night walking about or sleeping exhausted on the ground.[14]

Once begun the boom town grew rapidly, so rapidly that in two or three months it might contain an urban population of three to five thousand and even boast a weekly newspaper.[15] By that time the town likely consisted of one street (previously a country street) which for half a mile was lined on both sides by cheap, one-story, wooden buildings that held most types of businesses. There would be clothing stores capable of fitting men out in the latest styles of shirts, ties, suits, and shoes, and equally prepared to dress them in strong and durable work clothing—especially the favored boots, corduroy suits, and flannel shirts. There were little jewelry shops, equipped to sell or repair watches and to retail rings and gems, as well as to loan money on personal possessions. There were feed stores to provide food for the horses and mules, and filling stations and garages to care for the trucks and automobiles, which became important in the second and third decades of the century.[16]

By the third or fourth month following the discovery of the pool, the establishments that provided entertainment for the workers of the oil companies occupied about half of the business section of the boom town. There were cheap (in quality, not price) shows that were certain to be melodramatic, and often of a type that prevented the married men from taking their wives. Even a small town might boast of its "opera house."[17] Dance halls abounded, and there the young oil field worker's desire for feminine society

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[13] *The Tulsa World*, July 29, 1906; *The Kiefer News*, March 8, 29, and May 3, 1907, (Kiefer, Creek Nation, Indian Territory).

[14] Chapple, *loc. cit.*, 44; The Tulsa World, July 29, 1906; *The Daily Ardmoreite*, November 15, 1915.

[15] *The Mounds Enterprise*, October 18, 1907.

[16] W. G. McComas, "Sapulpa, The Metropolis of the World's Greatest Oil District," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, VI, No. 2, 25-31; T. B. Ferguson, *Governor's Report for Oklahoma*, 1905, (Washington, 1905) 329; Chapple, *loc. cit.*, 47.

[17] *The Mounds Enterprise*, August 30 and October 25, 1907; *The Kiefer News*, April 12, 1907.

could be purchased. The dance halls were very popular, day and night, for as the drilling crews worked in shifts there were consequently from one-half to two-thirds of the men at leisure all the time. Prostitutes, of course, were a very common element in the society of a boom oil area. Sections of some of the boom oil towns were devoted almost exclusively to the entertainment of the well-paid laborers, this was especially true of Kiefer, which was a development of the Glenn Pool in the Indian Territory, 1905-1907. The gay section of Kiefer was known as the "Bowery," and there could be found every known method or device for separating a man and his money.[18]

Following the Volstead Act another element became more common in the boom oil towns in the form of the bootlegger and his "joint." It was this element that gave color and disrepute to the boom oil towns, for in the wake of the bootlegger came the outlaw, the murderer, and the racketeer. Probably Ragtown in the Healdton Field or "Bishop Alley," the vice district of Seminole, Oklahoma, in 1929 showed conditions at their worst.[19] A young oil field worker might commit an occasional crime in a fit of temper or under the influence of liquor as he was removed from the restraint of family and acquaintances. He was generally law abiding, although he usually was foolish enough near the tenth of each month when the oil companies paid employees to carry all his wages in his pocket—thus unintentionally encouraging highwaymen.[20] The law-violating element was small but in many cases desperate. There were several cases in which sheriffs and Texas Rangers became noted for their fearless and daring conflict with the outlaws.[21]

One of the last businesses to enter the boom oil town was the bank, probably because of the nature of the institution. Despite the fact that the first day's deposits might approach fifty thousand dollars, bankers were hesitant about entering boom oil towns. The oil booms of the Southwest caused the failure of hundreds of banks, because the petroleum industry required a type of financing with which the bankers were not familiar. Before the coming of the oil industry, most of the bank loans were agricultural. But with

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[18] *The Mounds Enterprise*, August 23, 1907; R. H. Brumley, "A Famous Oklahoma Oil Pool," *The Pure Oil News*, XI, No. 8, (January, 1929, Columbus, Ohio) 11.

[19] D. K. Chamberlin, "Ardmore Refinery Has an Interesting History," *The Pure Oil News*, XI, No. 10, (March, 1929, Columbus, Ohio) 12; *The Mounds Enterprise*, December 20, 1907; Statement of Dave P. Thornton, Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 10, 1937; *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 29, 1939; Carroll H. Wegemann and Kenneth C. Heald, *The Healdton Oil Field, Carter County, Oklahoma*, in United States Geological Survey, *Bulletin* 621, (Washington, 1916) 13.

[20] Chapple, *loc. cit.*, 40.

[21] John P. (Slim) Jones, *Ten Years in the Oil Fields*, (El Dorado, Arkansas, c. 1926) 1-2; *The Kiefer News*, April 19, 1907; *The Mounds Enterprise*, August 23, 1907; *The Daily Ardmoerite*, July 23, 1915.

the discovery of a significant oil pool hundreds of farmers abandoned their crops for the good wages of the oil industry, subsequently invalidating their agricultural mortgages. The bankers turned to the financing of the oil industry, with the speculative risks of which they were not familiar, and the failure of a few such ventures was sufficient to bankrupt a small bank. Generally a bank would not enter business in a boom oil town unless the size of the pool indicated that the town would be relatively permanent—as in the case of Drumright, Oklahoma, a product of the Cushing Pool.[22]

Among the early arrivals at the boom oil town there always were a few wives with their children, and about them and their hopes for the well-being of their offspring were developed belatedly two valuable social institutions—churches and schools. Workers from nearby towns assisted in the organization of the initial congregations, which held their first services in lumber yards or store buildings. If the size of the oil pool warranted it, land was acquired, and by subscriptions and volunteer labor churches were erected.[23] The development of the schools was a slower process, for in the beginning the children either attended the already existing rural schools or were untrained. Occasionally a mother who had been a teacher before her marriage would open a small tuition school at home for her own and neighboring children, and thus start a city school system.[24] This same stabilizing element also made efforts to better the moral conditions.[25]

Whether the town ever passed from an aggregation of wooden shacks to a little city of stone buildings, paving, and shrubbery shrouded residences depended entirely on the size and importance of the oil pool from which it sprang. Unless the oil pool were of considerable size and productivity, most of the population would leave the locality when the drilling of new wells ceased. A relatively small number of men were required to operate the production of an oil pool, once the wells had been drilled and were flowing by their own pressure or being pumped. The operation of the producing pool was left in the hands of the married men, who found moving undesirably expensive. If, as was the case in most of the pools, the

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[22] Eliot, *op. cit.*, 5-6; *The Tulsa Democrat*, August 30, 1901 (Tulsa, Creek Nation, Indian Territory); *The Drumright Derrick*, March 14, 1913; and March 6, 13, 20, 27, July 17, 1914.

[23] Among the oil producers in the Healdton Pool was a former Pennsylvania minister. He hired a minister to hold religious services each Sunday on his leases, and compelled all employees to attend.—*The Daily Ardmoreite*, November 4, 1915; *The Mounds Enterprise*, August 9 and 16, December 6, 1907; *The Kiefer News*, March 22 and April 5, 1907.

[24] Robinson, *op. cit.*, 80-81; *The Kiefer News*, March 8, 1907; *The Mounds Enterprise*, August 16, September 6 and 27, 1907.

[25] *The Law and Order Journal*, (Kiefer, Oklahoma) June 8, 1909; *The Mounds Enterprise*, July 19 and November 15, 1907.

deposit was not extensive, the little boom town was as rapidly deserted as it had been populated. There were several pools, however—Glenn and Cushing in Oklahoma may be cited as examples—of such national importance in the oil industry that the resulting towns attained relative permanence. It took Kiefer in the Glenn Pool only a few years to become a ghost of its former self—and Kiefer possessed a high school with marble stairs. Drumright, the boom product of the much greater Cushing Pool, was a town of some consequence a quarter of a century after its boom construction. Other Oklahoma towns like Earlsboro, taking advantage of a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1938, have declared themselves bankrupt. Earlsboro eased itself of its debt of $169,000.[26]

The most significant and outstanding oil boom town of the Southwest, of course, is Tulsa, which when the century began was a little Creek Indian trading center of about one thousand population.[27] Thirty years later it contained about one hundred and fifty thousand cosmopolitan residents, most of whom were directly or indirectly dependent on the oil industry. Tulsa was situated near both the great Glenn and Cushing Pools, and within a radius of one hundred miles there were several hundred small pools.[28] One of the important early factors in the steady development of Tulsa was the construction of a modern hotel, an institution that attracted the wealthier operators and caused them to make that city the headquarters for their activities in all directions. With the development of the oil industry there came to Tulsa a consequent industrial construction, which was accompanied by the establishment of oil well supply houses and machine shops. There followed the laying of pipe lines and the construction and operation of refineries. Tulsa residents boasted that the city contained more millionaires than any city of comparable size in the world. Subscription campaigns became common there, and funds were raised for many civic purposes. Many palatial residences were constructed, and oil producers commuted by plane from their homes to their leases in Lea County, New Mexico, or the Texas Panhandle. Tulsa became the most permanent of the Southwestern oil boom towns, largely because it was not the product of a single pool of petroleum.[29]

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[26] David T. Day, "The Petroleum Resources of the United States," *Bulletin* 394, United States Geological Survey, (Washington, 1909) 31; *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 15, 1939; Eliot, *op. cit.*, 3-4.

[27] "Oklahoma and Oil March Hand in Hand," *The Magnolia Oil News*, XVI, No. 5, (April, 1931) 58.

[28] Oklahoma Geological Survey, *Bulletin No. 40*, I, 103-273.

[29] *The Tulsa World*, September 21, 1906; G. E. Condra, *Opening of the Indian Territory*, American Geographic Society, *Bulletin XXXIX*, Statement of J. H. McBirney, Tulsa, Oklahoma, January 27, 1938; Statement of Ed Phelps, Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 9, 1937; Eliot, *op. cit.*, 3-4.

The development of the oil boom towns of the Southwest has been cyclical in nature, with the towns first rising during the period of rapid driling and then receding as the drilling of the wells passed its peak. The exploitation of the petroleum caused a population shift that peopled several states rapidly, bringing the consequent changes in life and culture that in other areas required several times as long. There occurred a merging of the cultures of the older parts of the United States with the cultures of pioneers and Indians in the Mid-Continent Field. The life of the Southwest took from the oil boom towns a speculative daring that can only be attributed to the reckless prospect of becoming suddenly rich which the oil pools offered.[30]

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THE CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY 1861 (Continued)

By Dean Trickett

Efforts by the Federal Government to counteract the propaganda of the southern states among the Indian nations proved futile. In fact, after the withdrawal of the Federal troops in May, 1861, communication between the Indian Territory and the North "almost entirely ceased." Indian agents newly appointed from the northern states were unable to reach their posts; those appointed from the southern states soon went over to the Confederacy.

After the inauguration of President Lincoln, William P. Dole succeeded A. B. Greenwood as commissioner of Indian affairs. The Southern Superintendency, with headquarters at Fort Smith, Arkansas, was offered to Samuel L. Griffith, of that city, a member of the Arkansas convention on the Union side, who accepted on April 9 but resigned on the 20th, saying that "under the circumstances" he could not hold office. He was replaced by a northern man—William G. Coffin, of Indiana.[1] Griffith shortly afterward became a candidate for the corresponding position in the Confederacy.[2]

Similar defections occurred among the agency appointees. William Quesenbury, of Fayetteville, Arkansas, appointed to succeed William H. Garrett as agent for the Creeks, sided with the Confederacy; as did also John Crawford, of the same city, appointed to supplant Robert J. Cowart as agent for the Cherokees.[3]

William P. Davis, of Indiana, was given the Seminole Agency, to replace Samuel M. Rutherford, but was unable to reach his post and later entered the Union Army.[4] John J. Humphreys, of Tennessee, was offered the Wichita Agency, in the Leased District, to succeed Matthew Leeper, but he too never reached his post.[5] Rutherford and Leeper became Indian agents under the Confederacy.

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[1] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), 183-84.

[2] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1904), Series I, III, 598. Hereafter cited as *O. R.*

[3] Abel, *op. cit.*, 184.

[4] *Ibid.*, 199.

[5] *Ibid.*, 185-86.

Peter P. Elder, of Kansas, replaced Andrew J. Doran, long in charge of the Neosho River Agency, to which belonged the Seneca, Seneca and Shawnee, and Quapaw reserves in northeastern Indian Territory and the Osage reserve in southeastern Kansas.[6] Doran, a native of Arkansas, also became an Indian agent for the Confederacy.

For the time being, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Agency seems to have been overlooked. The incumbent was Douglas H. Cooper, who was to reach high rank in the Confederate Army.

Information as to the course events were taking in the Indian Territory was slow in reaching Washington, and it was not until April 30 that Commissioner Dole reported to the Secretary of the Interior receipt of a letter from Superintendent Elias Rector,[7] enclosing a communication addressed to Col. W. H. Emory by Matthew Leeper "having reference to the removal of the troops from Fort Cobb." In view of the fact that the Government was bound by treaty obligations to protect the Indians, Dole asked to be informed "if it is not its intention to keep in the country a sufficient force for the purpose."[8] No satisfactory answer was given to Dole's inquiry. On that day Colonel Emory was abandoning Fort Washita and was to receive two days later, from the hand of Lieutenant Averell, orders from the Government to abandon the Indian Territory.

Still hopeful, Commissioner Dole addressed a circular letter on May 11 to the principal chiefs of the five great tribes. It was in substance a letter of introduction for the new superintendent of Indian affairs—William G. Coffin—who was made bearer of the communications. Dole, however, went on to assure the Indians that a part of the "well-settled policy" of President Lincoln's administration "is, that in no event, and under no circumstances, shall your domestic institutions be interfered with by any of its officers or employes." Further, the War Department had been requested to furnish troops and munitions "to protect your people against the depredations of all parties."[9] Six months later, in his first annual report, Dole sadly confessed:

"It is doubtful if the assurances thus given (and from which I entertained strong hopes that at least the neutrality of those Indians would be secured) in every instance reached their intended destination; and I exceed-

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[6] *Ibid.*, 186.

[7] It is not known on what date Rector left the Federal service, as he did not close his accounts with the Indian Office. He probably began acting openly for the Confederacy after the secession of Arkansas on May 6. See Abel, *op. cit.*, 182.

[8] *Ibid.*, 74. Dole to Smith, April 30, 1861.

[9] "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1861* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), 650-51. Dole to Ross and others, May 11, 1861.

ingly regret that in consequence of unprecedented and imperative demands made in other and more important directions upon the resources of the War Department, it was unable to furnish the troops and war munitions as suggested."[10]

Superintendent Coffin failed not only to deliver the messages but also to reach Fort Smith. On his journey west he stopped at his home in Indiana, and it was not until June 19 that he reached Crawford Seminary, headquarters of the Neosho River Agency, in the Quapaw Nation.[11] That was the only contact he made with his Indian wards. He found it "unsafe for any person not known to be thoroughly identified with the rebellion under any pretence to visit them, or for any person at all suspected of entertaining Union sentiments to remain among them."[12] The withdrawal of the Federal troops had turned the Indian Territory over to the Confederates. Coffin established temporary headquarters at Humboldt in southeastern Kansas.

The presence in the Chickasaw Nation of the Texas militia and the occupation of Fort Smith by Arkansas state troops bolstered the propaganda of the secessionists and effectively curbed Union sentiment. Although the Indian nations maintained an outward semblance of neutrality during the spring and early summer of 1861, the mask was quickly cast aside when the Confederate Government took over the direction of affairs in the Indian country. Heir to the experience gained in the earlier, but unsuccessful, attempts of the states of Texas and Arkansas to form alliances with the Indian tribes, the Confederate Government conducted its negotiations with tact and skill. To that end it had made careful preparation.

A bill to establish a War Department, passed on February 21 by the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, sitting at Montgomery, Alabama, delegated to that department "all matters and things connected with . . . the Indian tribes within the limits of the Confederacy."[13] A resolution offered by William P. Chilton, member from Alabama, which was adopted on the same day, directed the Committee on Indian Affairs to "inquire into the expediency . . . for opening negotiations with the Indian tribes of the West . . ."[14] Four days later, Edward Sparrow, of Louisiana, proposed that the Indian Affairs committee, of which he was a member, "be instructed to inquire into the policy of

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[10] *Ibid.*, 627.

[11] Abel, *op. cit.*, 81. Coffin to Dole, June 19, 1861.

[12] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861, *op. cit.*, 654. Coffin to Dole, Oct. 2, 1861.

[13] Congress of the Confederate States of America, *Journal* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-5), I, 69.

[14] *Ibid.*, 70.

providing for the appointment of agents to the different tribes of Indians occupying territory adjoining this Confederacy . . .''[15]

On Monday, March 4, while President Lincoln was being inaugurated at Washington, the Confederate Congress adopted a resolution of far-reaching consequence. Introduced by Robert Toombs, member from Georgia and serving at the same time as Secretary of State, it authorized the President ''to send a suitable person as special agent of this Government to the Indian tribes west of the state of Arkansas.''[16]

Albert Pike, of Arkansas, was selected by President Davis for that important mission.[17] The appointment doubtless was made at the suggestion of Secretary Toombs, as he and Pike were friends and fellow Masons; and for a time Pike seems to have acted under the direction of the State Department. He carried on a correspondence with the secretary in regard to Indian relations and as late as July was reporting to Toombs the progress of his mission.[18]

In the meantime, the Provisional Congress on March 15 set up a Bureau of Indian Affairs, under the control of the War Department; and President Davis on the following day appointed David Hubbard, ex-commissioner from Alabama to Arkansas, to be commissioner of Indian affairs.[19]

The general policy of the Confederate Government in regard to Indian relations was outlined in ''An act for the protection of certain Indian tribes,'' passed by the Provisional Congress on the 17th of May.[20] So far as known, no copy of that important measure is in existence today; but President Davis sent a copy of the act to Pike to serve as his instructions in the negotiations with the Indian tribes.[21]

Another timely action of the Provisional Congress was the confirmation on May 11 of the appointment of Ben McCulloch, of Texas, to be brigadier general.[22] Two days later he was ''assigned to the command of the district embracing the Indian Territory lying west of Arkansas and south of Kansas.''[23]

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[15] *Ibid.*, 81.
[16] *Ibid.*, 105.
[17] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 785.
[18] *Ibid.*, Series I, III, 624.
[19] *Journal*, I, 147, 154.
[20] *Ibid.*, 244. Three financial sections, added by amendment to the original bill, are given in the *Journal*.
[21] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 785.
[22] *Journal*, I, 213.
[23] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 575.

Stopping a few days at Little Rock, Arkansas, on his journey west, General McCulloch arrived at Fort Smith on May 25. Under orders of the Secretary of War he was instructed to guard the Indian Territory "against invasion from Kansas and elsewhere." To accomplish that purpose, two regiments of "mounted men" from Texas and Arkansas and one regiment of "foot" from Louisiana were to be placed at his disposal. In addition, he was to engage, if possible, the service of any of the Indian tribes "in numbers equal to two regiments." Further, he was instructed to capture "with the least practicable delay" the Federal troops believed to be at Fort Washita.[24] At Little Rock, however, he learned that Colonel Emory had already evacuated the Indian Territory and was then nearing Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.[25]

McCulloch, with boundless energy, set about the task of organizing his department. On investigation he learned, "from the best information," that the Choctaws and Chickasaws were anxious to join the Confederacy and that the Creek Nation "will also come in." About the Cherokees, however, the news was less encouraging, owing to the dissension within the nation. Furthermore, in looking for a military position for his command in the Indian Territory, McCulloch found "no point suitable for such a position except in the Cherokee country." It became necessary to interview Chief Ross.[26]

For that purpose McCulloch joined forces with Albert Pike, special agent to the Indian tribes, who had come to Fort Smith from Little Rock about the time McCulloch took command. Before going to Park Hill, in the Cherokee Nation, where Chief Ross resided, McCulloch and Pike were approached by "five or six Cherokees" anxious to "organize and take up arms for the South," but fearing the vengeance of "Mr. Ross and the Pin Indians." They were assured of the protection of the Confederate Government, and Pike made arrangements to meet other members of the anti-Ross party at the Creek Agency a few days later. He "did not expect to effect any arrangement with Mr. Ross," and his "intention was to treat with the heads of the southern party —Stand Watie and others."[27]

In a letter written after the war, Pike described the meeting with Chief Ross:

"When we met Mr. Ross at Park Hill, he refused to enter into any arrangement with the Confederate States. He said it was his intention to maintain the neutrality of his people; that they were a small and weak

[24] *Ibid.*, 575.
[25] *Ibid.*, 583.
[26] *Ibid.*, 587, 590.
[27] Joseph B. Thoburn, ed., "The Cherokee Question," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), II (1924), 173-74. Pike to Cooley, Feb. 17, 1866.

people, and would be ruined and destroyed if they engaged in the war; that it would be a cruel thing if we were to engage them in our quarrel. . . . We told him that the Cherokees could not be neutral. We used every argument in our power to change his determination, but in vain, and, finally, General McCulloch informed him that he would respect the neutrality of the Cherokees, and would not enter their country with troops, or place troops in it, unless it should become necessary in order to expel a Federal force, or to protect the southern Cherokees.

"So we separated. General McCulloch kept his word, and no Confederate troops ever were stationed in, or marched into the Cherokee country, until after Federal troops invaded it."[28]

General McCulloch, in reporting the interview to Secretary Walker, of the War Department, stated that Ross "has assured me that in the event of an invasion from the North he will put himself at the head of his people and march to repel it."[29] Some ten days after the meeting, McCulloch wrote a letter to Ross confirming the agreement reached and adding:

"In the meantime, those of your people who are in favor of joining the Confederacy must be allowed to organize into military companies as Home Guards, for the purpose of defending themselves in case of invasion from the North. This, of course, will be in accordance with the views you expressed to me, that in case of an invasion from the North you would lead your men yourself to repel it."[30]

Chief Ross, on June 17, "most respectfully declined" to allow the organization of military companies in the Cherokee nation. Moreover, General McCulloch had misunderstood his remark.

"I informed you that I had taken a neutral position, and would maintain it honestly, but that in case of a foreign invasion, old as I am, I would assist in repelling it. I have not signified any purpose as to an invasion of our soil and an interference with our rights from the United or Confederate States, because I have apprehended none, and cannot give my consent to any."[31]

As was apparently his custom, Chief Ross on the same day proceeded to clean up his correspondence by answering a letter addressed to him by David Hubbard, commissioner of Indian affairs for the Confederacy. Hubbard had come west to assist in the negotiations with the Indian tribes, but an attack of pneumonia at Little Rock kept him in bed for ten days, and further delay by low water and the sinking of a steamboat prevented him from reaching Fort Smith until the first week in June. From a sick bed he wrote to Ross on June 12. He strove to convince the chief that the North had designs not only on the slaves of the Cherokees but also on their land.

"Go North among the once powerful tribes of that country and see if you can find Indians living and enjoying power and property and liberty

[28] *Ibid.*, 174.
[29] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 591.
[30] *Ibid.*, 592.
[31] *Ibid.*, 597.

as do your people and the neighboring tribes from the South. If you can, then say I am a liar, and the northern states have been better to the Indians than the southern states."[32]

To that farrago of specious argument and distorted fact, Chief Ross replied temperately and sanely. In the main, he relied implicitly on the treaties hitherto made by the Cherokees with the Federal Government, and he again affirmed his policy of neutrality. Beyond that he had nothing to say.

"A comparison of northern and southern philanthrophy, as illustrated in their dealings toward the Indians within their respective limits, would not affect the merits of the question now under consideration, which is simply one of duty under existing circumstances. I therefore pass it over, merely remarking that the 'settled policy' of former years was a favorite one with both sections when extended to the acquisition of Indian lands, and that but few Indians now press their feet upon the banks of either the Ohio or the Tennessee."[33]

Few men were a match for Chief Ross in the art of conducting diplomatic negotiations by correspondence. Hubbard retired after his one effort, and General McCulloch, heeding a call for aid from Governor Jackson, of Missouri, was henceforth occupied with the defense of northwestern Arkansas until his death in battle at Pea Ridge nine months later. Pike carried on alone.

The Confederate Government was fortunate in its choice of agent to conduct negotiations with the Indian tribes. By training and nature Albert Pike was superbly fitted for the task at hand. He was born in Massachusetts in 1809; went west in 1831 with an expedition toward Mexico, but turned back and began teaching school at Fort Smith. Later he moved to Little Rock, edited a newspaper, and began the practice of law, becoming in time "the first lawyer of the Southwest."[34] He was a captain in the Mexican War and a poet of genuine merit, and his devotion to Masonry led him in later life to become "the greatest Mason of his time."[35] Add to this a magnificent physical presence, and the influence he exerted over the Indian tribes becomes intelligible. In the summer of 1862 a young captain of artillery witnessed a council of wild plains Indians summoned by Pike, then a general, and afterwards wrote:

"It was a wonderful thing to see them as they sat in a semi-circle in front of General Pike's large office tent all day long, gazing at his striking and majestic person, as he sat writing, or reading and smoking. They seemed to reverence him like a god."[36]

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[32] *Ibid.*, Series I, XIII, 497.

[33] *Ibid.*, 499.

[34] A. W. Bishop, *Loyalty on the Frontier* (St. Louis: E. P. Studley & Co., 1863), 151.

[35] Arkansas Historical Association, *Publications* (Fayetteville and Conway, Ark., 1906-17), I, 181.

[36] W. E. Woodruff, *With the Light Guns in '61-'65* (Little Rock: Central Printing Co., 1903), 69.

Soon after his arrival in Fort Smith late in May, Pike "formally requested" Superintendent Rector and the Indian agents then in service or newly appointed from the southern states to continue in service under the Confederacy.[37] Agent Cooper had been empowered earlier in the month by the Confederate Secretary of War to raise a mounted regiment among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, to be commanded by himself.[38]

Within about four months Pike negotiated nine Indian treaties of alliance. The first was with the Creek Nation on July 10.[39] In signing that treaty Pike afterwards claimed he thwarted Chief Ross, who

"had persuaded Opothleyoholo, the Creek leader, not to join the southern states, and had sent delegates to meet the northern and other Indians in council near the Antelope Hills, where they all agreed to be neutral. The purpose was to take advantage of the war between the states, and form a great independent Indian confederation. I defeated all that by treating with the Creeks at the very time that their delegates were at the Antelope Hills in council."[40]

Two days later Pike signed a treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws.[41] The Chickasaw Legislature, on May 25, had declared the nation "independent, the people thereof free to form such alliances . . . as may to them seem best";[42] and like action had been taken by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation on June 10.[43] Pike was on especially intimate terms with the Choctaws, as he had acted as attorney for the nation at Washington for a number of years in prosecuting claims arising under the treaty of 1830.[44]

During the first half of August, Pike concluded treaties with the Seminoles at their agency[45] and with the Reserve Indians[46] and prairie Comanches[47] at the Wichita Agency, near Fort Cobb. Turning back, by way of Fort Arbuckle, he received surprising news. Before reaching the fort he

"met a nephew of Mr. Ross and a Captain Fields, on the prairie, bearing a letter to me from Mr. Ross and his council, with a copy of the resolutions of the council and an invitation, in pressing terms, to repair to the Cherokee country and enter into a treaty."[48]

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[37] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 360.
[38] *Ibid.*, Series I, III, 574.
[39] *Ibid.*, Series IV, I, 426-43.
[40] Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 174-75.
[41] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 445-66.
[42] *Ibid.*, Series I, III, 585.
[43] *Ibid.*, 593.
[44] Abel, *op. cit.*, 187. Pike to General Council of the Choctaw Nation, June, 1861.
[45] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 513-27.
[46] *Ibid.*, 542-48.
[47] *Ibid.*, 548-54.
[48] Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 175.

At Park Hill three months before, when McCulloch and Pike interviewed Chief Ross, the chief promised Pike that he would call the executive council of the Cherokees together "for the purpose of conferring with them on the subject." Meeting late in June, the council indorsed the policy of neutrality.[49] Dissension between the two factions in the nation increased, however, during July; whereupon the council, on August 1,[50] called a general meeting to give "the Cherokee people an opportunity to express their opinions in relation to subjects of deep interest in themselves as individuals and as a nation."[51]

That meeting, held on the 21st of August at Tahlequah, capital of the nation, and attended by about 4,000 Cherokees, "almost exclusively adult males," reversed the policy Chief Ross had steadfastly maintained during the preceding six months and allied the Cherokee Nation with the Confederacy.

Opening the meeting with a short address, Ross defended the position he had assumed heretofore, "too often proclaimed to be misunderstood, however much it may be misrepresented." But "the permanent disruption of the United States" seemed now probable. Arkansas and the surrounding Indian nations had joined the Confederacy. It was not desirable that the Cherokees stand alone.

> "And in view of all the circumstances of our situation, I do say to you frankly that in my opinion the time has now come when you should signify your consent for the authorities of the nation to adopt preliminary steps for an alliance with the Confederate States upon terms honorable and advantageous to the Cherokee Nation."[52]

Consent was given in resolutions "carried by acclamation."[53]

A copy of the proceedings of the meeting was forwarded to General McCulloch, and he was informed that Col. John Drew would raise and tender for service a regiment of mounted men to protect the northern border of the nation from invasion.[54] In reply, McCulloch revealed that for some time he had been protecting the border with a force Col. Stand Watie had raised under his authorization and which was then on the Cherokee neutral lands in Kansas, outside the nation proper.[55]

On receiving the invitation from the Cherokees, Albert Pike fixed a day for the meeting and returned through the Creek country to Fort Gibson. Of his second visit with the Cherokees, Pike afterwards wrote:

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[49] Abel, *op. cit.*, 216.
[50] *Ibid.*, 217.
[51] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 673.
[52] *Ibid.*, 675.
[53] *Ibid.*, 676.
[54] *Ibid.*, 673.
[55] *Ibid.*, 690, 692.

"From Fort Gibson eight or nine companies of Colonel Drew's regiment of Cherokees, chiefly full-bloods and Pins, escorted me to Park Hill. . . .

"I encamped with my little party near the residence of the chief, unprotected even by a guard, and with the Confederate flag flying. The terms of the treaty were fully discussed, and the Cherokee authorities dealt with me on equal terms. . . .

"After the treaties were signed I presented Colonel Drew's regiment a flag, and the chief in a speech exhorted them to be true to it, and afterwards, at his request, I wrote the Cherokee declaration of independence . . ."[56]

The treaty with the Cherokees was negotiated at Tahlequah and signed on the 7th of October.[57] Meanwhile, Pike concluded three other treaties at Park Hill—one with four bands of the Great Osages on October 2;[58] another with the Quapaws, October 4;[59] and the third, on the same day, with the Senecas and the Shawnees of the mixed bands of Senecas and Shawnees.[60]

In December President Davis submitted the Pike treaties to the Provisional Congress, then sitting at Richmond, Virginia. Under the able management of Robert W. Johnson, of Arkansas, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, they were debated and, after some amendment, ratified. President Davis, in his letter of transmittal, said:

"The general provisions of all the treaties are similar, and in each the Confederate States assume the guardianship over the tribe and become responsible for all the obligations to the Indians imposed by former treaties on the Government of the United States."[61]

Chief Ross, in laying the Cherokee treaty before the National Council, declared it "the most important ever negotiated on behalf of the Cherokee Nation," marking "a new era in its history." The future looked bright.

"The Cherokee people stand upon new ground. Let us hope that the clouds which overspread the land will be dispersed and that we shall prosper as we have never before done."[62]

On the other hand, the Federal superintendent of Indian affairs, William G. Coffin, reported to Commissioner Dole that he had learned the treaty was "far from being satisfactory to the Cherokee full-bloods" and charged that it had been brought about by the "most scandalous frauds, misrepresentations, and corruptions."[63]

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[56] Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 175-76.
[57] *O. R.*, Series IV, I, 669-87.
[58] *Ibid.*, 636-46.
[59] *Ibid.*, 659-66.
[60] *Ibid.*, 647-58.
[61] *Ibid.*, 785.
[62] *Ibid.*, Series I, XIII, 502.
[63] Report of the Commisioner of Indian Affairs, 1861, *op. cit.*, 655. Coffin to Dole, Oct. 2, 1861.

Evan Jones, Baptist missionary to the Cherokees, who had left the nation, was "perfectly astounded at the announcement of the defection of John Ross and the Cherokees." From Lawrence, Kansas, he wrote to Commissioner Dole:

> "I have no doubt the unfortunate affair was brought about under stress of threatened force, which the Cherokees were by no means able to resist."[64]

He believed, as did Superintendent Coffin, that if a sufficient military force were sent into the nation a large majority of the Cherokees would be found loyal to the Federal Government.

Other reasons were given to explain the action of the Cherokees. General McCulloch, with pardonable pride in the victory won by the Confederate Army under his command, thought it "was brought about by the battle of Oak Hills" [Wilson's Creek];[65] as apparently did also Albert Pike: "The battle of Oak Hills had, however, a great effect, especially with the Cherokees."[66]

Chief Ross himself, on three public occasions, discussed the alliance: at the general meeting on August 21,[67] in his message to the National Council on October 9,[68] and before Drew's regiment on December 21.[69] The last named effort, sketchy and vague, is the least satisfactory of the three. On the second occasion, however, he outlined briefly, yet clearly, his past and present policy:

> "At the beginning of the conflict I felt that the interests of the Cherokee people would be best maintained by remaining quiet and not involving themselves in it prematurely. Our relations had long existed with the United States Government and bound us to observe amity and peace alike with all the states. Neutrality was proper and wise so long as there remained a reasonble probability that the difficulty between the two sections of the Union would be settled, as a different course would have placed all our rights in jeopardy and might have led to the sacrifice of the people. But when there was no longer any reason to believe that the union of the states would be continued there was no cause to hesitate as to the course the Cherokee Nation should pursue. Our geographical position and domestic institutions allied us to the South, while the developments daily made in our vicinity and as to the purposes of the war waged against the Confederate States clearly pointed out the path of interest."[70]

John Ross was born in 1790 near Lookout Mountain, Tennessee. His father, David Ross, was a Scotchman, and his mother,

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[64] *Ibid.*, 658-59. Jones to Dole, Oct. 31, 1861.

[65] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 692. The battle of Wilson's Creek, as it was called by the Federals, was fought on August 10, 1861. The name "Oak Hills," popular among the southerners, was used by General McCulloch in his official report. General Price, of Missouri, called it the battle of Springfield.

[66] *Ibid.*, Series I, VIII, 720.

[67] *Ibid.*, Series I, III, 673-75.

[68] *Ibid.*, Series I, XIII, 500-2.

[69] Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 185-88.

[70] *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 500-1.

Mary (McDonald) Ross, was Scotch but of one-quarter Cherokee blood. He was elected principal chief of the eastern Cherokees in 1828, and became leader of the Cherokee party opposed to westward removal; but after his efforts failed, he led his people in 1838-1839 to their new home in the Indian Territory. He was chosen principal chief of the united western and eastern Cherokees in 1839 and had served continuously since.[71]

He had lived to see the early strife, which had rent and nearly dismembered the nation, give way to a decade of comparative peace, only to be revived by a war that again split the nation into the factions of former animosity.

At three score and ten Chief Ross once more took up the task of harmonizing the discordant elements in the nation. That he was an opportunist is doubtless true. In his letter to Hubbard he intimated he saw his duty in the light of "existing circumstances." That he did not see clearly was a fault of the times; few men did. The day before the general meeting, he was asked "if the arrangement was to be a permanent one." He replied:

"We are in the position of a man standing alone upon a low, naked spot of ground, with the water rising rapidly all around him. He sees the danger but does not know what to do. If he remains where he is, his only alternative is to be swept away and perish. The tide carries by him, in its mad course, a drifting log; it, perchance, comes within reach of him. By refusing it he is a doomed man. By seizing hold of it he has a chance for his life. He can but perish in the effort, and may be able to keep his head above water until rescued, or drift where he can help himself."[72]

(To be continued)

[71] An excellent outline of the career of John Ross is given in John Bartlett Meserve's "Chief John Ross," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), XIII (1935), 421-37.

[72] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), 137-38.

INDIAN INTERNATIONAL FAIR

By Ella Robinson

The Indian International Fair Association was organized in Muskogee, Indian Territory, in 1875. Mr. John A. Foreman, one of the town's first citizens, was the first president and Mr. Joshua Ross, a prominent Indian merchant, was the first secretary. These men felt that an enterprise of that kind would be of interest and great benefit to the people of the town and also to those of the surrounding country.

The first fair was held that year under a large tent at the corner of what is now Cherokee and Cincinnati streets. The exhibits consisted of all varieties of farm produce and livestock. In the woman's department could be found an exhibit of preserves, jellies, pickles, cakes, and bread. Needlework of all kinds with a department for children was included.

At the time the association was organized the intentions of the officials was to make it an enterprise for the eastern part of the territory only, but encouraged by the interest manifested in the new venture they decided to make it an international affair and include the western tribes or "Plains Indians." It was then that the location was moved farther east to where the Muskogee General Hospital now stands. A long barn like plank building was erected and the entire grounds, including the race track, was enclosed with a high board fence.

As horse racing had always been a popular amusement among all Indians, that was one of the chief attractions. Race horses were brought from adjoining states and competed with the race horses owned by the Indians. The mile race track located where Spaulding Park now is was always put in perfect condition for the occasion.

The Western or "wild" tribes of Indians came bringing their herds of ponies with them. The tribes represented were: the Sac and Fox, Comanches, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Shawnees, Osages, and the Delawares. The first year they camped on the outside of the enclosure but one night almost all of their ponies were stolen and had to be paid for by the association and that almost bankrupted the treasury.

The Indians brought their own tents and tepees and set them up inside the enclosure as they refused to camp on the outside again. They were a picturesque group with their gaily colored blankets they had woven and their imposing head-dress. The head-dress of the chiefs was made of eagle feathers, but no one

else could wear eagle feathers. Several beeves were always prepared for them, furnished by the association. One beef was slaughtered each morning and divided among them and cooked over their own camp fire. As they all seemed to like their meat rare they never waited until it was well cooked but would eat it with the blood still running out.

The Indians always welcomed visitors to their tepees and it was my delight as a small child in company with my little cousins, the Ross children, to wander among their camps.

After a year or so, a larger, more convenient building was erected on the same location. It was a round two-story structure with four entrances and was called the Dinner Bucket. Large posts supported the upper floor throughout the building. They were always twined with cedar and the entire interior was decorated with red, white and blue bunting and evergreens.

The exhibits were tastefully arranged, the women's department occupying one-quarter of the space. Salesmen from all adjoining states came and displayed their wares. A leading jewelry firm of Fort Smith always had an exhibit with a fine stock to select from.

I think my first great disappointment in life came when at the age of six on my first visit to the fair when I proudly went on a purchasing tour with a whole "quarter" to squander. I selected a ladies' gold watch and went to ask my mother's approval. On learning that the price was fifty dollars and it could not be bought for a quarter, my disappointment knew no bounds and my pleasure for the day was ruined.

Along with the race horses came their trainers and riders and also the crowd that followed the racing. The men always slept near their horses to guard them for fear something would be done to injure them. Often a faithful watch dog was tied in the stall with the horse. The riders were a colorful group when they came out on the track with their brilliant satin shirts with their number on the back in a contrasting color. Betting ran high and thousands of dollars changed hands. A prize was always given to the best woman horseback rider. You could take your choice between the money and a fine side-saddle. Mr. Ross' two daughters, Rosalie and Susie, each were awarded the prize. Mrs. Will Robinson, now living in Muskogee, and I were also winners. I rode my own saddle horse that I had been carefully grooming for weeks past. As I was under the required age and do not know how I came to be accepted in the contest, I tried to look as dignified and sedate as possible. The women of the wild tribes were in a class by themselves as they rode bareback and astride. On one occasion when a woman was awarded

the prize she refused to accept a woman's saddle but took a man's saddle.

One of the most attractive things to me was the silver ornaments the men of the wild tribes wore, particularly the chiefs. Crescents, stars, all kinds of emblems cut from pure silver as thin as a knife blade securely attached to a long cord that fastened to their head-dress of eagle feathers and hung almost to the ground. I do not know where the silver came from, from which their ornaments were made, but the paints they used on their faces and bodies came from the paint rocks in their own reservations.

They adopted the white men's clothes by degrees. I remember of meeting a big six foot Osage Chief after a hard rain one evening. He was clad in a beaded shirt, black broadcloth trousers, a long linen duster, was barefooted, with a gorgeous string of ornaments fastened to his eagle feather head-dress that nearly reached the ground; with his trousers rolled up he splashed through the mud.

Another thing that thrilled me was the big dinner bell that always rang at Buzz Hawkins' eating tent. Buzz Hawkins and his wife were well known prosperous negroes, living four miles west of town. Every year they opened an eating place under large tents. Mrs. Hawkins was a famous cook and you were sure of a splendid turkey dinner every day for twenty-five cents. I always got a good seat as I was a fast runner and wasted no time when the bell began to ring. There were numerous places to eat but none enjoyed the popularity that the Hawkins did.

It was in the early eighties that the first merry-go-round made its appearance at the Fair. It was a funny thing, operated by little mules that went round in a circle. At first the children were afraid to ride but after they found out they would not be killed, it was hard to get them off.

All kinds of skin games and gambling devices were prohibited and the Indian police who were the only officers on duty were constantly on the watch but even then some crept in. No drinking was allowed and the crowd was always peaceable and happy. The gates were opneed at nine o'click in the morning and closed at six p. m. The admission was twenty-five cents for one person and fifty cents for a single rig and one dollar for a double team.

I was always glad when my mother was appointed on the committee to judge an exhibit in the woman's department as we got in free.

The United States flag floated from atop of the main building and could be seen from across the prairie for several miles.

A stomp dance was held each night by the Indians, on the second floor of the main building.

The M. K. & T. Railroad which was the only road through the territory gave reduced rates and visitors from other states were numerous. Distinguished men from Washington, D. C., and officials from the Indian department always came.

There was plenty of music as bands from Denison, Texas; Parsons, Kansas; and several Arkansas towns were there and played all day. The bandstand was near the race track and the horses seemed to be inspired by the music, as well as the people.

The noted Belle Starr and her beautiful young daughter, Pearl Reid, were regular visitors and attracted much attention, partly because of their notoriety and also the way they dressed. Belle always wore a divided skirt, a man's shirt and cartridge belt, and a white felt hat. They were quiet and well behaved and never seemed to make friends with anyone.

As the distance of what is now called five blocks from town to the Fairgrounds was too great to walk, everyone rode. The livery barn operated regular taxi lines to the Fair grounds charging twenty-five cents a trip.

Muskogee had three good hotels: the Mitchell house located where the Katy Station now is; the Strokey Hotel across the street from it; and the Green-house on the corner of Second and Court streets, gave splendid accommodations and were always crowded during Fair week. The Green-house was a large, two-story frame building in a large yard. It was operated by Mrs. Laslie, a shiny black little negro woman whose husband claimed to be part Creek Indian. They took only white guests and no negroes came in sight except the waiters in the dining room.

Everyone living in town expected their relatives to visit them during the Fair and for it and they were never disappointed.

The Fair was held each year the latter part of September, lasting one week. It was the outstanding event of the year and was looked forward to in pleasant anticipation for months. It was in fact, a reunion of friends and relatives that perhaps saw each other at no other time.

As the M. K. & T. was the only railroad, much of the travel was overland driving with buggies and teams.

Mr. Ross gave much of his time and strength to the work of maintaining the association and making the fair a success in every respect. He was deeply interested in every department of it but he particularly wanted the visitors to be pleasantly entertained and given a cordial welcome.

With the passing of the Indian International Fair, one of the most outstanding and colorful features of Indian Territory life disappeared.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO THE CHICKASAW-CHOCTAW AGREEMENT, JANUARY 17, 1837

Edited by Gaston L. Litton[1]

In the summer of 1830 President Jackson met a delegation of chiefs and headmen of the Chickasaw Nation at Franklin, Tennessee; and, after several days' negotiations, a provisional treaty was signed with them which provided for the sale of their ancestral lands in Mississippi and for their removal to the West.[2]

This treaty, though never ratified by the United States Senate, was conditioned upon the Chickasaws being provided a home in the West, on the lands of their old allies and neighbors, the Choctaws. Accordingly, a joint exploring party in the autumn of 1830 was dispatched to the West to negotiate with representatives of the Choctaw Nation. The delegates of the two tribes could not reach an agreement, however; and the project was abandoned for the time and the treaty became void.

The government was impatient to secure the removal of the Chickasaws from their valuable and coveted lands east of the Mississippi, and in 1832 commissioners were again appointed to negotiate with the tribal officials. John Coffee represented the United States in the deliberations which were held at the Chickasaw council house on Pontotoc Creek from September 20 to October 22. The result was the treaty of October 20, 1832, by the terms of which the tribe ceded outright to the United States all its lands. These were to be put on the market and sold as public lands, the proceeds to be held in trust by the government for the Chickasaws.[3] As in the instance of the Cherokee removal treaty of 1835, there was considerable objection among the Chickasaws to the treaty; but tribal officials appearing in Washington to protest against its ratification received scant attention from the government.

To fulfill the objectives of the new treaty an exploring party of Chickasaw chiefs and headmen set out from Tuscumbia in the autumn of 1833 to meet the Choctaws and negotiate with them again

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[1] Mr. Gaston L. Litton is on the staff of The National Archives in Washington, D. C., This paper is presented by him as a tribute to the memory of Douglas H. Johnston, for over forty years the Governor of the Chickasaw Nation.

[2] The story of the attempts of the Chickasaws to find a home in the West has been drawn, in the main, from Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932); and from Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934).

[3] This Treaty is printed in Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), II, 356-362.

for a part of their new lands. A conference was arranged, but again the deliberations were futile; and the Chickasaw party returned home without having accomplished its objective.

A third party was sent west of the Mississippi River in an effort to purchase lands from the Choctaws. The councils were held in November 1835; but the representatives were no more successful in reaching an agreement than they had been two years earlier.[4] It was not until late in the summer of 1836 that another effort was made by the Chickasaws to secure a home among the Choctaws.

In September of that year the Chickasaw chiefs, in general council, memorialized the President of the United States on the subject of their securing a home for themselves in the West.[5] In a restrained and dignified manner they complained of the white intrusion upon their lands following the signing of the later unratified treaty of 1830. They "beheld their people without a home, surrounded by men whose language they can neither speak nor understand; subject to laws of which they are wholly ignorant, degraded, debased, and ruined by strong drink and vicious habits, and pursuits." They stated that a delegation had been appointed in council to make another trip to the West in search of a future residence for their people, and they solicited the friendly aid and influence of the President in their behalf. In looking westward for a new home, they stated that their minds were naturally directed to their "old allies and neighbors, the Choctaws." They wished, however, to have the entire control over the country they purchased, retaining their national character, and having their national affairs in their own hands. This delegation, they concluded, would be ready to set out about the first of November next.

The memorial was submitted to Benjamin Reynolds, their agent, who enclosed it in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

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[4] The Chickasaws, in their search for a home in the West, did not limit their negotiation to the Choctaw tribe. On their western tour of exploration in 1830 several members of the main party made an examination of the Caddo lands south of the Red River; although they appear to have been willing to accept a tract of land in this area, the government did not give approval for its purchase. The following summer, in 1831, the Reverend Isaac McCoy at the direction of the Secretary of War examined the Osage reserve in Kansas and found that the Chickasaws could be accommodated there; the proposal came to naught. In 1833 the Chickasaws themselves were approached by one William K. Hill with a proposition to sell to them four million acres of land belonging to Mexico in what is now the Panhandle of Texas. Again, nothing came of this proposal. Indeed, it seems the negotiations with the Choctaws alone were seriously considered. Dr. Grant Foreman, in a detailed and excellent use of the printed and manuscript sources, traces these several proposals to locate the Chickasaws west of the Mississippi. See the index of his *Indian Removal* for specific references.

[5] This memorial is to be found among the older records of the Office of Indian Affairs, now in The National Archives, Washington, and hereinafter referred to by the abbreviation "OIA." In this instance see OIA, *Chickasaw,* R-24/1837.

in which he urged a prompt and favorable reception of the suggestions of the Chickasaws.[6] "Their distress," he argued, "if they remain here any length of time will be even worse than they are set forth in the memorial."

Early in November the delegation was ready to make the trip West, and credentials were issued by Chickasaw King Ish-te-a-ho-to-pa and his headmen to Major John McLish, Captain James Perry, Major Pitman Colbert, Major James Brown and Captain Isaac Albertson. "You have been commissioned," their instructions read, "to go west of the Mississippi River, in behalf of the Chickasaw Indians, to procure for them a Home. Impressed as you are with the necessity of the speedy removal of the Chickasaws, we doubt not that you will use every honourable exertion to carry out the views of those whom you represent and we would observe that in the purchase of a Tract of country destined for the residence of the Chickasaw Indians, you will in no wise exceed the sum of one Million of dollars, out of the funds arising from the sale of the Chickasaw lands, subject to the approval of the President of the United States." The land was to be "free from all incumbrance or difficulty as to title," and should the delegation fail in its negotiations with the Choctaws the representatives were authorized and empowered to procure a home in "such other part of the Country west of the Mississippi River as they may deem fit and suitable."[7]

The Chickasaws expressed the desire to have "a discreet white person" go with them, and to that place was appointed Henry R. Carter. The Chickasaw delegation departed from the ancestral homes and made its way to the West. The Choctaw Agent west of the Mississippi, William Armstrong, reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on February 3, 1837, the manner in which the meeting was arranged.[8] Commenting upon how widely scattered were the settlements of Choctaws, Agent Reynolds explained, "I saw there was no way to get the Choctaws together, except to propose to the Chief & Captains at the time we paid the annuity here the last of December to make a selection, including the Chief, of some half-dozen Captains; and ascertain the wishes of the Choctaws here, and let those selected be fully authorized to meet the two districts on Red River; and whatever agreement should be made with the Chickasaws would be satisfactory. This arrangement was made; and to get the Chief and those selected to go over, I had to agree to pay their expenses. When we met to pay the annuity at Fort

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[6] Benjamin Reynolds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 7, 1837 in OIA, *Chickasaw*, R-24/1837.

[7] These instructions, which were marked "private," are to be found in OIA, *Chickasaw*, C-199/1837.

[8] William Armstrong to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 3, 1837 in OIA, *Choctaw*, A-127/1837.

Towson, I stated to the two districts assembled what had been done by the other district on Arkansaw and requested them to make a similar selection from each of these districts and let the Choctaws, now together amounting to about three thousand, give them similar authority to meet the Chickasaws; this was done. . .''

The Chickasaw delegation met representatives from the Choctaw tribe, as explained by the agent, at Doakesville near Fort Towson. On January 11th the negotiations were begun that led to the famed Chickasaw-Choctaw Agreement of 1837, by which the former were admitted at last into the domain of the latter. Below is reproduced, exactly as it was written and preserved at that time, the

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE CHICKASAW DELEGATION AND CHOCTAW COMMISSIONERS DURING A NEGOTIATION FOR THE PURCHASE OF A TRACT OF COUNTRY FOR THE CHICKASAW INDIANS TO REMOVE AND SETTLE UPON:[9]

No. 1

To the Chiefs, Captains & Warriors of the Choctaw Nation

Brothers: We have been delegated by our Chiefs & Headmen to visit your country to present to your council the Talk of our Chiefs and head men, to consult with you and to lay before you, in the plain language of truth & honesty, the condition of our people, and if possible to procure from you, our old friends and neighbors, a home or resting place for our destitute and homeless people. We sincerely hope that you will consider well the Talk of our Chiefs & headmen and deliberate maturely on the condition of our people, that they may be saved from the destruction which now seems to await them!

We, therefore, the undersigned Delegation of the Chickasaw tribe of Indians, duly commissioned and empowered by our Chiefs & headmen for that purpose, do propose to procure a District of country of the Choctaw nation by purchase, to be governed by our own laws & regulations

January 11th, 1837 (Signed) Pitman Colbert[10]
J. McLish
James Brown, his *x* mark
James Perry, his *x* mark

Answer to No. 1

To the Chickasaw Delegation

Brothers: Your talk of yesterday to our Chiefs and people has been received and duly considered by the undersigned Commissioners, appointed by the Headmen and people of the Choctaw nation for that purpose; and have to say that perhaps no people on earth is more disposed to sym-

[9] These deliberations, which appear to have been carried on in the main through formal correspondence between the delegates and representatives of the tribes, were perhaps copied from the originals by William Armstrong who transmitted them to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on January 27, 1837. (See OIA, *Choctaw*, A-114 1837). An effort has been made to reproduce this correspondence faithfully. Editorial changes have consisted merely in the correction of the spelling of some of the proper names.

[10] These delegates, and the Choctaw representatives whom they met, were the outstanding men of their tribes. There is a paucity of biographical material on them; but an exhaustive use of the indexes of the previously-cited studies by Debo and Foreman will yield considerable information.

pathise with a distressed and homeless people than ourselves; and more particularly the condition of our brothers the Chickasaws, with whom we are united together by every tie of friendship that binds one people to another. But we regret that we cannot in no shape or form accede to your proposition to obtain of our people a home or resting place by purchase.

We are your friends & brothers.

Doaksville (Signed)

Jany 12th 1837

P. P. Pitchlynn
G. W. Harkins
Israel Folsom
R. M. Jones
John McKinney
Eyach-a-ho-pia
Geo. Pusley

No. 2

To the Chiefs, Captains, & Warriors of the Choctaw Nation

Brothers: As you are opposed to ceding a portion of your country to the Chickasaws, to be governed by their own laws and regulations; and being desirous & duly impressed with the necessity of procuring a permanent home for our own people; and being anxious that they should continue to be your friends & neighbors; We the undersigned Commissioners on the part of the Chickasaw tribe of Indians, do propose to obtain of the Choctaw Nation the *privilege of forming a District within the limits of their country*, to be called the Chickasaw district of the Choctaw nation; to be placed on an equal footing with the other districts of said nation; and its citizens to be subject to all the burthen & duties & entitled to all the rights & privileges of a Choctaw, with the exception of participating in the Choctaw annuity & the consideration which may be given for these rights & privileges, but reserving to the Chickasaws the right and privilege of controuling the residue of their funds & of electing such officers for that purpose as they may think proper.

Jany 12th 1837

J. McLish
Pitman Colbert &c.&c.

Answer to No. 2

To the Chickasaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your last proposition to us yesterday, requesting the privilege to be admitted into our country as one of the Districts of our nation, has been duly considered by the undersigned Commissioners on the part of the Choctaw nation. We are truly sorry to have to make an arrangement with any people to set apart a portion of our country for any purpose. The subject is one which calls to memory past events which almost makes our hearts bleed. But as your situation is one which demands the sympathy of our world, especially that of the Red Men, we have concluded to accede to your proposition provided we can agree on the terms. It may seem proper and right for us first to state the terms upon which we will admit you into our country; but as we are not anxious to set apart a portion of our country, and we consider the subject quite a different one from the ordinary course of transacting business of trade and barter, we respectfully and frankly ask you the question: What are you willing to give our people for the privilege which you ask.

Jany 13th 1837 (Signed R. M. Jones
Israel Folsom
Geo. W. Harkins
P. P. Pitchlynn
Silas D. Fisher &c. &c.

No. 3

To the Choctaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your answer to our Second proposition has been received & duly considered; and we deem it essential to our arrival at a conclusion as to the amount of the consideration to be paid for the privileges embrased therein, to ascertain what part of your country you would be willing to assign to our people.

We are your friends & brothers.

Doaksville
Jany 13th 1837

J. McLish
Pitman Colbert &c. &c.

Answer to No. 3

To the Chickasaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your communication to us yesterday requesting to know [what] portion of our country we could assign your people, as a District, previous to your arriving at a conclusion what would be a proper consideration for that privilege, has had due deliberation; and we have agreed in behalf of our people, to assign your people the following District of country, forming the fourth District in our nation, provided your terms will suit our views, viz:

1st Beginning on the North bank of Red River, at the mouth of Island Bayou about 8 or 10 miles below the mouth of False Wachita, thence running North along the main channel of said Bayou to its source; thence to the road leading from Fort Gibson to False Wachita; thence along said road to the line dividing Mushulatubbee from Pushmataha, thence eastwardly along said District line, to the source of Brushy Creek; thence down said Creek to where it flows into the Canadian river, 10 or 12 miles above the mouth of Gaines Creek or South Fork, thence West along the Canadian Fork to its source, if in the limits of the United States; or to those limits, thence due South to Red River; and down Red River to the beginning.

Doaksville
January 14th 1837

R. M. Jones
P. P. Pitchlynn
Silas D. Fisher
Israel Folsom &c. &c.

No. 4

To the Choctaw Commissioners

Brothers: After mature consideration on the District of country embraced in your communication of today, which you are willing to assign to our people as a future home, we regret exceedingly to say from *our own* knowledge & the information derived from others, we are convinced that that district of country would not be *acceptable* to our *people, suited to their wants* or *adapted* to their *improvement.* It is the first wish of our hearts that our people may be settled in a district where a system of improvement may be practised, where they may be easily prevailed on to abandon the precarious mode of subsisting by hunting, so prejudicial to civilization; and inducements held out to follow agricultural pursuits; and become generally enlightened. We had earnestly hoped that our Brothers would have assignd us a country where these views might have been carried out *successfully,* in the benefits of which, according to the terms of our second proposition, our brothers would not have been debarred from participating, and to effect which purpose we *reserved* to the Chickasaws the controul of a part of their funds. From the great and numerous disadvantages of those who will reside in it, as to render any attempt to

enlighten or improve our people, *entirely hopeless.* We therefore *earnestly pray* you, as that country which you express a willingness to set apart as a District for our people, cannot answer any of our conttemplated purposes of improvement & civilization from the general *sterility* of the soil, the numerous and extensive *prairies* with which it abounds, the consequent great scarcity of timber, besides many other *serious* disadvantages, so to *change its boundaries* as to include the lands between the South Fork of the Canadian; the Canadian, the Arkansas from below the mouth of the Canadian; and the creek which empties into the Arkansas at Pheasant Bluff; or some other lands which would enable us to effect the object so much desired & so essential to the preservation and future welfare of the Red Man.

We duly appreciate the frankness and candour with which our brothers have conducted themselves in this matter, and assure them that the same spirit shall characterise the negotiation on our part.

We are your friend & brothers.

Doaksville
January 14, 1837

J. McLish
Pitman Colbert, &c. &c.

Answer to No. 4

To the Chickasaw Commissioners

Friends & brothers: Your answer of this date, to our propositions bounding a district of country for our Chickasaw brothers, has been received. We regret that you have felt yourselves compelled to decline acceding to the proposal we have made you. We say to you with candour & honesty that we wish to see you provided for but we have a solemn duty to perform to our own people; and in laying out a district for you, we have offered you a favorite section of country, with the privilege of settling in any part of the Choctaw Nation, upon terms of reciprocity with our own people. We therefore after mature deliberation must say to you that we can negotiate no further.

Your friends & brothers.

Doaksville, C. N.
Jany 14th 1837

R. M. Jones
P. P. Pitchlynn
Silas D. Fisher
Israel Folsom
John McKinney
Geo. W. Harkins
Eyach-a-ho-pia
Geo. Pusley &c. &c.

No. 5

To the Choctaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your communication of this evening has been received, and we most heartily regret that you can negotiate no further.

Brothers: Be assured that your brethren meant not the least disrespect, or to give the least offence.

Brothers: Be pleased to remember that we are acting in the very *delicate character* of *representatives, like yourselves;* that we felt it *our duty* as *representatives* to say what we did in our last communication, and pray of you to look upon it in *that light.*

Brothers: We were *misinformed* as to the country which you were willing to assign us as a District for our people, and *regret* the *haste* with which we came to a conclusion respecting it, and are now *willing* to *accept* the *District you are willing to set apart for us.*

Brothers: We must earnestly ask you in the name of your *old friends & allies* to *negotiate further* with us on this subject, that our *homeless and dcstitute people* may *have a spot*, where they can rest & *continue* to be *your friends & neighbors.*

We are your friends & brothers.

Doaksville
Jany 14th 1837

J. McLish
Pitman Colbert
James Brown
James Perry

Answer to No. 5

To the Chickasaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your last communication last evening is before us; and as your explanation therein contained seems to be a reasonable one, and which has in some measure reconciled the feelings of our Chiefs and Commissioners in behalf of our people, we have to say to you again, we are willing to hear any proposition or offer you may think proper to make us. When we heard of the distresses of our old friends and brothers, the Chickasaws, we felt for their condition; and were disposed in a plain & frank manner to state to you what we were willing to do—for them—and we regret that an impression on our part was formed that our brothers, the Chickasaw Commissioners, were trifling with our liberal offer. We therefore hope our correspondence in future will be carried on in the frank & candid manner usual among Red men.

We are your friends & brothers.

Doaksville, C. N.
Jany 15th 1837

R. M. Jones
P. P. Pitchlynn
Geo. W. Harkins
Israel Folsom
John McKinney
Geo. Pusley &c. &c.

No. 6

To the Choctaw Commissioners

Brothers: In common with yourselves, it is with the most heartfelt sorrow that there should have grown out of our correspondence the least misunderstanding or unpleasant feelings on the part of our brothers; for we *do most solemnly* assure them that there was not the slightest intention of trifling with your liberal offer to our people; of *disrespect* to *yourselves* as *individuals* or as representatives.

Brothers: It is with more than ordinary pleasure, we learn that the feelings of yourselves & your Chiefs have become reconciled; and feel our depressed spirits revived at your willingness to hear propositions from us to obtain a Home for our distressed & homeless people, who we candidly acknowledge are *dependent on their Brothcrs* to provide for them a resting place; and we rejoice at the renewed good feelings of friendship, which we hope will always exist between us and our old friends & neighbors.

Brothers: With yourselves, we feel the necessity of conducting our future correspondence in the frank & candid manner usual among Red men, which shall be truly observed on our part, and we can bear testimony has pervaded that of our brothers.

Brothers: We therefore accept the district of country as a future home for our people, which our brothers tendered us on yesterday; and as you have been liberal and candid with us, we will be so to our brothers. We accordingly propose in behalf of the Chief & Headmen of the Chicka-

saw tribe of Indians, to give as a consideration to our brothers the Choctaws, for the privileges mentioned in our second proposition the sum of Five Hundred thousand dollars—the mode and terms of payment, we leave entirely to the choice of our Brothers.

Brothers: We earnestly hope you will consider this proposition *liberal* and if it be desired by you, we will state *orally* or in writing the many contingent expenses attending the sales of our public lands, a decision of the President of the United States, respecting the boundary of our country east of the Mississippi; and many other causes by which our funds have been greatly diminished.

We are your friends & brothers.

Doaksville
Jany 15th 1837

J. McLish
James Perry
Pitman Colbert
James Brown

No. 7

To the Chickasaw Commissioners

Brothers: Previous to our giving you an answer to the offer which you have made us for a home in our country, we respectfully request that our brothers give us a statement of their funds arising from the sale of their country or the amount they expect to have after their contingent expenses &c are deducted.

We are your Brothers &c.

January 15th 1837

R. M. Jones
P. P. Pitchlynn
Geo. W. Harkins &c. &c.

Answer to No. 7

To the Choctaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your communication of this morning has been received and after reflecting on the inquiry therein made, from the best information we have been enabled to obtain, we would suppose that the probable amount of the monies arising from the sale of our public lands, after deducting every expense, except that of removing our people from their present country, will not exceed eight or nine hundred thousand dollars; and deducting the Five hundred thousand which [we] have proposed to give our Brothers for the privileges mentioned in our second proposition, will leave a balance of three or four hundred thousand dollars. But from the necessity of the case, we are not able to form anything like a correct idea on this subject. We will state candidly the circumstances which put it out of our power to say anything like certainity about this matter. The immense number of reservations (the number not known to us) to which individual claimants were entitled under our treaty with the United States, had generally to be located before the sale commenced; which as they were sold to speculating whitemen, were located on the best lands in the nation, a considerable number (unknown to us how many) are still unlocated, a few of which individuals are now residents of your country. By a late decision of the President of the U. S. we lost the best part of our country of about 22 miles bare on the Mississippi and one hundred and two miles in length. We have two agents—one certifying, and the other an approving Agent & five Commrs; one of the Agents with a salary (the amount unknown to us) paid out of our funds, but the expenses of both are paid out of the same; a clerk to each agent with salaries; the Genl Surveyor & Chain carriers &c &c, with salaries; the expenses of the different delegations & the expenses of removing &c &c, of which [we]

can form but a very imperfect idea; and the combination of speculators at the public sales, to put down competition, which prevents lands however good from selling for more than a dollar and a quarter per acre. The immense deal of lands in our country, which from their quality can never be sold, our ignorance as to the extent of country included in its boundaries. There are no doubt many contingent expenses, which we are unable to specify, and some of which we cannot at present recollect.

Doaksville J. McLish
Jany 15th 1837 Pitman Colbert &c. &c.

No. 8

To the Chickasaw Commissioners

Brothers: Your last verbal proposition received through our Agent Capt Armstrong, giving an addition of thirty thousand dollars to the Five hundred thousand in your former proposition, has been received; and we are ready now to make it with the second communication received, a basis of an agreement between the Chickasaws and Choctaws. We have had many conflicting difficulties to encounter; and now that every obstacle is removed we assure you that we desire to receive you cordially as friends and brothers. We are satisfied our people cheerfully acquiese in what we have done; and as their representatives we have felt bound to protect their rights and interests. We hope you will appoint a Committee to meet one of ours in the morning to draw up the articles of agreement between us.

We are your friends & brothers.

Doaksville J. McLish
Jany 16th 1837 Pitman Colbert &c. &c

The Commissioners, meeting in joint session the following day, framed an agreement which was signed by them in the presence of their respective agents.[11] The conductor of the Chickasaw delegation, Henry R. Carter, later delivered the original agreement to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

By the terms of this agreement at Doaksville the Chickasaws were given the privilege of forming within the Choctaw country a "Chickasaw District of the Choctaw Nation."[12] This district, the boundaries of which were inexactly defined, was to be held by the Chickasaws on the same terms with the Choctaws. The Chickasaws were to enjoy equal representation in the Choctaw general council; indeed, their district was to be placed on "an equal footing in every other respect with any of the other districts" of the Choctaw Nation. Conversely, the Chickasaws were subject to the Choctaw laws. The finances of the two tribes, however, were to be kept separate. As

[11] Agent Reynolds, reporting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on February 5, 1837, stated: "From the careful examination of the articles of agreement and from a personal knowledge of the district (actual examination which I made in the year 1830 & 1831) I have no hesitation in saying that the Chickasaw delegation has made an advantageous arrangement for a new home and one that will give general satisfaction." See OIA, *Chickasaw*, C-199/1837.

[12] This agreement is printed in full in Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 486-488; in the *Statutes at Large*, and elsewhere. Since the treaty is generally available it has not been thought necessary to reproduce it here.

a consideration for these rights and privileges the Chickasaws agreed to pay to the Choctaws the sum of $530,000.[13]

Upon the signing of this agreement the Chickasaw delegates returned to Pontotoc, their capital. There in general council with King Ish-te-ho-to-pa, the venerable Tishomingo, and other chiefs and headmen of the Chickasaw Nation, the delegates reported on their negotiations with the Choctaws. In a memorial to the President of the United States, the Chickasaws in council on February 17 stated that they were "pleased with the prospect of obtaining among their old friends and allies the Choctaws a new, and as they hope, a permanent home for their people, now almost destitute and houseless."[14] They stated that as soon as arrangements could be made, probably by the first of the following May, a considerable portion of their people would be ready to emigrate to the new lands. They expressed the hope that the Great Father would lend them his aid to procure their speedy removal.[15] Efforts were made by the government to hasten the removal of the Chickasaws; and, within a few months, the Nation was on the march westward to its newly-chosen home among the Choctaws.

Under the arrangement agreed to by representatives of the two tribes meeting at Doaksville in January 1837, the Chickasaws and Choctaws lived until 1855. By that time the two tribes had become sufficiently oriented in their new lands west of the Mississippi to want to live as separate autonomous nations. Their relations during this eighteen-year period at times were unharmonious, as might have been expected. But the Doaksville agreement of 1837 served satisfactorily to stabilize the affairs of these two proud peoples at a time when they were weak from the demoralizing influence of the removal from their ancestral lands east of the Mississippi.

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[13] Attention should be called to the interpretation of this agreement and other intertribal events by Muriel H. Wright and Peter J. Hudson in "Brief Outline of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw Nations in the Indian Territory, 1820 to 1860," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December 1929), VII, 388-418.

[14] This memorial is in OIA, *Chickasaw*, C-222/1837.

[15] Approval and ratification of the Chickasaw-Choctaw convention was not delayed. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in a letter to Henry R. Carter on March 3, 1837, wrote that the agreement "which you brought with you to this city on the 21 ultimo, has been submitted to the President and Senate, and received their sanction. . . I trust they [the Chickasaws and the Choctaws] will find, in the more intimate association they have thus formed, all the benefits they have a right to expect from the salutary character of the articles of the convention." See OIA, *Letterbook No.* 21, 130-131.

DIARY OF A MISSIONARY TO THE CHOCTAWS
1860-1861

Edited by Anna Lewis

Miss Sue L. McBeth was teaching school at Fairfield, Iowa. When the invitation came for her to join the missionaries, working among the Choctaws, she felt that the invitation was a command and very soon started for her new field of work. Her background and training well fitted her for the new task. She was the daughter of Scotoch Presbyterian pioneers, in Ohio, a graduate of Steubenville Female Seminary, and was intensely interested in missionary work. All her life she had hoped to be a missionary to the Indians. When the call came she immediately started to prepare for the journey into the West. After many suggestions from her friend she decided not to attempt the journey by the stage coach route as she had first planned, but traveled by rail and boat as this was a safer way for a young missionary to travel in 1860.

She arrived in the Indian Territory in the early Spring of 1860; she had traveled by rail to St. Louis, then down the Mississippi to the Arkansas, then on to Fort Smith. From there she traveled over the old military road to Goodwater, her destination. She remained at Goodwater until the fall of 1861, then she says that the Christian Choctaws guarded her out of the Indian Territory when Texas ruffians were more to be dreaded than wild Indians.

During the Civil War she worked as a nurse at Jefferson barracks and in the hospitals of St. Louis. In 1873 she went out to the Nez Perce and for twenty years was a missionary to them. During her long stay with the Nez Perce, she studied their language; she was at the time of her death, writing a Nez Perce dictionary and grammar. Her work is now in the Smithsonian Institution.

She was always interested in Indians, in their language and their lore. While she was in the Choctaw mission work she started to collect material to write a history of the work of these missionaries. At her death, all this material was given to a friend, who she hoped would finish the task and write this history. For some reason the book was never finished and the material was lost. These scattered leaves, from her diary, are all that have been saved and they tell a very interesting side of the work of the missionaries among the Choctaws. It is too bad the rest of her writings have been lost. The diary is as follows:

Goodwater[1]

April 17th, 1860. Commenced my labors in the school room today. The scholars have been accustomed to read a verse in the Bible in turn, in the opening exercises, and the teacher follows with prayer. But our lesson for today was the last chapter of Rev. and I talked to them about it, and questioned them for a little time before prayer, and they appeared to enjoy it so much that I think we will take that method in the future, if God pleases. It takes more time it is true, but the main object of these missions is work among souls. Intellectual culture, and care for the body are only accompaniments and subordinate.

I studied more than I taught today; studied while teaching. These Indian girls are a new book to me. The index is all that is open to me, as yet, and I tried to glean from it something of the subject matter of the pages.

Many of my girls are as large, or larger than myself. The majority are full Choctaws, but there are a number of half breeds, as fair as Europeans. Two of these, Judith and Melinda, are quite pretty, and have large black eyes with a peculiarity about them seen only in mixed races; at least, no pure race that I have ever seen possessed it. It is a peculiar soft, bewildering, brilliancy that gives something of the impression of cross eyes, and yet their eyes are perfectly straight. When they lifted them from their books, as I looked into their faces, I could scarcely tell if they were looking at me or not.

One girl, Lottie, drew my eyes to her often. She is of such a different type from any I have yet seen. She is a full Indian—Choctaw, it is said, but I think that some of her ancestors must have drifted down from one of the New England tribes into the Chohta family, and, as is sometimes the case, the features of that ancestor is reproduced in her. Lottie has inherited more than the features of some of those braves. I fear I read in her face a strong, stubborn will, with which I hope I may never come into conflict. A strong, deep nature under stoical exterior. She does not appear to be popular either with the girls or the missionaries; and yet, I cannot tell why, she interests me much. Clara Folsom, another of the largest girls, I call 'my Indian princess.' Col. David Folsom, a half brother of Clara's father, was a Miko, or king, in the old Choctaw country and the Folsoms are still one of the leading families in the Nation. Clara realized my childhood's ideal of a chief's daughter of the olden time, as I watched her at recess moving around through the yard, in a plain calico dress, and yet with the movements and air and regal grace of a queen.

I remarked to Mrs. Jones one day that some of the girls who sat at a table with a missionary who is a brunette, were quite as fair as the teacher, although they were full Choctaws. She tells me that change of food and habits and absence of exposure does make a change in the color of the Indians sometimes. She has noticed the difference which even a few years will make.

The father of one of my girls, a native preacher, is here tonight; quite a Rev'd. looking man. How I wish I could speak Choctaw. It would give me so much greater opportunity for doing good. But my sphere now, I'm thinking, is quite as large as my strength.

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[1] Goodwater, called in the Choctaw language "Oka Chukmo" was founded by Cyrus Byington. It was located near the mouth of the Kametah river. There is standing one of the buildings today. Goodwater was a boarding school.

Lottie has not been feeling right for some time, and today I was compelled to seat her beside me on the platform to remain there, without her recess until she tells me "I am good." Only three little words, yet when will her proud spirit, and strong, stubborn will be subdued enough to let her speak them.

I have a very pleasant school usually, with no more trouble at least, if as much as I should probably have with the same number of white children, and I think I could not be among those I loved more dearly. Some of the older girls are a real comfort and help to me, and the little ones are docile and affectionate. But, human nature is the same everywhere, and it will show itself at times even in the Indian country.

The muslin papering of my room is drawn tightly over the walls leaving spaces behind it, between the logs, where any insect or reptile which fancies doing so can find a home. Some of the widths are only tacked together, affording places of easy degrees. I have killed several scorpions in my room already. Last night my candle went out just as I had knocked one from the wall to the floor, and as I stood in the darkness, afraid to move, I felt the reptile run over my dress across my shoulder and down to the floor on the other side. Perhaps it was as much frightened as I was. Scorpions run very swiftly and, I am told, only sting when they touch flesh. They are about two inches in length and in form very much resemble a lobster. The poison is in their jointed tail, at the end of which is a small, curved sharp pointed sting similar to the prickle of a buckthorn tree; the curve being downwards. They uncurl the tail in striking a blow, and drive the sting into the flesh with great force.

Lizards swarm around here too, I killed one the other morning as it was mounting the steps of the porch. The girls killed a ferocious looking reptile, a little distance from my door one day. They called it a "red head scorpion," but its body looked much more like that of a lizard. Miss E.(ddy) killed one like it in my room las summer, I am told. I begin to understand the reason for the tester over my bed; for the only ceiling is the floor of the garret, with crevices between the boards in some places large enough to permit such visitors to drop through.

My first acquaintance with a 'tick' was finding one so deeply embedded in my arm one morning that it required some force to draw it out. Mr. Jones killed a small centipede in the mission house yard one day. I saw it after it was dead.

All these things were new to my experience. I had never even lived in the country or alone before, and at first I suffered with fear. I was ashamed to acknowledge myself such a coward, and the others were so much braver or had forgotten their first fears. So, I came down to my isolated cabin without a word. I was very brave in the day time, but when the shadows began to creep among the thick trees around my lonely little house, I could not keep them from stealing into my heart too. I slept so little that it was beginning to tell on my strength. Mrs. Jones, kind thoughtful friend noticed it, and I confessed the truth. She sent one of her largest girls to sleep in my room, and little Rosa pleaded to come too, Rosa came in a few minutes ago, and I undressed her and heard her repeat her little prayer, and she and Miscie, are now sleeping on a pallet on the floor beside me.

My room has two windows; one, facing the school house, the other the church. It is papered with white muslin sewed or tacked together, and stretched from the ceiling to the floor, over the logs. The muslin is newly whitewashed, as are the rafters and the boards of my ceiling. My bedstead is home made, or of Indian make. My toilet table is a

dry goods box set on end, with some shelves inside, and curtained with chintz. The side table, ditto. A large open fire place, a carpet, a home made lounge, a low rocking chair, the seat covered with cow skin with the hair still upon it, and a little square looking glass, a basin, pitcher, etc. completes the furniture of my room.

The mission family consists of Mr. Ainslie, his wife and three children. Mr. Theodore Jones, the missionary farmer, his wife and two children, Miss D.(ounner), Miss I.[2]( ), and Miss E.(ddy), and forty five Indian girls, making, with the two women in the kitchen, a family of sixty persons. Besides these, there are a number of day scholars, from families living in the neighborhood.

This is like Wapanucka, a boarding school for girls. For nine months of the year, the pupils are wholly under the care of the missionaries, except that their parents provide them with clothing. Three of the warmest months they spend in their own homes. They are of all ages, from six or seven to twenty years, but no two from the same family are usually here at the same time. In this way a greater number of families can be reached and more good done.

As at Wapanucka, they are taught in English. They are not permitted to talk to each other in Choctaw. Those who have been here for some years speak English very well, although the majority of the full Choctaws in the Nations understand only their own language. The half breeds usually speak English when they come to us, but when a full Choctaw is admitted one of the pupils acts as interpreter for her for a little time. As soon as possible she must learn to communicate her wants in English. This takes away one difficulty of the Eastern missions; missionaries here do not need to learn the language first, but can begin their work at once.

Miss. E.(ddy) has entire charge of fifteen of the youngest girls, and latest comers, in her own log cabin. She has her own school room where she teaches them to read, etc. Out of school she teaches them to sing, sew, knit, etc.

My work is to teach thirty of the largest girls and most advanced pupils in the school room, Sabbath school with them on Sabbath afternoons, prayer meeting with them during the week. Out of school others teach them to sing, sew, knit, do fancy work, of which they are very fond; to cook, wash, and do all manner of household work which may be of use to them in the future.

The course of instruction in these schools, as far as it goes, is intended to be thorough, while due attention to the Christian religion holds its proper place in the exercises of each day. It is the wish and aim of the missionaries to give each pupil such an education as

April 20 The secenery around Goodwater is very dull and uninteresting. Mostly thin forest, of not very heavy growth, composed chiefly of the varieties of oak common to this region. The girls are not permitted to go outside of the enclosure by themselves, but are taken out to walk frequently by some of the laides.

Today we took the whole school a long ramble through the forest. Miss H.(otchkin) and myself on horseback, the girls walking. We took them along the road to the old fields, and from there to the 'witch basin', a long distance from here. The basin is formed by the widening of a small stream or 'branch', as it is termed in the Nation. The overhanging rocks and thick trees and underwood give the pool a dark, gloomy appearance, which perhaps suggested the name. The Choctaws formerly

[2]No other reference is made to this missionery other than just Miss I.

believed in witchcraft. When a person wasted away and died, it was supposed to be from the effects of 'witch arrows', or 'witch shot', and a conjuror was consulted who professed to be able to point out the witch. This belief caused many innocent persons to be put to death. But, except with the very ignorant, these superstitions have almost disappeared.

I took the youngest of our flock, Rosa, a little orphan half breed, on my lap shortly after we started, much to her delight. Before we reached the basin, Selina, another little one showed signs of weariness and one of the larger girls placed her behind me on the horse. I soon found that I need not have the least fear of their falling off. Riding is almost an instinct with these children; they are accustomed to it so early. It was a delightful day, and the girls enjoyed the walk, and so did I. It was such a novelty to watch them, the older girls walking sedately beside us or making short detours through the woods in quest of berries; the little ones running here and there, peeping out through the bushes at us as they searched for flowers or fruit; taking care not to go out of the sound of the little bell Miss H.(otchkin) carried. They found few strawberries, however. One of my girls came up and shared her little handful with me, as I came to my room. I have a very pleasant school so far. Pleasant for them, I think; pleasant for me in their good behavior.

Little Elsie's mother and two sisters came to visit her tonight. I went down into the yard to speak to the little one, the prettiest Indian child I have yet seen with large soft black eyes. But "huh" with her mouth shut, was all she could say, for she could not understand me. Rosa was displaying her treasures to her and carrying on a conversation through one of the little Choctaw girls who was acting as interpreter. For Rosa speaks English only.

I brought a letter with me from the Rev. Joseph Kerr, one of the first missionaries among the Weas, to his old friend, the Rev. Cyrus Byington at the Stockbridge.[3]

April Attended preaching in the little church in the forest yesterday. The Indian girls in their neat calico dresses and sunbonnets, walked two and two beside their teacher; while the groups of Indians were standing around the church door watching us as we came up, was to me a novel sight.

There was a very good congregation present; mostly full of Choctaws; although I noticed one white man, Mr. Oakes, who lives near us and his wife, a half breed nearly white.

We have Choctaw hymn books which the majority of the people can read. Mr. A.(inslie) gave out and read a hymn which the congregation sang harmoniously. They have full, sweet voices, and appear to enjoy singing very much. One great inducement for the adult Choctaws to learn to read was that they might be able to sing their hymns.

After a short prayer, and reading a chapter, Mr. A.(inslie) called on a native Choctaw to pray. Of course I could not understand a word of the prayer, but the reverent, and earnest tones seemed to come from the heart.

Mr. A.(inslie) preached in English and as the majority of the congregation understand little or nothing of that language, Mr. Yale, the father of one of my girls, acts as interpreter. In preaching Mr. A.(inslie)

[3] Stockbridge Mission was established by the Rev. Cyrus Byington, in 1836. The name Stockbridge was given to this school because Byington was born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. This was a girls' school known as Iyanvbbi Female Seminary.—"Recollections of Peter Hudson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma, X* (1932), 504.

would speak a sentence or two in English and then pause while Mr. Y.(ale) who stood beside him on the platform, repeated his words in Choctaw; then he in turn would wait for another English sentence. So that we had the same sermon in two languages. Mr. Y.(ale) appeared to translate very readily, and the congregation was very quiet and attentive.

The church here is one of the smallest in the Nation; numbers only about forty communicants outside of the school. But Mr. A.'s(inslie) field of labor is quite an extensive one. Taking Goodwater as a centre, a radius of six miles would include what properly belongs to his parish. Beside this he has a preaching place near Red River on Sabbath afternoons, while the Choctaws hold a prayer meeting on Sabbath P. M. over in the church.

An Indian came up and shook hands warmly with me in the aisle as we were coming out yesterday. "That is Moses Fletcher, one of our elders, and one of the best men." said Miss I.( ) when he had gone.

"I have to be physician too, you see," said Mr. A.(inslie) as I came on the mission house porch after church and found him preparing medicine for an old man who was sitting there. Mr. Yale, who lives near Goodland, only comes to church and returns immediately. A black man was acting as interpreter; describing the symptoms of the patient to Mr. A.(inslie), and conveying the prescription to the Indian.

A knowledge of medicine is indispensible to the superintendent of a mission station, as he is usually the only physician, not only for the family, but for his congregation.

Mr. A.'s(inslie) own little babe has not been well for some time and is still no better.

Two Choctaw women were sitting on the mission house porch as I went up to supper tonight. They had brought baskets to sell. I stopped to shake hands and say (how do you do?) and when I came back they were gone. Baby Bella is still very ill. I do not think she can recover.

April 30 Little Bella Ainslie died yesterday. It is the first death in the family, and the parents feel it keenly, though bear it like Christians. I do not think that Mrs. A.(inslie) will long survive her babe unless she has speedy relief. Her health has been failing for a year. Her lungs are evidently affected very much. We buried baby Bella today in the grave yard by the church. Two missionaries and a little band of Indian children sleep beside her until the resurrection. Shall I sleep with them, too?

May 9, 1860 We had communion last Sabbath—"big meetin'" the Indians call it, and on Saturday afternoon the Indians are trooping in to be ready for it. My heart sank as I saw them coming and thought of my lonely house, but Rev. Stark has arrived to assist Rev. Ainslie, and he will occupy the other room (in my cabin.) Four men in their gay hunting shirts, and one of them barefooted, and Annie's mother came on the porch as I came out from supper, and three horsemen passed along the road just now. Miss A.(rms) keeps watching our girls in the yard for all sorts generally come to these meetings—come from a great distance some of them. (Good water was a boarding school mission. We had 45 Indian girls, 9 months of the year like Wapanucka.) Parents who have children here take this time to visit them, brothers to see their sisters, etc. The strange dogs are making music among the campers over by the church. I suppose most of the men will camp out in the woods around. The women we will have to accommodate in the Mission.

The "big meetin'" is over and the Indians are returning home again as they came. There must have been several hundred persons in the

church and around it today. A motly assembly—men women and children all dressed in their gayest clothes—such brilliant colors. The men with calico hunting shirts trimmed with fringe and rosettes, and two or three different colors of ribbons on their hats. The women with bright bandannas or sunbonnets and walking many miles perhaps with their allunsi (babies) in their arms or bound upon their backs with a shawl. As we went to church as far as the eye could reach through the woods were groups of people, horses and wagons, and an Indian sounded a cow horn from the church door to call together the worshippers. At the close of the morning service Reverend A.(inslie) announced that the friends of the young woman who had been baptized and united with the church at the last communion, and had since then died, wished to perform their cry over her, and would proceed to the grave yard for that purpose as soon as the benediction was pronounced. Mr. A.(inslie), Mr. L.( ) and myself followed them and found 5 or 6 women seated on the ground around the grave with their shawls or handkerchiefs drawn over their heads, and their heads bowed on their knees, and one or two men standing near, weeping and wailing. I was forcibly reminded of "Jairus' daughter", and indeed this seems to be a relict of the old Jewish custom of mourning for the dead. Wherever they have received it, whether, as some say, they are themselves the remains of the ten lost tribes, or they have received it by tradition in some other way. They do not have services at the funeral, but celebrate the 'cry' at the grave about six weeks afterwards. The mourners usually have a white sheet thrown over their heads and the note of mourning at the funeral and at the "cry" is different. At the first it is a succession of short moans, 'oh my sister' (or brother) etc. At the 'cry' it is like the plaintive mourning of the dove. I waited until after the hymn was sung and then, seeing the mourners rising, came away. The missionaries do not forbid the custom, or encourage it, and it is gradually dying away.

I feared as I went to church that the novelty of the scene would distract my thoughts, and indeed it did a little, but I have enjoyed today very much, particularly the afternoon feast. What a cheering sight to see these so lately heathen celebrating the dying love of a saviour so long unknown. Mr. Stark and Mr. Ainslie preached in English. Mr. Yale (an Indian) interpreted. For neither of the missionaries understand Choctaw well enough to preach in it, and few of the Indians here understand much English. The closing hymn in Choctaw was sung to a most beautiful tune, one I have never heard. I could understand nothing of the words, but the sweet refrain 'Ho Minti' (Oh Come). Father Byington's initials are at the bottom of it. It is his composition or translation. No one can tell me anything of the origin of the tune. Whether it is of English or Indian composition, it is certainly one of the sweetest and most melodious I have ever heard, and I noticed tears on some of the dark faces around me while they were singing it. They tell me that that hymn always appears to move the Choctaws more than any other. Perhaps because it is a hymn of invitation speaking of the dying love of Jesus, and partly perhaps because of the power of its melody.

After he had read the hymn, Mr. A.(inslie) invited any who wished the prayers of the church to come forward while we were singing. The missionaries are accustomed to extend such invitations at Communion seasons. Their congregations are usually scattered over a large tract of country, and the pastors generally have the care of schools besides attending to their pastoral duties. They cannot well discover what is passing in the hearts of many of their hearers without some such expedient, although perhaps in different situations it may not be necessary. Here, inquirers simply come forward to show that they are seeking an interest in Christ, and pastor or elders visit them afterwards, and converse with, or instruct them. The elders are earnest, and valuable

helpers to the pastors in this work among the people. Two young men came up on Sabbath, shook hands with the ministers, seated themselves on the front seat, and a Choctaw prayed.

I wish I could speak the Choctaw language. I do not need it in my daily duties, but I would like to talk with the natives who come to the mission. At present my intercourse with them is limited to a cordial shaking of hands, and "Chi Chukma?" (Are you well?)

Mr. Ainslie tells me that the original Choctaw salutation was "Kota Mish minti ho?" (Where do you come from?, recalling the "Where do you hail from?" of the southern states, or "Kota mish ia ho?" (Where are you going?) These salutations were in harmony with their former roaming habits, and are still common. "Iti-bapi-shi li ma" (I am your brother.) is the most beautiful of their salutations, and is plainly original. "Chi Chukma?" (or "Chin Chukma?") is the greeting most used by the missionaries and may have been introduced by them.

May 25 Three of our ladies have been here for the full number of years for which they engaged, and expect to spend the summer vacation with their friends, and return to us in the autumn. As so much time is taken up in the journey by those who come from the Eastern States, Miss D. (ounner) has gone home, and I have her girls with my own in the school room, while Mrs. Jones takes charge of them out of school.

Little Elsie, the child of one of our elders, has been here only a short time. The first day in school she was very restless, and at recess I drew her to me and talked to her about being naughty. While I was talking to her one of my own girls came in. "Elsie no understand English, Miss M.(cBeth)", she said, and it was true, the child had not understood a word, was only pleased at being noticed. She is a very affectionate child and as I cannot talk with her when she gets into mischief, I have seated her beside me on the little raised platform. Twenty times a day perhaps, she holds up her English primer to know if she has the right place, and when I have shown her the page, she leans back against my chair so contented and lovingly.

It is their recreation hour, and some of the little ones are making images out of the red clay in the yard. They seem to enjoy it very much. They make horses and saddles and little men to ride them, and sheep and cows and deer, and let them dry in the sun. They seem to enjoy their play work very much. Human nature and child nature is the same all the world over. We are only four miles from Red river, and boundary line between the Choctaw Nation and Texas, and the red or brick dust colored soil along its banks, from which that river takes its name, extends to Goodwater.

Some of the larger girls are over in their sitting room singing an evening hymn to the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne'. They are beautiful singers, the most of them are passionately fond of music. Sometimes I hear a group of the smaller girls on the porch at my door singing their little hymns in different parts, composing some of the parts I suppose, and making them accord too. They can have little scientific knowledge of music, and yet how quickly they detect a jarring note, and quick lifting of the head of some of the children when strangers, who have been with us at family worship have sometimes struck a discordant note in singing.

The Choctaws have full rich voices and the language is soft and musical. Nasal sounds are numerous, but gutturals can hardly be said to exist, and the nasals are much softer than the 'ng' in English. The full English nasal, as in **sing**, occurs in Choctaw only before **K** in an accented syllable. There is an aspirate, but is not very distinctly heard

often. Syllables usually terminate iu a vowel sound, but may end with a consonant. The Choctaws give the vowel 'u' the sound of 'a' short, aud when lengtheued it passed into 'a' long. This perplexed me much at first when attemptiug to sing their hymns in church.

A few verses of the hymn of invitatiou sung at communion here, the melody of which haunts me still, will give some idea of the language.

Hatak hush puta ma!
Ho minti;
Hatak hush puta ma!
Yakni achukma kvt
Uba talaiushke;
Ho minti.

Hatak hvsh moma ma!
Ho yimmi;
Hatak hvsh moma ma!
Chisvs im anumpa
Hvsh yimmi pullashke;
Ho yimmi

June 3 The girls are singing a variety of hymn in the sitting room across the yard, but among them all I can distinguish Judith's sweet voice singing "Oh how he loves." God has given me the hope that both she aud her sister Sarah have found that dear Saviour and experience His love in their hearts. Betsy, and Herzia and Lizzie Ann, and Lucy, aud others of the older girls who have been here for some time are, I believe, earnest Christians, but many are still out of the Ark of safety. Oh that the seed dropped may spring up and bear fruit unto eternal life, that all our dear girls may be gathered into the fold.

Anna and Harriet have seated themselves on the door steps with their books; others are at the windows or under the trees in the yard. It is a very pleasant sight that greets my eyes when I lift them from the page as I sit by my open window on this peaceful Sabbath evening. The white school house with its animated groups before me, beyond it is visable a part of the log house from the porch of which comes the voices of Mrs. Jones' little ones, singing their evening hymns. While the little white church peeping out from among the trees and the forest with its lengthening shadows and its song of birds forms a fitting background for the picture.

The bell has rung for Mr. Ainslie's hour with the pupils on Sabbath evening. I hear his voice repeating a part of our lesson in Sabbath School this afternoon, the last chapter of Ecclesiastes, as he applies the words home to their hearts. Surely these Sabbath exercises will not be labor spent in vain, but will make their influence felt on all their future lives.

We had no interpreter in church today, and Mr. Ainslie preached a sermon of about the usual length and then called James Tonitubbe, one of our elders to the stand. I recognized him as the Indian on horseback who met us, and shook hands with me so warmly on my way here. I could not understand his address today, but he seemed to be deeply in earnest and the congregation appeared to be very attentive. They are always quiet and attentive and always well behaved in church.

Very frequently Mr. Ainslie calls upon some of the men to lead in prayer in their own language aud our Christian girls usually lead in Choctaw in our weekly meeting with them. They seem to have no hesitancy in doing so and are very fluent in prayer—appear to have no

difficulty in finding words to express themselves, and the reverent and earnest tones in which they address a throne of Grace shows that they realize.

June 29, 1860. School closes this week and already quite a number of the pupils have gone home. Lizzie McFarland left two days ago and may not return. I had a long talk with her in my room, and she made me many tearful promises. Judith and Sarah Belvin and Libbie went yesterday. Libbie has been here her full time and does not expect to return. She is a professor, altbough so young, and I think is a Christian. She will have much to contend with in her home, poor child; temptations witbout, and strong passions either for good or evil within her own heart. Sbe will make a useful Christian woman, with grace; without it she will have much influence for evil.

Little Rosa McIntosh left today. She has not been well for some time, and as it was so near the close of the term her uncle, Mr. Samson Folsom, came to take bcr home. Rosa's mother was a Folsom, and as Rosa is an orphan she lives with her uncle. Mr. F.(olsom) is a portly, fine looking man. A white man who accompanied him from Doakesville, although an M. D., was not nearly so gentlemanly in appearance as he. Poor Rosa looked so sorry to go away, and I was sorry to lose her. I had learned to love the child so much; and she knew it. I have been amused lately sometimes when something troubled her to see her come around to the side of the house nearest me to cry, and crying loudest wben she thought I heard her.

Miss J.(ones) started for home two days ago. Miss D.(ounner) is to leave as soon as school closes. I begin to feel lonely already at the thought. The dining room looks so empty with only one long table, and that not full.

Wc had a new interpreter last Sabbath, Mia Sonni, a fine intelligent looking young Choctaw who was educated at the Armstrong Academy. Tbat Academy is under the care of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and Mia Sonni is an elder in the church there although he does not look more than twenty years of age. "Why did they make such a boy an elder?" I asked Mr. Ainslie. "Because he was the best they could get," was the answer. "They ordained him almost as soon as he united with the church." He took dinner with us on Sabbath, and afterwards accompanied Mr. Ainslie to his preaching place near Red River.

Mr. Ainslie announced that he would begin a series of family visits among his congregation next week.

July 5 I attended a Choctaw wedding yesterday in company with Mr. Ainslie. It was near noon when we started. The thermometer was 100° in the shade, and our way, for some distance, lay through the forest, the undergrowth so dense that unbrellas were useless. Every little while we had to lean forward on our horses' necks to avoid Absolom's fate. "Never mind," said Mr. A.(inslie) we will be in the road presently." But when we reached it we found only a by-road, leading to a farm house, and the low overhanging branches still kept us on the watch.

After riding about a mile and a half, Mr. Ainslie turned into the forest with "This is the place." "This? Where?" I asked, for no sight or sound had warned me of a human habitation. But, just before me, on a rising ground, not forty yards from the road, stood the home of the bride, and under the trees within the enclosure were seated about one hundred Indians, men, women and children. Some were talking together in low tones; others quietly watching us as we came up the path, while the horses browsing near the, or the dogs basking in the sunshine, scarce greetcd us with a glance. Sheltered by the trees which

skirted the road, we might have passed the whole assembly without even a suspicion of their presence.

While Mr. Ainslie was securing our horses, I went up to a group of women under a tree and shook hands with them. That was about the extent of our intercourse, as they could not speak English; but one of them pointed me to a chair in the shade, from which I had a full view of the scene.

Mrs. Oakes, with her mother, Mrs. Everidge, and Mia Sonni, arrived a few minutes after us. The others around me were principally of the poorest and least educated class of Choctaws— the class which clings the longest to the tradition and ways of their fathers. And yet, with the exception of their color, the appearance of the people was very similar to that of the dwellers in many a frontier settlement, or rural district in the states today. They had good, honest looking faces, and their garments if very plain were neat and clean. The men were principally farmers (although there might have been some mechanics among them), and were clothed after the manner of their white brothers, save that many of them wore a calico hunting shirt instead of a coat. The women were dressed in calico, and some of them had a handkerchief tied across their heads instead of a bonnet. And here I may remark that I have often been surprised at the taste displayed.

All who wish can attend the wedding. Some had no doubt come from a great distance. While dinner was preparing, an old man arose and made a long speech in Choctaw. "What is he saying," I asked Mrs. Oakes. "He is telling the bride and groom that they must live peaceably and right and not get tired of each other and separate in a little while." "Do they ever do so?" "Sometimes. They usually marry very young, and some only live together a few months." (Like some of their white brothers and sisters in the states, was my silent comment.)

At last dinner is ready, and Mr. Ainslie and I are seated at the head of the table opposite the newly married pair. Strong coffee, wheat and corn bread, meat, chicken, molasses, and butter is the bill of fare.

"You do not understand Indian customs," said Mrs. Oakes who sat beside me as I refused a plate of something. "You must take everything they offer you, and then you can carry home what you do not eat." "Will they be offended if I do not?" "Oh no."

I should have liked to get a view of the interior of the cabin, but could not without seeming too curious and the Choctaws have a great deal of quiet dignity which makes you feel instinctively that the exhabition of such a feeling would lower you in their estimation. But the house is one of the smallest I have seen. The bride's mother is, I believe, a widow, and is very poor. As only twenty or thirty persons could be seated at the table at once, the dinner promised to be a very lengthy affair. So after another general shaking of hands, we started homeward very well pleased with so much of our "4th of July."

July 17 We had an apple "Bee" today at the mission house. Six Choctaw women, all save one of whom are members of our church, were helping to prepare our apples for drying. They are glad to come, for besides food while they are here, Mr. Ainslie pays them for their work and gives them a little bundle of fruit or vegetables to take home with them. A very acceptable present in this season of scarcity. The Choctaws in this neighborhood, as I am told by Mr. Ainslie, pay considerable attention to raising apples, peaches, plums, cherries, and pears; also sweet potatoes, turnips, beans, Choctaw peas, etc. But nearly everything of the kind is a failure this year because of the long continued drought and intense heat.

I was out on the porch with the women for a long time today and they showed me the Choctaw names of objects I showed to them, and laughed at my pronunciation. One of them is a young married woman who had not been at the mission house before, and her bashfulness and blunders seemed to amuse the others very much. After supper she did not notice that they were going to wait prayers, and, Indian fashion, was taking home the piece of bread left at her plate. When she saw the others sit down again, she stood, sadly bewildered for a moment for she had no pocket or any place in which to place her bread, and as she saw her companions smiling at her dilemma, she threw the bread in Elsie's mother's lap, and sat down and hid her blushes behind her apron.

Before they left Mr. Ainslie asked me to play for them. One after another came into the room or to the window, laughing and talking to each other, and telling me with a pleased nod of the head that it was "achukma" (good). The young stranger came up to the melodeon, touched the keys, and start back at the sound herself had made, then tried it again, well pleased with her performance. Presently I ceased working the pedal, and she looked puzzled at no sound coming although she still touched the keys. After looking the instrument all over to discover the .....

Goodwater, Choctaw Nation

August 1, 1860 This morning I saw Indian men riding along the road past my door and fastening their horses under the trees near the church until I suppose there were forty persons on the ground. Two of them walked through the rear close to the window where I sat writing, startling me a little for they seldom come so near my cabin, although I can hear them passing along the road or through the forest many times a day. I thought at first that they were gathering for some church meeting but when I went up to the mission house at noon, Mr. Ainslie told me that this was election day, and that the men came to the mission to vote; that they were voting for a Governor or Principal Chief of the Nations, and some other officers. "Where are the polls?" I asked. "Under that straw shed over by the church", he said. "How do they vote? Have they tickets?" "Oh, no. Each man tells Mr. Folsom for whom he wishes to vote, and he writes down the voter's name opposite the candidates." "Will there be any trouble? Have they any fire water?" I asked, for I remembered 'Election Day' at home. "Oh no," was the answer. "There are very few drinking men in this neighborhood. They will be quiet enough." And so it proved they were. Two or three loud laughs were all the sounds that reached me, although they were so near and they dispersed as quietly as they came. Mr. Ainslie tells me that there were not near so many present today as usual. I suppose that some had graver matters to think of now than even election day.

When the missionaries first came to the Choctaws, their nation was, as we have said, divided into three large districts. Each of the three districts had its Miko or King; each town or smaller division, subordinate chiefs, captains, (Here a part of the diary is missing, but her comments upon the drouth of 1860 are extremely interesting)

I don't know. I suppose some of them have a little corn in their fields. Those who have money are sending to Texas for flour. "Have they good crops in Texas?" "Oh, no. If they had we could easily be supplied, but they are nearly as badly off as we." "I wonder if the drought extends much further north." "I think not. I think it is only the high lands west of the Mississippi. I hear they have good crops in the states, but the difficulty is in getting it here. Gaines Landing, the nearest point on the Mississippi is not less than 200 miles from here, and it would need to be brought here in wagons—almost an impossibility under this

broiling sun, for the heat contracts the wood of the wheels so that the tires fall off, even if man and beast could endure it. Why, Tawnee Tubbe went to Texas after a load for Father Kingsbury and his wagon fell to pieces and he had to get it repaired. That cost $12.00. One of his oxen fell down dead. That cost $25 more, making $37.00 in all, besides his time and labor." 'How comes it that the man you went to see today had corn, while those around him had not?' "Well, it is partly in the cultivation, for he is part white, and understands farming, but principally because his land lies low, swampy ground that does not get so badly burnt up. When I went there today his cabin was locked up, but a few boards raised a little from the ground under a tree, an old blanket on them, a block of wood for a pillow, and some few cooking utensils near, showed that he did not need a house only to keep his goods in, for he lives alone. He will not make any contract for his corn until it is brought in. Besides you know that these schools are supported in part by appropriations made to the Indians from government, and those that I have spoken to on the subject think that a part at least should be given up to support the Indians through this trying winter, and I think so too. It will feed more perhaps than it would should it be expended on the schools, and life is the first thing to be taken care of in such times as these, although there will still be a great deficiency even of the cheapest food. $300 will not go very far, flour at $8.50 per hundred weight. I had a very gloomy letter from Mr. Stark last night. His charge is much larger than mine and not as well provided for. He talks seriously of going back to the states rather than stay to witness the distress he cannot alleviate." 'But the appropriations, if they are given up, will they not do much to relieve them? They are only a drop in the bucket to feed the 20,000 in the Choctaw Nation alone, and the Choctaw government has no possible means that I know of to feed them. We will just have to appeal to the Christian tribe to this country, her mother carying Mrs. K.(ingsbury), then an infant, on her lap on horseback for the greater part of the journey. When she was about eight years old her mother visited her home friends in the North for the first time in her missionary life, taking Marie, her only daughter with her. She left Mrs. Kingsbury with Mrs. Dr. Pride,, a sister of Mrs. Hotchkin, then residing in Springville, Pa. Here she attended school for nine years. Some years after her return to Goodwater she was married to Mr. K.(ingsbury), and has since then resided in the Nation. Her husband, Mr. J. Kingsbury was educated in Marietta College, in Marrietta, Ohio, but the greater part of his life has been spent on mission ground. The fact that both he and his family have been adopted by the Choctaw Nation as citizens of their country shows the esteem in which he is held by this people. He stands high in regard of all who know him, as an earnest, consistent Christian, and has been for many years a ruling elder in the church.

Mrs. Kingsbury told me that her brother had gone to Ohio for his bride, my old school mate and dear friend, Miss Mary Semple, and expects soon to return with her to Living Land.

Doaksville is a small but pleasant looking village. There are a number of neat, if not tasteful dwelling houses, and two stores, which I found contained a little of almost everything from hoops to hunting shirts. It has quite a respectable looking church in which Father Kingsbury preaches. The Choctaw churches contributed $1000 in one year towards the erection of this building, and at the same time gave another $1000 to the cause of Foreign Missions, and other benevolent objects.

It was near evening when we reached this station, where we found the ladies from Wapanucka waiting to be taken to their respective homes.

At the supper table we had been talking about the dark prospects of the Choctaws and the Mission, on account of the threatened scarcity of food of the States. When the starving millions of Ireland appealed to the United States they met a generous and cheerful response, and surely we are as much indebted to the Indian as to the Irish. What is appropriated to the School may, if husbanded with care, keep my congregation alive, but our appropriation (300.00) is the largest and my congregation the smallest, and the many who are not favored must suffer."

Tomorrow is our communion. 'Do you think we will have many Indians on the grounds tonight? "I think not. They have no provisions to camp out with." Poor, poor Choctaws.

August 10 We have had a delightful rain today, the first for nearly two months and the thirsty baked earth rejoices. The breadstuffs are already past hope, I fear, but it may do the fruit and vegetables some good, or at least start the grass to growing so that the poor cattle may have a little longer reprieve from starvation. The flowers drooped and died long ago. The springs and small streams have dried up. The bees suffer with the rest. They have had to quench their thirst at the well, swarming around it so that we could scarcely draw the water.

I sent my monthly report of Meteorological Observation to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C. a few days ago. For the thermometer the average for last month as: at 7:45 a. m., 83.50°; at 1 p. m., 99.64°; at 6 p. m. 96.7°. Many days it was 110° in the shade at 3 p. m. But I am told that the heat this summer is unusually great; and the situation of Goodwater, in the heart of the forest, distant from any large body of water, probably makes the temperature higher than at many other places in the same latitude. Certainly the effect is very debilitating, especially to those accustomed to a colder climate.

Mr. Ainslie has begun making preparations to leave Goodwater.

September 7. At Wheelock again (Returning from a visit to father Byington, 60 miles from Goodwater.) While we were eating breakfast on the porch this morning, we saw a covered wagon drive up to Rev. Edwards, and presently came the tidings, 'Rev. and Mrs. Reed (Spencer Mission) have come.' Quite a reunion of missionaries at Wheelock. Mrs. Reed has been East on account of her health for a year or two (she is dead) and Rev. R.(eed) went for her and the children this vacation. They had got lost, and camped out all night and came to Mr. E.'s(dwards) for breakfast. About six miles from here. They only remained a little while as they wished to reach L.(enox) tonight. Presently Mr. Stark's company started, without Mrs. Byington. (She came to W.(heelock) with me.) I was selfish enough to be glad I could keep her with me until Monday.

Shortly after breakfast the large road wagon was brought to the gate, ourselves and our provisions packed in it, and we started through the hot sun to the camp meeting. I wish I could photograph the picture that met us as we came upon the grounds to look at when laboring with discouragements. It was noon when we arrived. As far as the eye could reach through the dim forest aisles were scattered Indian ponies with the bright red or blue blanket strapped across their backs, the unfailing Indian dogs, groups of Indians in their picturesque costumes preparing their scanty dinners by their camp fires, while the blue smoke curled in lazy wreaths through the leafy canopy above. Here a table spread under a rude arbor, there a group preparing to dine on the lap of Mother Earth, those who had food freely sharing with those who had not, while under a large arbor in front of the cabin 'meeting house', were seated several hundred Indians, listening to the eloquence of a Choctaw

orator. We drove slowly through the groups to Rev. Edwards' camp, a little hastily built log cabin, with a slab shelf for him to sleep on fastened to the wall inside—where he soon joined us. After eating dinner from the slab shelf and resting a little Miss McLeod and I strolled through the grounds, stopping occasionally to say 'che chukime' (How do you do?) and shake hands with a little group under a tree, or pat the dusky cheek of a little bright eyed 'alonsa' (baby). About two o'clock an old Indian, twirling a long stick in his hands, paced through the grounds, chanting in Choctaw. Every little while raising his voice in a prolonged "Kaa." "What is he doing that for"? I ask. "He is calling on them to form the procession" was the reply, and presently several Indians with drums came on a little rising ground and sounded the 'call to arms'. They did not beat a turn, but thumped monotonously or drew their sticks across the drum ends. All they wanted was noise, and they had it! Then came the banner bearers with their banners. The mottoes were Choctaw except one and that read "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve". One showed the stars and stripes, another had a broken bottle painted on it. (I noticed a bottle on the platform which they said was to be broken by the old chief as the finale to the meeting.) Just as the procession was starting an Indian handed a banner to a neat looking Indian woman, the mother of one of my pupils, and the women and girls formed behind her, walking two and two, beside the men. They made the tour of the grounds and then came into the arbor where we were already seated. The choir took the front seats and sang some M. L. L. temperance hymns, and after prayer Rev. Fisk, an old gray haired Indian who preaches up in the mountains, delivered a long oration in Choctaw. I could not tell what he said, of course, but his audience appeared to be very much interested. I looked around upon the five or six hundred Indians and thought, if there be tears in heaven, the cloud of witnesses who look down upon this scene weep for joy to see five or six hundred of these forest children assembled here to battle with the 'fire water' their deadliest enemy (Satan and depraved whites excepted). This is the fruit of missions surely it has not been labor spent in vain. There sat the old Chief, or Governor, on the rude platform. Around him some of the chief men of the Nation, lending their influence for good. Here were many who did not go to church, attaracted by the novelty. Many good words, for they had addresses on various subjects, will fall upon their ears. Oh that they may sink into their heads and 'bring forth much fruit many days hence.'

After Rev. Fisk had concluded, Rev. Dukes, a half blood, took the stand but we were compelled to leave shortly after he commenced for our conveyance was not a very speedy one, and we were six long miles from home.

Rev. Duke was one of Mr. Byington's people in the old Nation. He and his wife too. His wife is a very pleasant looking half blood, and his daughters are nearly white. He is one of the 'trustees' who visited Goodwater, and his wife tells me they are going to send one of their daughters to G.(oodwater) to school this winter. I saw another Indian girl, Jannie Austin,[4] a neatly dressed and lady like girl who had just returned from school at Lewicklez, Pa. She had been sent there with the appropriated 'college fund', a fund appropriated by government to give a few of the most promising youth an education in the States, and then they must return and teach their own people what they have learned. "You have a great work before you, Jannie", I told her. (She expects to begin teaching shortly). 'You must try to work for the souls, as well

[4] This is Jane Austin McCurtain, wife of Jackson McCurtain, one of the most outstanding Choctaw women of the nineteenth century.

as to enlighten and elevate the minds of your people. Do work for God, Jannie, will you not." "I will try." Such teachers may accomplish much good.

I found that Rev. Fisk had preceded us to W.(heelock), is spending the night here. I had a long talk with him about his people. He said, in his broken English, "The first time I saw a missionary, I was afraid of him. I had been traveling all day, and although I was cold and hungry when I came to the door, I was afraid to go in, and turned away and slept in the bushes. That missionary was Father Byington. When we lived in the Old Nation I had heard of him before. He had talked to a boy I knew about his sins, and I was afraid he would talk to me about my sins too." "What ideas had you of sin before you heard the gospel?" "I did not have any at all, and when I heard of it at first, I thought the bad men were down below the ground somewhere", he said, motioning with his hand. "I thought all the people above it were good, but I did not have any clear idea of immortality of the soul? Of a future state of rewards or punishment?" Well, we thought that the 'shilombish', the soul or shadow that was in a good man, or one who did not quarrel or fight, the winds took away to some pleasant country far off in the south, and there he always lived, and had fine horses and fine hunting grounds, and where he could always be happy." "Those were the hunting grounds of their fathers that I have read about." "Yes, and we thought those who lived to quarrel and fight in this world were sent away off somewhere else by themselves where they were compelled to quarrel and fight forever." "But you had some idea of the 'Great Spirit' of God. Did you worship Him?" "No, we had some idea of the Great Spirit who made the world, but we thought He was away off somewhere and did not take much notice of what was going on in this world. We did not worship him or anything else." Rev. Edwards told me today when I was talking to him on this subject, that there was no original word for religion or religious worship in the Choctaw language. When the missionaries came among them they were in about the same condition as the Sandwich Islanders were when the Gospel was first carried to their shores. They had thrown away their 'tabu' system, had ceased worshipping their idols or worshipping anything, were shrouded in Cimmerian darkness, both intellectually and spiritually. That was probably one reason why in so few years the Gospel light shone so brightly upon those Isles of the sea. They had been so far prepared for its coming in God's providence that they had no deep rooted false faith or religious system to lay aside or rise up in arms against it. So this people had forsaken the tradition of their fathers or religious faith and worship, if they ever had any, and so were prepared to receive the Gospel so much the more readily. But I am digressing. I told Rev. Fisk "I always felt a deep interest in your people. Even when I was a child. I loved to read about them and longed to know more of them. I can remember, when quite young, of feeling so sorry for them, thinking that perhaps some day, if God pleased, I would come to tell them of a Home that passeth not away—eternal in the heavens. I mention this so that you will find some apology for my questioning you so. This is the first time I have found one of your people who could tell me so many things that have craved an answer so long." "Oh no," he replied. "It does not need an apology. Anything I can tell you I will be glad to." "Well, then, with your permission, what tradition had your people of their origin? (Here again some of the diary is missing)

October 22 The Rev. Pliny Fiske arrived on Saturday night to preach for us on Sabbath. I was so glad to see him, but too busy to talk with him then, much as I wanted to do so, and so I placed the rocking chair

and table before the fire in the sitting room for him, and left him there to study while I attended my girls' prayer meeting.

He preached for us in Choctaw on the Sabbath, and seemed to be deeply in earnest. I saw him wipe away the tears several times during the sermon. In the morning he addressed our girls in the school room. The most of them understood Choctaw much better than English, and we were so glad to have any one talk to them in their own language about their soul's interests.

How much I enjoyed the brief glimpses the dear genial old man gave me of that olden time I so longed to explore, and through which he would so willingly have led me.

I had heard Mrs. Byington and he, when at Wheelock, laughing over some of his experiences when he first went to the white man's country to school, and his feelings on first seeing the wonders of civilization.

The Rev. Pliny Fiske, one of our most successful and devoted native pastor, belonged to Mr. Wright's people at Goshen; and the tidings of the sale of the Choctaw country in 1830, and the necessary breaking up of the schools and churches preparatory to the removal of the people, came in the midst of a time a great religious interest among the natives in that district.

In 1832, as we have said, Mr. Wright followed his people to this country, and located at Wheelock. The buildings at this station were erected under Mr. Wright's supervision, and before his death he had received to the communion of the church here five hundred and seventy members.

November 14 Four days ago I heard little Willie Jones making a great ado in the mission house yard, and caught the welcome tidings: "Miss E.(ddy) come! Miss I.( ) come!" and sure enough there they were. In a little while Wallace came from the Post Office with a letter for me from Dr. Wilson, such a good kind letter, but containing the unwelcome news that Mrs. Ainslie is no better, and he did not think she would live through the winter. So, of course no Mr. Ainslie for Goodwater. Both Dr. W.(ilson) and Mr. Ainslie think that Mr. Balentine is with us.

For the past two days we have been busy rearranging the school. Miss E.(ddy) has taken the little ones and new comers into her own charge in the log house; leaving thirty girls to Miss I.( ) and myself, the same as last term. I have come back to my little quiet cabin, and life at Goodwater is settling back into its old monotonous groove again. And we can very well dispense with the excitement, and part of the care and toil of the last six weeks.

Dr. Wilson's last letter to me (dated October 22) says: "I have no doubt this month of October will be a memorable one in all your future life. Memorable as a time of great pressure and responsibility.

December 25 I was awakened this morning by the voices of the girls at my door crying "Christmas gift! Miss M.(cBeth), Christmas gift!" and from all sides I heard it as I went up to breakfast. I told them that in my country people said "A merry Christmas", and "A happy New Year", but they seemed to think their Christmas would not be a very 'merry' one when they had to go into the school as usual. They have been promised a holiday on New Year's, however.

We had several visitors; some former pupils, and friends of the girls who spent their Christmas here, perhaps in the hope of a share in a 'big dinner'. But we had no extras except a warm biscuit apiece for

the girls, (a rarity this session,) and that disappeared into pockets before dinner was over, to be eaten between times, as a tidbit.

We have a small library, principally of Sabbath School books, belonging to the mission. The Missionaries have a few books of their own, but it is difficult to bring many books through.

It was Mr. Jones' turn to lead the meeting last Sabbath, and, of course the Choctaws could understand nothing but the hymns and prayers in their own language. But they have a prayer meeting of their own in the church after we come away. I hear the old cow horn calling in the worshippers, after the brief intermission. No matter how stormy the day may be, a goodly number are sure to be present. They would set most of their Christian white brothers and sisters a good example in punctuality and perseverance in this respect.

A great many Indians were over at the church on Saturday. I thought they were going to have prayer meeting, but Mr. Jones said they were taking the census of the district preparatory to the anticipated distribution of corn. But the promised half bushel to each individual will scarcely eke out life until harvest time to those who have no other means of relief.

We have recently had a visit from Mr. Henry Hotchkin and from Allen McFarland, a brother of my pupil, Lizzie McFarland. Mr. Hotchkin has lately returned from Ohio with his bride, and they are now residing with his parents at Living Land.

December 27 I think I never did as much thinking in my life as since I came here where the thoughts which are generated cannot find vent; but are compelled to stay all huddled together in my brain. And, very probably that is the best place for them. The duties of the missionaries are so arranged that when one has leisure another has not, and we have to be contented with a few words in passing, or in business consultations. Each one is, socially, nearly as much isolated as if they were alone.

Mr. Jones came back from Pine Ridge, the other day, with the intelligence that Miss Stanislaws had warned father Kingsbury that he will need to get another teacher shortly, as she expects to marry Mr. Joseph Folsom who visited us with Mr. Wright in the spring. Mr. Folsom is an educated man, and member of the church and, as far as I know, a Christian.

June 12, 1861. At the Spencer Mission

Yesterday we bade good bye to Mr. and Mrs. Jones, our dear Indian girls and our mission home, most probably forever, and came to this place on our way to Fort Smith. Mrs. Edwards and her children are to join our company here. Mrs. Young, one of the Spencer missionaries, is lying very ill. Her husband and some of the missionaries here will remain for a time; the others will go home with us. Dear old Father Kingsbury rode over from Pine Ridge today to bid us a sorrowful good bye, until we meet, as we hope up yonder.

Spencer is a beautiful place. Everything in and around the Academy is in the most perfect order, and the Institutions would do credit to any of the states.

Many of the leading men in the churches, and of the government have been pupils of Spencer, and from its halls an influence has gone out which has been felt, in blessing, in every part of the Nation.

Looking back at the history of the two tribes of whom we have spoken, the only marvel is that they have made such progress. It is

saying much for the character of the race, that, in spite of all the discouragements and hindrances, which have been placed in their way, the Choctaws and Cherokees have reached their present advanced standard of civilization and Christianity. And it is saying still more for the power of the Gospel of Christ the means through which this great change has been accomplished.

June 18, 1861. At the Lenox Mission

Our company left Spencer on Thursday morning; some riding on horseback, and some in the mission wagons. We hoped to spend the Sabbath at Lenox, but the great heat, often 100° in the shade, the slow moving ox team, and the mountain ranges we had to cross, made our movements slow, and Saturday noon found us a long day's journey from our place of rest. We found a pleasant camping place where we spent the Sabbath. Monday morning, shortly after midnight, we were again on our way, and before noon reached this place.

Some of the Indians living near came to our camp on Sabbath, and for them, and for ourselves, we had religious services, both in the day time and at night.

This is the last station on our route, and is about eighty miles from Goodwater. I have now visited all the mission stations in the Choctaw nation under the care of the Presbyterian Board, except that at Living Land, Rev. Hotchkin's home.

Lenox is a lovely spot, nestled down among the Kiamisha mountains. Long before we came in sight of it we met Mr. Edwards waiting and watching for the dear wife and little son and daughter who were with us and rejoined him there. He took refuge at Lenox in his.....

Just before reaching Lenox we called at the house of Judge Wade, a noble, brave looking man, concerning whom Mr. Ainslie told me the following pleasing incident.

Some time prior to 1850 two United States officers on their way from Fort Smith to Fort Towson, overtaken by night, stopped at an Indian house and asked for lodgings. This was readily granted them. Shortly afterward, Judge Wade, the owner of the house, came in. He had been hunting and his arms and appearance created emotions of fear in the officers who knew nothing of the character of the man. After supper when shewn into the adjoining room as their sleeping room, they carefully placed their pistols under their pillows and through the open door watched their host. He threw some pine fagots on the fire, took down his Choctaw hymn book and Bible, and with his household sang a hymn, read a chapter and prayed. The officers, though skeptics in religion, now were forced to pay tribute to the power of religion and felt ashamed of their fears. They stealthily slipped their pistols back into their knapsacks and slept as serenely as if in their own fathers' house.

July 6th, At home. We spent the second Sabbath in camp and resumed our journey on Monday morning. The first glimpse we caught of the white man's civilization (not the civilization of the Gospel) as we emerged from the forest on the borders of the Indian Territory, and came in sight of the States once more, was the white tents of any army of soldiers encamped on the outskirts of Fort Smith.

All the way to our homes were the sights and sounds of war; soldiers with us on the boat; the cars bearing us swiftly through the camps of the south and north. The effect of the sudden transition from the quiet of the forest and our Indian homes into the midst of such scenes as these was bewildering. We were transported back to the days of Caesar and 'De Bello Gallico.' We could scarcely realize nor can we yet fully

realize, that we were traveling in Christian America in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Our company reached Cincinnati in safety, and at that place we separated, and all have doubtless ere this reached their homes.[5]

[5] Dr. Anna Lewis is head of the Department of History at the Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha. Since this article went to press Dr. Grant Foreman has turned over to the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society additional material from the pen of Miss Sue McBeth and other missionaries to the Choctaws on behalf of the Presbyterian Synodical of Home and Foreign Missions and Mrs. W. H. Hendren, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Mrs. Rella Watts Looney (archivist) is putting this data in shape for the convenience of students of Indian mission history.

BOOK REVIEWS

Flight Into Oblivion. By A. J. Hanna. (Richmond: Johnson Publishing Company, 1938. xi+306 pages. Illustrations and maps. $2.75.)

Flight Into Oblivion is a volume that marks the author, A. J. Hanna, as one who knows how to use historical facts so the layman can understand them. The events of the Civil War have become history; no longer are they discussed with deep personal feelings. The War will soon be a century old, and the time has come when without "malice of forethought" a capable writer can relate facts without arousing the ardor of the Civil War participants and their children to the point of wishing to fight the conflict again.

With the ability of a capable narrator, Mr. Hanna first gives admirable and sufficiently long character sketches of the members of the Confederate cabinet and other officials of that time. They are good introductions; from them, the reader will know each character when he meets him on other occasions.

The setting of the story is geographical, military, social and economic. The location of scenes is easily made from maps that frequently appear. The military phase of the book is not heavy, but is adequately treated; the social life, whether in homes or on the trail of "oblivion" is carefully described; the clothing, food, and finances (if any) are projected into the story with sufficient emphasis. In fact the novelist will do well to read Mr. Hanna's description for the factual portrayal of characters and scenes.

The Union sentiment in North Carolina is mentioned in the reception given Jefferson Davis as he escaped from Richmond into Greensboro. The status of the Confederate treasury was a matter of concern to those who escaped from the Capitol as the Union forces approached. To carry the half-million dollars from the Treasury during the flight was a task that required courage, care and accounting. In fact the Treasury Department seemed to function longer than any other, unless it was the Navy—if one may consider the heroic voyages of the fugitives to Cuba and the Bahama Islands as constituting a "Navy."

A chapter of the book describing General E. Kirby Smith's almost absolute command of the Trans-Mississippi Military Department, is one that should be carefully read. Here is one of the first attempts to show how the cotton market was kept open for Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Indian Territory. Davis considered joining Smith where they might continue the fight—a dream, but worth considering. (Kirby Smith was not the last

Confederate general to surrender, as stated on page 141. General Stand Watie, who commanded troops in Indian Territory, surrendered June 23, almost a month after Smith.)

The escape of some officials to foreign lands and the flight of others, only to end in being captured, constitute two thirds of the book. By the latter part of June, Jefferson Davis, Secretary of the Navy Mallory, Postmaster General Reagan, and Secretary of the Treasury Trenholm, were captured. Benjamin, Secretary of State, and George Davis, Attorney General, were hard pressed to avoid capture. General Breckinridge, Secretary of War, had escaped by this time. The escape of Breckinridge is one of the thrilling adventures of modern times. The frail boat that carried his party from Florida to Cuba was such that few would have used to venture a mile from shore. Benjamin, versatile and resourceful, passed himself as a farmer in order to reach the coast and make his way to England, where he became a lawyer of importance. The escape or capture of the other high officials is related.

The book is valuable as history. It is documented to meet the needs of the critical reader, and contains a good index. There are no controversial discussions. The narrative is unbiased and well told. It is a contribution to the literature of the Civil War period.

M. L. Wardell

University of Oklahoma

35,000 *Days in Texas, A History of the Dallas News and its Forbears.* By Sam Acheson, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 337 pp. Frontispiece, introduction, illustrations, appendix, bibliographical note, and index. $2.50.)

But a few months before the undersigned was asked to review *35,000 Days,* he had visited the offices and library of *The News* because of an interest in the index controls being placed over the files of that significant newspaper. He left the building with an unexpressed feeling that here was an "institution." So, in spite of a studied attempt at objectivity, this volume was read for pleasure, and it may be stated, with satisfaction.

If "The News is the story of Texas" one cannot admit that this volume tells the "story," but much that is of interest is to be found here; nor is it balanced, for the sources used were not so; but it is interesting and it is worth reading.

One is carried from the field of "personal" journalism to the "corporate" publication of the present, with sufficient detail to satisfy the general reader. The political, economic and social causes espoused by the *News* and its predecessor are presented with state,

regional, or national backgrounds sketched in where essential to the story's balance. One notices gaps in political campaigns, though the more interesting are highlighted. The latter is true also of the Civil War, the Galveston Flood, the Settlement of Oklahoma, and the late depression. Here one finds specific examples of the effect of the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and the electric light on the collection and dissemination of the news. Here is the story of beginnings in chain newspaper operation. And too, it is a story of some of the men and women who made this paper what it is today.

One takes up this book and begins reading an intimate story of "The Old Lady By the Sea," but the book closes, on a *News* of neuter gender. The author of this volume does not follow the same course in his narration.

John C. L. Andreassen

Historical Records Survey
New Orleans, Louisiana

Our Oklahoma, By Muriel H. Wright. (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-Operative Publishing Company. 1939. Illustrated. xiii 454 pp. 67c)

This volume, recently completed and issued from the press, has been chosen and adopted by the State Text-Book Commission for use in the grade schools of Oklahoma. Thirty-one years ago, the study of Oklahoma history was introduced into the public schools of the state and the first text-book treating of that theme, of necessity based upon hasty and imperfect research, though wholly from primary source materials made its initial appearance. Jesse Chisholm was still Oklahoma's "forgotten man" in those days, though his name has since come into a measure of deserved recognition in the estimation of the people of Oklahoma. "The Trail of Tears" received its first literary mention in that little volume, though, inadvertently, in a wrong connection. One of the most pertinent criticisms of that first treatise came from William H. Murray, since governor of the state, who remarked that the book, contained "too much war and battle and not enough about the life of the people."

However imperfect that pioneering effort may now seem to have been and despite unkind criticisms, which were numerous at first, it served to quicken a popular interest in the local history of a new commonwealth with a result that many people have acquired a general knowledge of the state's history with such as neither writers nor teachers had previously been familiar.

Tracing descent from historic antecedents, possessed of wide acquaintance and inspiring associations, the author of this latest

work on the history of Oklahoma was privileged to live her earlier life in an environment that made for studious habits, inclinations and tastes. Moreover, she has spent nearly a score of years in consistent and more or less continuous historical research. She was, therefore, peculiarly qualified to undertake the preparation of the story of her home state for the information and inspiration of its rising generation. Although both by heredity and environment, she might easily have manifested a measure of prejudiced feeling in some instances of text expression, her statements concerning controversial issues are noticeably fair-minded and free from any hint of personal bias. She has used rare judgment in the selection of essential materials for the text of her book, with the result that it impresses the reader as having presented a well-rounded balance, with no over-load of details, yet stressing the more important phases in such a way as to prepare the mind of the pupil for more thorough studies in due and proper relation in the maturity of after years.

This small volume is exceptionally well illustrated containing approximately 125 engravings of scenes, views, portraits, artifacts, etc., all of which are authentic and appropriate, including a number that are old and rare. Lastly it is a fact worthy of mention that this book is the first history of Oklahoma that has been entirely planned and written by a native of the state, one who has been a successful teacher in its public schools and one, who, in her own personality, combines much that is best and most desirable in both the Caucasian and native American elements of its citizenship.

It is justly due, also that the publishers are to be complimented upon their part of the production of this work—for the excellence of its mechanical construction and finish of the volume, which befits its literary and artistic composition, its patriotic standards and civic ideals as well.

Joseph B. Thoburn

Union Memorial Hall
Oklahoma Historical Society

The Chouteaus and the Founding of Salina, Oklahoma's First White Settlement. By Vinson Lackey. (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Claude F. Neerman Co., 1939. 40 pp. Seven illustrations. $.50)

The appearance of this booklet is welcome and timely, in view of the increasing interest in the story of Oklahoma's first white settlement occasioned by the recent legislative resolution designating as "Oklahoma Historical Day" the birth date of Salina's founder, Major Jean Pierre Chouteau, who was born October 10, 1758.

In connection with the recent statewide observance of Oklahoma Historical Day a prominent state newspaper said editorially, "Much of the pride of Oklahoma centers about the original settlement at

Salina. Our people have seized upon various things to celebrate. We have had a great many stirring events in our brief formal history.

"We are in the habit of thinking of the settlement of Indian Territory and the Opening of Oklahoma Territory as the high points of pioneering and occupation.

"The Chouteau trading post antedates all the events by which we ordinarily reckon our history. There was the first business of record, and from that experiment arose fleeting visions of permanent settlement and the greatness that was to come. People should now realize that our cardinal dates are not, like the state itself, recent. The history of the trading post at Salina is just about as long as the career of the United States as a republic. The exploits of the Chouteaus were indeed potent in opening the way for general settlement and for our advanced state."

In a charming, brief and informal manner the author brings us to a realization of the truth of the editorial.

He takes for his warp the facts which heretofore have appeared only as fragmentary and widely scattered statements by established historians writing principally of other things. Through this he weaves a woof spun from the more persistent stories and statements handed down from generation to generation in the Chouteau family, utilizing only such interview material as gives strength, color and pattern to the piece.

He reconstructs long lost detail with a newspaperman's assurrance, but not from imagination alone, for one senses even in these passages the store of first-hand knowledge and experience which keeps his statements always within the bounds not only of plausibility but of probability.

Footnotes are few, but a list of suggested readings with page citations is given, and the narrative plainly shows evidence of careful and extensive research not only in the perusement of printed pages but in many other fields as well.

The lithographic illustrations are no less interesting than the text. The ones of Major Jean Pierre's first trading house on Grand river and of Col. A. P. Chouteau's residence show evidence of intensive research and might well be used as a guide in any plan to reconstruct these historic buildings.

The use of 10 point Textype (linotype) facilitates reading, and the 5½ by 8½ inch size fits the coat pocket. The booklet is bound in heavyweight Strathmore Doubledeckle paper and carries an attractive cover design which gives an inkling of the story within.

J. B. M.

The Formation of the State of Oklahoma. By Roy Gittinger. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. xii+309 pp. Appendices and maps. $2.50.)

After reading this revised edition of *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* by Dr. Roy Gittinger of the University of Oklahoma, the reviewer feels tempted to write that it is the definitive treatment of this subject. The writer has carefully delineated the history of events from 1803, the date of the Louisiana Purchase, to 1907, when Oklahoma was admitted as a State. As the publisher's announcement stated, he has given "an account of . . . the treaties which settled Indians in Oklahoma, the developments after the settlement of the Indian tribes, the problems which arose in connection with white settlement, and finally the events which culminated in the establishment of the commonwealth."

In this scholarly and well-documented volume the author has related the events he describes to contemporary events taking place on the national stage. He has shown clearly how inextricably are interwoven the national Indian policy and the events which took place in the area later to be known as the State of Oklahoma.

The University of Oklahoma Press has made a noteworthy contribution in making available a new edition of *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma,* which appeared first twenty-two years ago as Volume Six of the University of California Publications in History.

The broad scope of this interesting volume is indicated by the chapter headings, which are as follows: Beginnings of the Indian Territory West of the Mississippi, The Establishment of the Larger Indian Territory, The Separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian Territory, The Proposed State of Neosho, The Indian Territory During the Civil War, The Reconstruction of the Indian Territory, The Boomers, How the Boomers Won, Four Years of Waiting, The Settlement of Oklahoma Territory, The Settlement of the Indian Territory, The Admission of Oklahoma.

One of the remarkable features of this history is the mention of the names of American statesmen ordinarily not associated with our history. Also rescued from oblivion are others like Senator Robert W. Johnson of Arkansas.

The reviewer regrets that Dr. Gittinger did not find time to relate the findings of more recent studies to the main body of his work. He has, added, however, a supplemental list of newer books dealing with the period covered in this voume to the bibliography on pages 288-290.. An extended use of the manuscript sources would have added greater validity to his conclusions. The author is justified, however, in stating in his Preface that "The more recent works have not affected essentially the conclusions here presented."

Oklahoma Historical Society James W. Moffitt

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 26, 1939.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 26, 1939, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Hon. John B. Doolin, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Judge William P. Thompson, Mrs. John R. Williams, Judge Robert L. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The following members had notified the Secretary of their inability to attend: Mr. George H. Evans, Mr. James H. Gardner, Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Gen. William S. Key, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Judge John B. Meserve, Mr. Jasper Sipes, and Judge Baxter Taylor.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that the reasons given for absence be deemed sufficient and that they be excused, and upon second by Judge Thomas A. Edwards the motion was carried.

The question of increasing the bond of the Society's Treasurer in the sum of one thousand dollars was discussed, and upon motion of Hon. John B. Doolin, duly seconded, the increase was approved.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that there be no smoking in the library or any of its adjuncts, the newspaper stack room or any of its adjuncts, or any of the museums, or in either the Grand Army or Confederate Custodians' rooms, and the various annexes, and that appropriate printed signs be placed in the various spaces as well as in all halls, setting forth this resolution, and in addition, that it be the mandatory duty of the Secretary and all employees to see that such prohibition against smoking not be violated and to so recite in said notice "To promote safety against fire."

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting held July 27, 1939. Mrs. John R. Williams moved that the reading of the minutes be passed. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary presented the quarterly reports in writing of Mrs. Laura M. Messenbaugh, custodian of the newspapers; Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, custodian of the Union Soldiers' room; Mrs. Helen R. Payne, supervisor of the WPA project for cataloguing and indexing newspapers, etc.; M. A. Mulholland, chief clerk; Hazel E. Beaty, librarian and Mrs. Rella Looney, archivist. Such report on the part of the custodian of the Confederate Soldiers' room was requested.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that the Secretary, with the assistance of the various employees of the Society, bring down to date the inventory of the property of the Society, thus furnishing a complete inventory and a report relative thereto, and to that end to be filed quarterly in the future, and if necessary use any other assistance such as WPA workers,

if legally available, to make such inventory. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded same and motion was carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore was named by the President as acting chairman of the house committee, consisting of Mr. Jasper Sipes, Chairman, and Gen. William S. Key; and Judge William P. Thompson and Judge Baxter Taylor were also added to this committee.

The Secretary reported the following gifts had been received:

(1) Clippings regarding historic sites from Miss Clara A. Ward, Tulsa, which appeared in *The Daily Oklahoman* and *The Tulsa World* between May 29, 1932 and March 29, 1939.

(2) Picture of Nelson Chigley from Paul Lynch, Fort Smith.

(3) E. E. Keso, Senatorial Career of Robert L. Owen (Gardenvale, Canada: Garden City Press, 1938), from Dr. E. E. Keso, Edmond.

(4) A sill from old Moravian Mission from Dr. Robert Mitchell, Muskogee, through the assistance of Dr. Grant Foreman and Mr. Llwyd.

(5) File of the *Daily Herald* (Oklahoma City), February 27, 1939—May 17, 1939, from Miss Hortense Wilson of the Capitol Hill *Beacon*.

(6) 1897-1935 file of Friendship, Pottawatomie-Lincoln Association *Minutes*, from Rev. Hollis Burge, Muskogee.

(7) Picture of early day students of St. Joseph's School, 1906, from Mrs. Joe O'Brien, Oklahoma City.

(8) Gift of a collection of state tax tokens from James W. Eardeley, Queensborough, New York: New Mexico, Colorado, Missouri, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Alabama.

(9) T. H. Reynolds, Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine (Nashville: George Peabody College, 1938). Gift of Dr. T. H. Reynolds, A. & M. College, Stillwater.

(10) T. U. Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm* (Bandera, Texas: Frontier Times, 1939). Gift of Dean T. U. Taylor, Austin, Texas.

(11) Proclamation regarding the death of President William McKinley issued by Governor Jenkins, presented by the South Dakota Historical Society.

(12) A picture of the committee appointed in the fall of 1905 to present to President Theodore Roosevelt a memorial asking his aid in the matter of statehood: Robert Lowery, Alf Hammer, Senator D. P. Marum, Dr. David R. Boyd, Fred Parkinson, Charles Hunter, Wm. Anderson, Grant Victor, Wm. S. McCall, Wm. Johnson, Charles G. Jones, and Judge Thomas H. Doyle. Gift of D. B. Collum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Secretary read the report on the Fort Gibson property presented by Mr. Harry Lyons and Mr. H. A. von Unwerth.

Hon. John B. Doolin moved that the parties be thanked for this report and that they be asked to continue in this service and be given supervision of all buildings including the bakery and magazine house and also have possession of the keys to the buildings. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. John R. Williams was added to the art committee and made chairman since the present chairman, Judge Thomas A. Edwards asked to be relieved of the chairmanship, he having moved from the city.

The committee for marking historical sites was requested to have a report for the next meeting of the Board.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that the Secretary of the Commission or some member of the Board of Directors represent the Historical Society at the meeting of the American Historical Association to be held in Washington, D. C., next December, or some other party to be so authorized by the President and Secretary. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary read the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Judge Wayne W. Bayless, Oklahoma City; Hon. James Edward Berry, Stillwater; S. C. Boswell, Ada; Judge Fred P. Branson, Muskogee; Judge Orel Busby, Ada; Mrs. Mary Little Davis, Wewoka; W. A. Delaney, Jr., Ada; Daniel Franklin Fleet, Dallas, Texas; Joseph Claude Looney, Wewoka; and P. A. Norris, Ada.

ANNUAL: Walter H. Attaway, Bennington; Fred A. Berry, Wewoka; Mrs. George F. Butcher, Edmond; Bruce Gilbert Carter, Wewoka; Dr. Claude S. Chambers, Seminole; Frank B. Clements, Tulsa; J. G. Clift, Duncan; John S. Davenport, Tulsa; Mrs. Reuben Delozier, Adair; Col. Clarence B. Douglas, El Reno; Harold Bliss Downing, Oklahoma City; Roscoe Farmer, Oklahoma City; Julian Bixby Fite, Muskogee; Dr. William Patton Fite, Muskogee; Ruth S. Goodbread, Norman; Judge Harry L. S. Halley, Tulsa; Rev. Robert Hamilton, Okmulgee; Flora Dunlap Haugen, Ponca City; Erastus C. Hopper, Jr., Eufaula; Dr. Edward E. Keso, Edmond; Mrs. A. B. Kimberly, Tonkawa; Frank J. Krug, Evansville, Indiana; Murrell O. Matthews, Ada; Prof. John Francis McDermott, St. Louis, Missouri; David S. MacDonald, Jr., Durant; Dora Elizabeth McFarland, Chilocco; Mrs. Helen McMahan, Pond Creek; Murrill McMillan, Okmulgee; Jacob B. Moore, Ardmore; Mrs. Frank Gordon Munson, Alva; Mrs. Lucile Elzey Noblitt, Oklahoma City; Mrs. W. J. Otjen, Enid; Chester R. Richards, Tulsa; Mrs. J. R. Shaubell, Tulsa; Mrs. Velma Smith Sheriff, Oklahoma City; Louis G. Stapf, Greenup, Kentucky; Maude O. Thomas, Beaver; J. Earle Thomson, Hackensack, New Jersey; W. W. Ward, Chelsea; Mrs. O. P. Weston, Castle Rock, Colorado; Mrs. O. K. Wetzel, Oklahoma City; Joe Whittington, Atoka; Rolland O. Wilson, Oklahoma City and Mrs. Hattie Lee Work, Durant.

Upon motion of Hon. W. J. Peterson, duly seconded, all were elected to and received into such membership of the Society.

Judge Harry Campbell, who had been appointed to audit the financial statement of the Fort Gibson project, presented his report.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that it be accepted and approved. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore moved that the deficit of $11.64 be paid to Dr. Grant Foreman out of the private funds of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore moved that Hon. John B. Doolin be added to the committee on Parks for the west side of the State. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Victor E. Harlow, accompanied by Mr. Arthur W. Gilliland and Mr. Elmer T. Peterson, appeared before the Board to solicit the aid and co-operation of the Historical Society in celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of Coronado's trip across the southwest, including Oklahoma.

Mrs. John R. Williams moved that the President appoint a committee of four members of the Board with one member outside the Board, to determine whether there was any prima facie evidence that Coronado was within the present confines of the State of Oklahoma on said trip of exploration, and if so to request the Governor to appoint a commission to act with the Historical Society and the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce in sponsoring this celebration in 1941.

The President appointed the following committee: Mr. Victor E. Harlow, Chairman; Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Gen. Charles F. Barrett and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that the President appoint a research committee to determine as a matter of record the place and date or dates of the settlement of the Chouteaus in what is now Oklahoma. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President appointed the following committee: Dr. Grant Foreman, Chairman; Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Harry Campbell and Judge William P. Thompson.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the aerial map of the Chisholm Trail, presented to the Society by Mr. James H. Gardner, be framed and paid for out of the state funds. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. E. E. Heflin appeared before the Board with reference to the tendering of gift of statues or busts of the Ex-Governors of the State of Oklahoma, made by Dr. Joe B. Jenkins.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that they be received and properly placed when approved by the Art Committee. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the pictograph, lent by the Maurer brothers, be returned to them. Motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting stood adjourned subject to the call of the President.

Robert L. Williams, President,
Presiding.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

NECROLOGY

FRANK PEARSON JOHNSON
1872-1935

Frank Pearson Johnson, who became one of the Southwest's foremost bankers and business leaders, was born August 9, 1872, at Lexington, Mississippi, the first son of Herbert Pearson and Lucy Chase (Fultz) Johnson. When he was five years old the family moved to Kosciusko, Mississippi, where his father was a lawyer and publisher of a weekly newspaper.

When Frank Johnson was eleven years old his father died leaving a very modest estate which the mother determined should be conserved for the education of the children, there being three brothers and one sister. The youthful Frank showed a sparkle of the promise he later fulfilled by being just as determined to earn his own schooling, which he did, entering Mississippi A. & M. College at the age of fourteen and being graduated with first honors in his class and a B. A. degree four years later. While in school young Johnson found time from his studies and his classes to serve as a military cadet and advanced to captain before his graduation.

In 1890, in partnership with his brother, Hugh M. Johnson, he bought the Kosciusko Star, of which his father had been editor, consolidating it with another newspaper and by hustling and working long hours the two brothers built the country weekly into a profitable business.

Frank Johnson sold his interest in The Star to his brother in 1895 and moved to Oklahoma City where he was a school teacher, editor, and in the insurance and mortgage business.

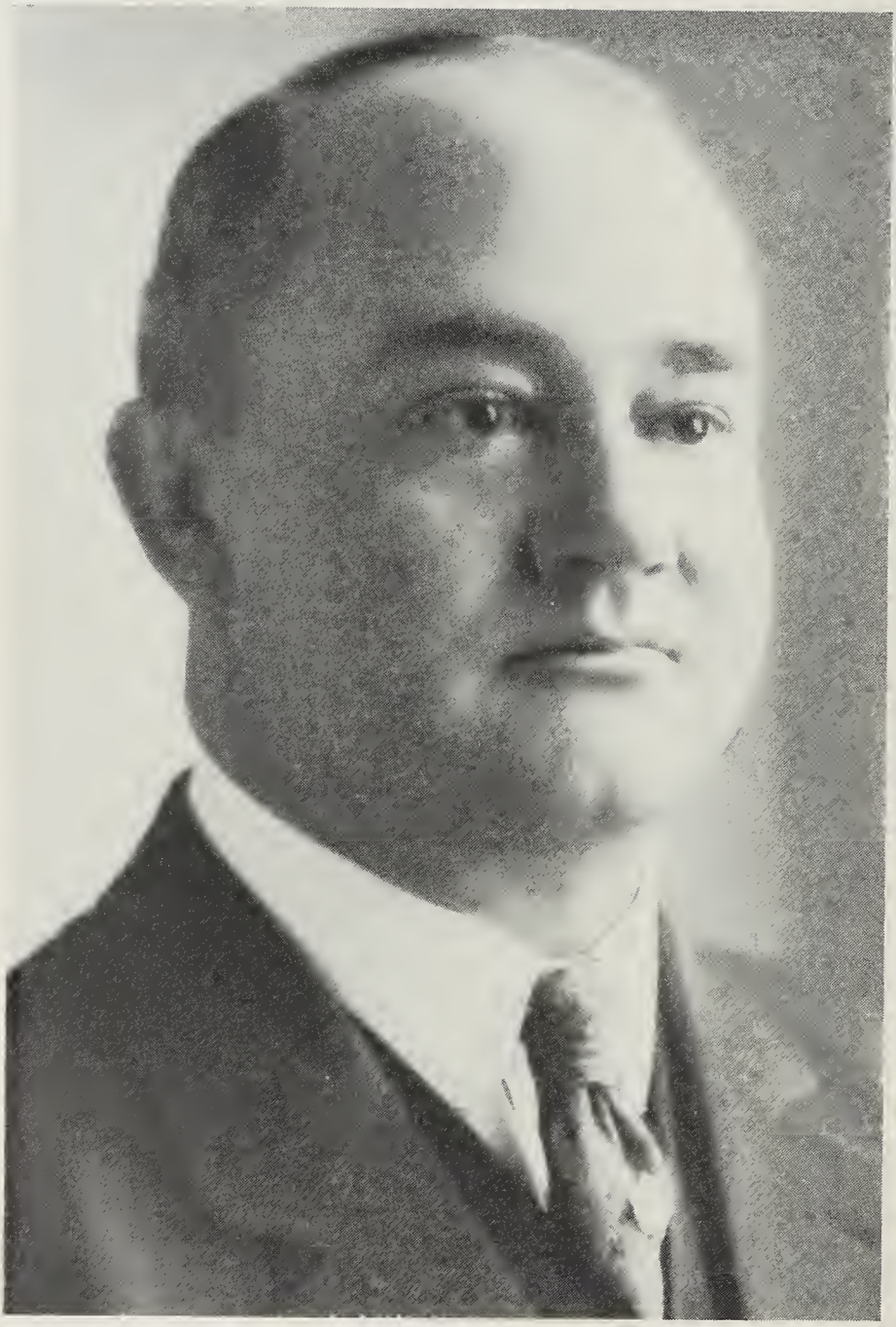
In 1901 he organized the Oklahoma City Savings Bank and it might be said that there his business career really began. At the age of 29, this young man who as a poor boy had been thrown on his own resources in a sleepy Mississippi country town, had become a bank president. He had found his life's work and had entered upon a career which he pursued with a singleness of purpose that was certain to bring success.

The Oklahoma City Savings Bank had a capital of only $15,000, but Frank Johnson made progress with it. In 1903 he effected a merger with the American National Bank and the new institution had capital stock of $100,000. Under his leadership, the American National Bank became one of Oklahoma's strongest banks, capital being increased to $500,000 in 1909 and to $1,000,000 in 1923.

Meanwhile, his brother, Hugh M. Johnson, had come to the First National Bank of Oklahoma City after successfully operating the First National Bank of Chandler, Oklahoma. For eight years the two brothers headed banks across the street from each other at Main and Robinson. Then in 1927 they decided to join forces again, as they had in their youth, and the resulting merger and the later addition of the Security National Bank gave Oklahoma City one of the Southwest's largest financial institutions, the First National Bank and Trust Company, with resources of more than $60,000,000.

Frank Johnson was president of the First National Bank and Trust Company when his unexpected death came from a heart attack, October 5, 1935.

FRANK PEARSON JOHNSON



JAMES HASKINS SUTHERLIN

It is true that Mr. Johnson was absorbed in the banking business. His part in the development of his community was best done, he believed, through the building and maintaining of banking facilities adequate for the needs of a growing city and state. But he was civic-minded and served almost continually as director of the Chamber of Commerce from the time he came to Oklahoma City.

He was president of the Oklahoma City Planning Commission for a number of years and served several times as chairman of the Policies and Projects Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. He had much to do with the Civic Center Development and the erection of the First National, Hightower and other buildings.

In 1928 he was treasurer of the State Democratic Campaign Committee. He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City and belonged to the Sigma Alpha Epsilon, B. P. O. E., Men's Dinner Club and the Oklahoma Club.

He was married to Aida Allen, the daughter of James P. and Virginia R. Allen, at Kosciusko, Mississippi, March 28, 1894. They had two children, both now deceased, Ethlyn Lee, who married Wilbur E. Hightower, and Hugh Allen, who died in 1899 at the age of three.

Survivors are the widow who still lives at the family residence, 439 N. W. Fifteenth Street, and two grandchildren, Phyllis and Frank Johnson Hightower, who live with their father at 1500 Drury Lane, Oklahoma City.

J. Cecil Brown

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

JAMES HASKINS SUTHERLIN
1870-1939

James Haskins Sutherlin, son of John Haskins Sutherlin and his wife, Sarah Sutherlin, nee Keener, was born October 25, 1870 at Mansfield, Louisiana. His father was born in Danville, Virginia. His eldest brother was E. W. Sutherlin, a judge of the Court of Appeals of Louisiana, sitting at Shreveport, who was his guardian and supervised his education. Another brother was Dr. W. K. Sutherlin of Shreveport, Louisiana.

The Sutherlins were English, the original spelling of the name being Southerland or Sutherland, which was changed to Sutherlin after the arrival of his ancestors in Virginia. An uncle, Major William T. Sutherlin, who was a tobacco planter and who built a railroad for the purpose of shipping his and his neighbors' tobacco to the seacoast for transportation to Europe. In his will his mansion was left to be used as a Confederate Home. At one time, Jefferson Davis, whilst President of the Confederate States of America, used this mansion as his headquarters.

His parents having died in 1880, he was sent to Thibodaux, Louisiana, to have contact with French speaking people in learning the French language. He subsequently attended Thachers Military Institute in Shreveport, Louisiana. As valedictorian of his class and commandant of the corps of Cadets, he graduated from said institute in 1889. Afterwards, he attended the University of Virginia, from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts on June 29, 1892. Returning to Mansfield, he entered upon the study of the law, being admitted to practice in the Louisiana courts in 1893.

On April 3, 1894, he and Irene Stewart Elam of Mansfield, Louisiana, were married.

Removing to Santa Fe, New Mexico, he became Clerk of the United States Territorial Court, being admitted to the bar in the Territory of New Mexico in 1894. In 1904, returning from New Mexico, he engaged in the practice of the law at Mansfield, Louisiana. In 1908, he removed to the state of Oklahoma, where he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of said state. He located at Wagoner in Wagoner County aud engaged in the practice of the law. He was elected and served as a member of the Fourth and Fifth legislatures as a member of the State Senate from senatorial district No. 32, composed of Wagoner and Okmulgee counties.

On April 6, 1917 he became chief title examiner for the state school land department and coutinued in that capacity until April 24, 1939, coveriug a period of over twenty-two years. He was considered to be an authority on Iudiau land titles.

He died at Oklahoma City on September 2, 1939 and his earthly remaius were iuterred in Fairlawn Cemetery.

As a Democrat he was active in the early day political affairs in the eastern part of the state. He was a member of the Episcopal Church and of Sigma Alpha Epsilon college fraternity.

He is survived by his wife and three daughters: Mrs. Clarence C. Coover, Mrs. Robert Sweeney, and Mrs. Julius I. Meyerson, and a son, Edgar W. Sutherlin, all of Oklahoma City, and a sister, Mrs. George A. White, Shreveport, Louisiana.

A type of the cultured gentleman of the old South and a fine citizen has passed away.[1]

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

CHARLES W. RAYMOND
1858-1939

Honorable Charles W. Raymond, Federal Judge in Indiau Territory with headquarters at Muskogee, died on September 28, 1939 at Watseka, Illinois.

He was born in 1858 in Dubuque, Iowa, the son of William M. and Mary Ellen Meyers Raymond. The father enlisted in the Union Army in the Civil War and attained the rank of captain. He was killed in the battle of Nashville. Judge Raymond in his early youth knew the hardships resulting from the great conflict. His widowed mother, without means, and with three small children dependent on her, obtained for Charles, a home with a farm family, in return for which he helped around the premises and farm, as well as one of his years could. Later his mother moved to Onargo, Illinois, where he joined her and attended school. Afterwards he studied at Wabash College at Crawfordsville, Indiana.

In 1878 he was employed as Deputy County Clerk at Watseka. During his spare hours he studied law diligently and was admitted to the bar in 1886. He had marked ability as a thinker and a mental worker but was backward in the art of public speaking. By the most painstaking efforts he overcame his timidity.

He early became active in Republican politics and was elected a delegate to the Republican State convention where he was elected as a delegate to the National Republican League which met in Buffalo, N. Y.

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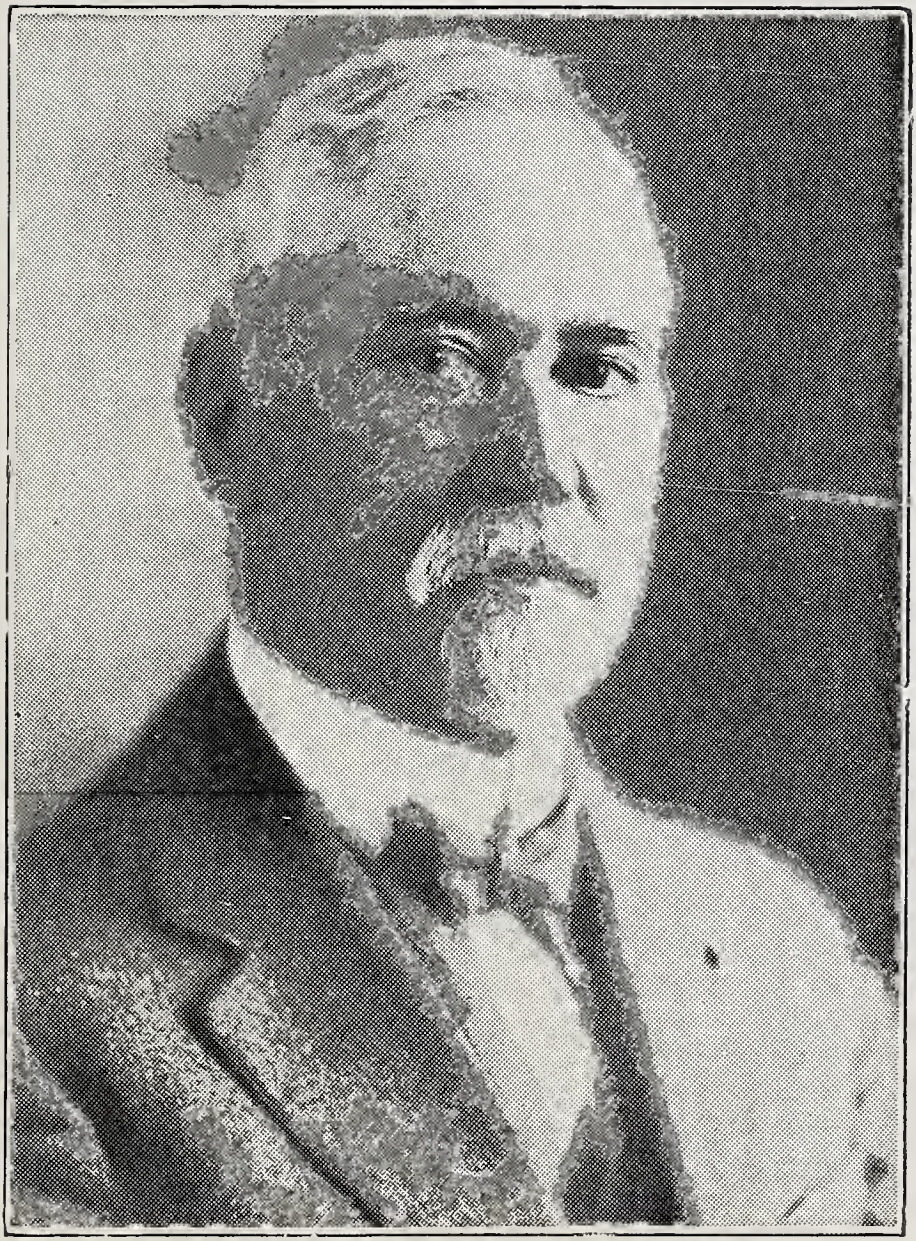
[1] Oklahoma City *Times*, Sept. 2, 1939; *Daily Oklahoman*, Sept. 3, 1939; *Harlow's Weekly*, Sept. 9, 1939.



CHARLES W. RAYMOND

THOMAS LAWRENCE WADE, JR.

His rise was rapid from this beginning. He held numerous positions of trust and confidence, requiring ability and integrity. He supported the election of Hon. William McKinley for President of the United States who in 1901 appointed Judge Raymond United States District Judge for the Northern District of the Indian Territory at Muskogee. He assumed his duties on August 19, 1901 and was succeeded in 1906 by Hon. William R. Lawrence, formerly of Danville, Illinois. In the discharge of his official duties, Judge Raymond was careful, studious, industrious, and conscientious.

Congress provided that the United States Judges in the several judicial districts in the Indian Territory, sit *in banc* at McAlester as the Indian Territory Court of Appeals. In due time Judge Raymond became Chief Justice of that court. It was seldom that he was reversed in his decisions.

After his retirement from public office, he maintained a law office in Muskogee for a short time. He was offered appointment by President McKinley as United States Civil Service Commissioner, and later President Taft tendered him appointment as United States Circuit Judge, both of which he declined.

He was interested in developing his large holdings in Iroquois County and was very successful in increasing the agricultural productiveness of his farm lands. He wrote several articles relating to agriculture which were published extensively. In order to be more effective in championing the cause of agriculture, he became a candidate for congress in 1924, but was unsuccessful in being elected.

He performed acts of charity by giving of his means; many of which were made in a quiet, private way and were not publicly known. He was a substantial supporter of the American Red Cross.

Soon after his appointment as Federal Judge he was married to a lady he had known for many years. She was Grace Matezbaugh, daughter of the late Josiah Matezbaugh, one of the leading and most substantial citizens of Iroquois County. Mrs. Raymond preceded him in death; his only heir being his stepdaughter, Katharine.

Judge Raymond was laid to rest in the cemetery of Onarga, that city and community being the scenes of his boyhood and early life.

Benjamin J. Martin

Muskogee, Oklahoma

THOMAS LAWRENCE WADE, Jr.
1870-1938

Thomas Lawrence Wade, Jr., son of Thomas Lawrence Wade, Sr., and his wife, Judith Wade, nee McDonald, was born at Whitesboro, Texas on October 28, 1870. His people on the Wade side came from Ireland to America in an early day. His mother was born in Missouri, her father settling in Montague County, Texas, in 1849.

He was educated in the public schools of Whitesboro and St. Mary's College, at St. Mary's, Kansas.

His father and he and other members of the family came from Grayson County, Texas to the Indian Territory in 1879 or 80, the father purchasing the Rod brand ranch in the Chickasaw Nation from the Marlows. He and his sons continued the operation of the ranch. After the construction of the Santa Fe Railroad through Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory, he and his sons, including Tom, drove their cattle from the ranch near what is now the town of Marlow to Purcell for

shipment to Kansas City markets. Prior to that time they drove their cattle over the Chisholm Trail to Caldwell, Kansas for marketing.

When the Rock Island railroad was constructed through the Chickasaw Nation the Wades founded the townsite of Marlow. On April 3, 1893, with H. L. Jarboe, Jr., of Kansas City, Missouri, the Wades organized the National Bank of Marlow, Thomas Lawrence Wade, Jr., being one of its organizers and connected in an official way with the bank, later becoming its cashier and executive vice-president.

After the interest of Jarboe was acquired by the Wades, it was continued under his management until 1931 when it was consolidated with the First National Bank of Marlow.

During all this time he and his brothers were not only extensively engaged in the cattle business but also part of the time in the oil business.

On August 18, 1898 he and Miss Lela Josephine Darnall were married at Sherman, Texas by the Reverend Father Blum, Rector of the Catholic Church. Her father, W. A. Darnall, who resided at Whitesboro, Texas, was a physician and surgeon.

Thomas Lawrence Wade, Jr., was a member of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Knights of Columbus, being treasurer for many years of the latter organization. He received the Bene Merenti Medal awarded by Pope Pius XI, and a medal from the Knights of Columbus.

He was actively identified with the Democratic party and its organization both prior and after the erection of the state of Oklahoma. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, Missouri in 1904, when he was a member of the platform committee, the late Senators Joseph W. Bailey of Texas and David Bennett Hill of New York, and the late William J. Bryan being leading members of said committee. He was also alternate delegate to the Democratic National Convention held at Denver in 1908, and also a delegate to the Democratic National Convention held in Baltimore in 1912. At the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1916 he became a member of the National Committee from Oklahoma. He was also a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco in 1920.

At different times he was not only a member of the Board of Aldermen but also Mayor of Marlow.

He took an active interest in bringing about the passage of the Enabling Act under which the state of Oklahoma was admitted to the Union.

At the time of his death on the 3rd day of November, 1938 he had been postmaster at Marlow since March 1, 1936.

He had the following brothers and sisters: W. A. and J. D. Wade, both now deceased; Charlie Wade of Comanche, Oklahoma; George Wade of Whitesboro, Texas; Mrs. Cecil Smith (Mary Wade) of Sherman, Texas. He is also survived by two brothers-in-law, Ed C. Darnall and W. A. Darnall, both of Marlow, and three sisters-in-law, Mrs. Elma Wade, wife of J. D. Wade, deceased, of Comanche, Oklahoma; Mrs. Charlie Wade, of Comanche, Oklahoma, and Mrs. R. A. Edwards, Duncan, Oklahoma.

He was buried on November 5, 1938 at Marlow, Father James A. Garvey of Oklahoma City, representing the Bishop, and Father Michael McNamee of Duncan, conducting the funeral services.

During all of his life after he reached his majority he was active in business, with the exception of the last two years on account of his health.

As a courteous, cheerful, fine citizen and devoted husband, with a grim humor that accompanied him along life's journey, indicating that he had neither cares nor worries, and as a loyal friend, he will be remembered.[1]

R. L. WILLIAMS

Durant, Oklahoma

[1] Marlow *Review*, Nov. 3, 1938.
Daily Oklahoman, May 2, 1916.
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